

The Politics of Liberation and Love in Privileged Classrooms

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Abstract:

When considering critical pedagogical work in the United States, it seems inimical to consider this liberatory work in nonpublic schools, as the majority of students attending these elite institutions are the children of members of and/or benefit from hegemonic and repressive power structures in place. This narrative review chronicles my experiences as a critical educator working in American independent schools. It explores the idea that critical pedagogues in tuition-based schools are uniquely placed to assist the movement of elite students toward places of liberatory and positive praxis by anchoring private school experiences in Freirian pedagogy. It also explores the necessity for the liberatory education of students of privilege, explaining that often after exposure to critical pedagogy, these students both desire and are able to use their considerable resources to humanize and empower themselves, and through this, society--helping to end cycles of oppression.

Keywords: *critical pedagogy, educational determinism, critical theory, liberatory education, private schools*

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INTRODUCTION

The Politics of Liberation and Love in Privileged Classrooms

This explores the synthesis of my devotion to liberatory education and my work as a teacher in the American private (tuition-based) school world. After several years of teaching in the private school realm and sensing the potential that exists for the application of Freirian pedagogy, I turned to scholarship for assistance in the best ways to teach critically. I was flummoxed by the lack of research exploring liberatory education of elite populations and tuition-based schools. Perhaps I should not have been surprised by this dearth of scholarship, but it was at odds with my personal experiences, as most private school teachers have the desire to teach critically and see the primary goal of education as empowering students to institute positive social change (Livingston, 2019). This critical pedagogical mindset is often part of our shared focus as private school teachers and is a precipitate for much of our decision making, manifesting in everything from smaller, individual lesson-planning to our contributions to school cultures, echoed constantly in our desire to empower our often wealthy and always privileged students to act as accomplices for social justice and liberation.

The majority of private school teachers see the primary purpose of education as empowering students to positively change society. Most private school teachers have some experience with critical pedagogy (Livingston, 2019), so why have Freirian pedagogs as a population not formally delved deeper into the idea of critical pedagogy in private schools, where there tends to be a tremendous amount of teacher-classroom autonomy? When there are close to half of a million private school teachers in the

United States alone (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018), it seems like this dynamic should be explored.

Perhaps the primary reason for the dearth of research in this area is that, at first thought, it seems problematic and even inappropriate to take a philosophy for the liberation of the oppressed and apply it to the financially and socially elite, the primary populations of tuition-based schools. This application raises several immediate questions: is it ethical to take a pedagogy specifically designed for the education and liberation of historically disenfranchised groups and apply it to a private, privileged group of schools and students? Is it even possible? Will liberation and valuable praxis occur? Through a combination of research, experience, and a good deal of soul-searching, I conclude that it is not only possible, but crucial to all liberation that critical pedagogy be implemented in *every* manifestation of educational space, public and private alike. Liberatory pedagogy should include the students of privilege, the “elite” that are often found in these types of private schools.

This paper uses the term *elite* as a way to view the primary population of students at private schools. *Elite* is complex and difficult to define, as discussed by Gaztambide-Fernández (2009), but is colloquially used in many studies regarding education to distinguish not only a tuition-based school but one deemed to have high social status among social groups that have power to decide what is exclusive and successful, usually equating this success as private financial success in a capitalist market and individualistic society. The American private school world is complex and varied, and includes all tuition-based institutions: religious, secular, boarding, coed, and others (National Association of Independent Schools, 2018). With so much variety in

institutions that can be labeled “elite private schools,” defining *elite* may be *purposefully* difficult; Bourdieu (1991) reminds us that power elites benefit from the vagueness of the definition. Although this is certainly the case, much educational literature surrounding the definition contains a common *understanding* in the independent school communities in which I have worked. This understanding matches definitions by Persell and Cookson (1985), who describe elite schools as schools that can place their students at decided advantages vis-à-vis their non-elite peers, especially regarding admission to selective colleges. Would it be possible to take the advantages these elite students have, and, by educating them critically, empower them to use these (often unearned) advantages for the good of all?

The Liberation of the Children of the Bourgeoisie?

Critical pedagogy for students of privilege seeks to liberate children of the *elites* from their unique types of bondage, strives to heal them from the sickness of their isolation, and empower them to be able to connect with others. The father of critical pedagogy, Paulo Freire (1998), instructs us that dehumanization—which marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also (though in a different way) those who have stolen it—is a distortion of the vocation of becoming more fully human. If we take this as truth, it is then crucial for private school teachers and students to reach places of Freirean praxis, because if [the privileged] are left to be trained to use the many resources at their disposal to dehumanize and disempower others, and thereby themselves, the cycle of oppression and the struggles that surround it will continue (Denis-McKay, p.26). All students should have autonomy of body and mind, and it is crucial they be educated as such. We must never forget to include all children—regardless of the socioeconomics of their parents and backgrounds—in critical dialogue

and liberatory praxis, for the deterministic nature of education can liberate these children from the ignorance in which they will most likely end up trapped if they are allowed to continue learning in their current hegemonically oppressive, elitist, and dehumanizing environments. This is not to say that critical work should stop in public education—it is more crucial than ever—but rather that it is imperative that critical education should be expanded to include all students.

As Henry Giroux explains in his June 2018 article in *Democracy and Education*, neoliberal regimes across Europe and North America have waged a major assault on critical pedagogy, public pedagogy, and the public spheres in which they take place. In the last few months, Americans—along with many other neoliberal societies—have seen legislative pushes to directly and purposefully limit liberatory education, with critical race theory and its pedagogical cousin, critical pedagogy, specifically targeted. The concept of critical race theory has recently been vilified by United States politicians as a “radical,” “un-American,” and “racially divisive” concept. Several states have even banned schools from teaching critical race theory, with more states debating doing the same (George, 2021). Thus the imperative to not only resist and defend against these assaults on critical pedagogy in public education, but to expand its practice to include private spheres. I offer a set of experiences that highlight how this is not only possible but necessary.

Historically unappreciated and undervalued in the U.S., teachers themselves often unwittingly buy into the idea that teaching is somehow not an honorable profession; even those of us that recognize our value are hampered by the hundreds of years of American deemphasize on education (especially on all critical thought). Yet this same

history provides many examples of how neoliberal regimes in power *do* value and understand education's importance; among the first changes enforced by totalitarian and fascist regimes is always the curtailment and elimination of any liberatory curricula. Moments before his inauguration in early 2019, fascist Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro tweeted, "One of the goals to get Brazil out of the worst positions in international education rankings is to combat the Marxist rubbish that has spread in educational institutions." On the campaign trail, Bolsonaro said he wanted to "enter the Education Ministry with a flamethrower to remove Paulo Freire" ("Bolsonaro to Erase Freire and Feminism from Textbooks"). Clearly, if education is among the first targets of oppressive and fascist regimes, it is of paramount importance to liberty and democracy, and thus both can and should be used offensively to combat repression in all its incarnations. While this is its own justification for including private education under the critical pedagogy umbrella, there are more nuanced, complex, and important reasons to include Freiran pedagogy in nonpublic schools.

Liberated societies can only exist if education itself is liberating, and *all* students deserve this liberation. With the twenty-first century American government's daily movement away from democracy and closer to fascism, each tool in every educator's arsenal must be used to combat repressive systems of the status quo and replace them with communal, equitable, and egalitarian organizations. Educators are not popularly seen as key figures in social and political liberation, but we may be among the most important. Because education is deterministic, we are able to fight repressive, hegemonic systems on the front lines and on a substantial, powerful, and effective scale. An implementation of critical pedagogies in private schools would limit the power of schools to see students as cultural capital, a concept developed by French sociologist

Pierre Bourdieu (1996) and defined more contextually by Anthony Abraham Jack (p. 19) as “the collection of taken-for-granted ways of being that are valued in a particular culture.” This expansion of Freirian pedagogy would help create and support a non-stratified community, so that “social mobility” becomes unnecessary, thus resisting the popular idea of the role of private school education as a means of becoming more social and economically mobile. Critical pedagogy in independent schools allows for a unique type of praxis that removes all students from the cycle of having to exist as cultural capital. For the critical independent school educator, this pedagogy provides opportunities for the most privileged of students to engage with their peers, with other members of their classroom community, and with their own ideas about privilege, power, and equality (Livingston, 2019). It does so in a way that encourages critical engagement while providing space for students be a part of a community of thinkers “who assist each other while at the same time check each other’s tendencies to purely idiosyncratic or self-interested thinking” (Young, p. 8).

Ultimately, if we care about social justice and we believe that education can help transform society, then we *must* care about how students of privilege are educated. Examining privileged students’ experiences with schooling can help to illuminate how inequalities persist. They can also de-normalize elite education, generate strategies for including elite students in social movements working toward justice, and elicit compassion for the ways in which systems of oppression ultimately dehumanize even those they advantage. (Swalwell, 2013). This inclusion of elite private schools in the charge to form a more just and equitable future can feel unnecessary, and thus is a challenge to critical pedagogs working in all spheres of education. However, as Denis-McKay (2007) notes, “because the dominant culture relies on unquestioned privilege,

the opportunities to name, critically reflect, and act are equally denied the privileged and the other” (p. 27). Leonardo (2009) similarly notes a need for a different approach with privileged (white) students when he references Lenin’s belief that “the proletariat must be educated while the bourgeoisie revolutionized.”

When read in combination, educational literature points to three common reactions as defined by Swalwell (2013) of privileged children when exposed to social justice pedagogy. First, though they may well learn of injustices in the world, privileged students are likely to “frame these issues as abstract and demonstrate a deep unawareness of their root causes (p.108).” Second, whereas marginalized students may come to feel empowered by learning about systemic oppression, privileged students are “likely to feel overwhelmed by guilt or anger and resist this pedagogy (p. 108).” And third, if students choose to participate in social action as a result of their exposure to social justice pedagogy, Privileged students are more likely to act in ways that frame themselves as “savior figures” who help a deficient *other* in a patronizing or superficial way. Instead of expanding their worldview, empowering them to act, and engaging them in action as social justice pedagogues hope, the literature ultimately warns of the potential for social justice pedagogy with privileged students to backfire (Swalwell, 2013).

While these reactions by students of privilege certainly must be considered when critically educating them, they are far from probable or insurmountable. Perhaps more importantly, while there have been studies that examine the relationships between social justice and students of privilege, it important to note that almost no research

exists examining the direct application of critical pedagogy in private schools. It is my experience as a critical pedagogue in a private school environment that I wish to share.

While we see school mission statements as a window into the communities, ethos, and priorities of independent schools, most missions are assembled by school boards, administrators, and committees from a “parts kit of hoary clichés and trendy buzzwords.” School mission statements are “so general and so alike that they fail to differentiate themselves and the schools they represent, reducing even the most noble of aspirations to banalities” (Gow, 2009). Oftentimes, missions are physically separate from diversity and equity statements, but contain rhetoric that implies equity and solidarity. This false solidarity is actively dangerous, in part because it relies on charity rather than mutual aid, and thus serves to further existing systems of oppression and exclusion, but more importantly because it offers a conscience salve in the form of the illusion of solidarity and action.

This ethos of charity is, frustratingly, an often well-intentioned but all-too-common framework in the educational structures of privileged youth, frequently manifesting as “service work,” a type of voyeurism, or what Hernandez-Sheets calls “helperism,” which is “platitudinous and no longer viable for marginalized peoples (p. 152).” Such approaches are both disruptive and distracting. They are very frequently found in private schools in the language of “community service” requirements, in which privileged students are briefly dropped into existing community support organizations to provide temporary and transitory physical help, ignoring what is most needed—real solidarity and support, including a commitment to build long-term relationships with these community organizations and movements over time. I know in the private schools

in which I have worked, there have always been “community service” requirements, some with remarkably narrow focus, like raising public awareness of horse abuse. Other private schools at which I have worked have required “service learning days” in which students spend a day volunteering at places like women’s shelters or cleaning up roadside litter.

These experiences resonate with some of the students, but as this work is not anchored in any type of *reality* for the elite, much of what could have been valuable—in fact, much of the intent of the exercise itself—is *abstract* and therefore its value is often lost. While any help can be positive, and it is wise to insist that privileged institutions provide service to their communities based on ability and need. Such shallow forms of “service learning” can obscure underlying causes of injustice, reify privileged norms, excuse privileged students from critically reflecting on their lives, and reproduce a false sense of “us and them” (Butin, p.1685). But pseudo-awareness of real oppression is not limited to “community service.” Independent schools also maintain the façade of training their teachers to be justice-minded, liberatory practitioners, but rarely offer concrete and/or philosophical professional development experiences to their faculty. This is a tragedy, as many independent school educators are justice-minded and see liberation as a primary purpose of their work (Livingston, 2019). What can be done to synchronize the desires of so many private school educators to further liberatory pedagogical objectives and provide resources and education that empowers us to do so successfully? Unfortunately (and perhaps on some levels, purposefully), private school professional development (PD) very rarely considers this type of pedagogical development, and often access to PD is limited by wealth: both the lack of personal wealth of the teachers themselves and the distribution of PD money and professional

leave by private schools. The dearth of available critical pedagogical PD is its own issue to be addressed.

In the world of tuition-based schools in the U.S., local and national independent school associations do provide a multitude of diversity, inclusion, and equity events; training; and conferences. However, they are almost all fee-based, and thus often counterintuitive to their purpose. Even though most private school faculty do not pay out of pocket to attend these events, it comes out of most teachers' limited yearly PD budgets. Thus educators are required to select between equity-based PD and other skill-building experiences, often at the expense of the former, thus furthering faculty ignorance of critical pedagogical practice. Access to diversity-based PD events are necessary, as the population of students of color in nonpublic schools has substantially increased in the last twenty years. Critical pedagogy, while addressed in discipline-specific journals and occasionally in larger education spaces, is “not given enough coverage under the constant attack for market-oriented non-secularization of the education system” (Çomak and Nur, 2018). This disconnect between the increase in students of color and students from economically disadvantaged populations and the opportunity for PD in critical pedagogy for private school educators serves hegemonic structures and continues to disenfranchise all private school students. The American National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) admissions data from 2000–2001 shows the enrollment of students of color at 16.8% of total enrollment, with the 2018–2019 enrollment of students of color much higher at 31.6% (NAIS 2019). For a multitude of reasons, American private schools are steadily becoming more diverse. Thus PD that uplifts and supports these students and encourages liberatory curricula is crucial, and should not be limited to wealthier schools with larger endowments and PD

budgets. The large-scale implementation of liberatory pedagogy could alleviate many of these issues, as *all* learning would be exercised in diversity, equity, and inclusion as both faculty and students move toward a place of liberation. However, a primary challenge to this large-scale implementation remains the lack of educator exposure to critical pedagogy, in particular—and not surprisingly—the omission of critical pedagogy for private school educators.

Also of note are the more informal but still problematic dearth of workshops, literature, and discussion about critical pedagogy in almost all incarnations of NAIS-organized PD, including events specifically designed at a national level for educators of color and their allies. At the NAIS People of Color Conference in 2018, out of more than two hundred presentations in total, there was *one* presentation on critical pedagogy (31st NAIS People of Color Conference Program). The previous year, there were *no* critical pedagogy events (30th NAIS People of Color Conference Program). We must ask why this is the case, for it is not due to lack of interest. My 2018 workshop on critical pedagogy in independent schools filled a room to overflow capacity. Our subsequent break-out discussion groups reinforced my anecdotal experience that critical, radically minded educators are (1) surprisingly, a substantial number of independent school faculty, and (2) unaware or only partially aware of the existence of critical pedagogy as a liberatory tool (Livingston, 2019). While the audience attending this session was self-selecting in a myriad of ways, the larger desire of private school teachers to educate critically was later supported with numerous surveys conducted nationally among more than one hundred private school educators about their beliefs and backgrounds. An enormous 97% agreed that the primary purpose of education was “to empower students to create a more just and equitable society.” An ethos of belief in the tenants of critical

pedagogy also exists most strongly in this population, with 89% agreeing that their students' "pre-knowledge and previous life experiences are all as valid as their own" (Livingston, 2019).

It is important to note that while much literature exists emphasizing the need for critical education in teacher *preparation* programs producing both public and private school educators, most teachers *already active* in the private school world claim that the primary purpose of education is to empower students to create egalitarian future societies. Therefore we must become familiar with, have access to literature and resources for, and begin to practice critical pedagogy in our private school classrooms. This private school liberatory pedagogical agenda is very possible to implement because of the large amount of teacher autonomy given in these classrooms: 88% of private school teachers surveyed felt they had "much autonomy" regarding both content and pedagogy (Livingston, 2019). With the U.S. Digest of Education Statistics (2017) putting the number of private schools at over 34,000, there is a strong argument to be made that the implementation of critical pedagogy in private schools has a tremendous amount of positive potential. It is impossible to institute social change in this population without the implementation and indoctrination of knowledge and values shared through education; conversely, it *is* possible to institute social change (assisted by elite allies) with the implementation of liberatory knowledge and collective values in private schools.

Schools are not simply sites of opportunity; rather, they are "deeply political places where students are sorted and labeled and where the policies, practices, curricula, and informal interactions can reproduce society's inequalities in both covert and

unambiguous ways” (Oakes, p. 118). Independent schools need also to be engaged as sites for these opportunities.

If we believe that there is an overall pressing and immediate need for critical education, it becomes necessary for private school teachers to become guerilla-educators as we attempt to circumvent the educational system in which so many of our students are trapped. This is done by chipping away at this system from the inside: by Freirian pedagogy used to open minds one student at a time; by emphasizing the collective good, rather than furthering individual competitiveness; and by adding voices of the historically marginalized and disenfranchised to the existing body of commonly taught knowledge, in a way that shows these groups as active in history, rather than having history happen on top of them. It is done by crediting innovators, and inventors that have been historically ignored because of their gender, race, religion, or ethnicity. But it is more than this. The methodologies described in Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) can be used in private school classrooms. Because of its unique mix of student backgrounds, private schools and private school educators are uniquely positioned to implement critical teaching.

It is important to keep in mind that alliance between the privileged and the oppressed should *never* come at the expense of the oppressed. In my time in the private school world, I have seen many administrations, mission statements, and task forces work hard to maintain the *illusion* of solidarity with the oppressed. Often, with honorable and honest intent and feeling, they do strive toward accomplishing their goal. However, anything more than a cursory exploration of any manifestation in actual practice illuminates this as false solidarity. The mission statements of schools accredited by

NAIS show a myriad of priorities, but the language of many of them includes statements like “respect for all persons” and “valuing of differences,” while the actual experiences of students differ considerably.

Using Love to Liberate the Elite

What becomes crucial in considering the value of critical pedagogical and liberatory practice in schools is the idea that every student experiences educational determinism—that the type and amount of education experienced by a student predisposes them toward their future social (and often economic) roles in society (Livingston 2019). Perhaps the challenge of recognizing education as deterministic is best expressed in an article discussing the lack of democracy in private schools by Jack Schneider (2018):

No school, if it is to realize its full potential, and if it is to foster the public good, can be conceived of as private, parochial, or even independent. These terms imply ownership, competition, disunity, disconnection. Schools with the most freedom to act and the greatest power to effect change must not be fortresses and silos. They must be laboratories and lighthouses.

He goes on to discuss how private schools can be used as “laboratories and lighthouses” to further the public good. He suggests that in order to do so, private schools must both prioritize diversity and use their position as places of both great resources and much teacher autonomy to focus on educational practices that liberate.

We need to nourish the *capacity* of these children of economic and political advantage to both understand and transform their world through critical consciousness and connection (Noddings, 2003). Elite students are often denied the opportunity to experience dialogue with students from other backgrounds. They are often presented

with limited, myopic sets of knowledge, and told that these flawed pedagogical experiences are not only complete, correct, and appropriate, but the apex of what an education should be—the fallacy that if one education costs \$40,000 and another is free, the more expensive education must be better (often the default mentality in the corruptions of capitalism). These falsehoods will continue until corrected, and corrected in *all* spheres of education—public, private, and otherwise. Revealing this truth is only possible because of the relationships between students and teachers, both being motivated by shared experiences of *caring* and *respect*.

Matriarch of critical pedagogy Antonia Darder (2017) writes about love and its relationship to learning: that love is the most powerful of teachers, a natural human feeling that both encourages and limits actions, and restores us as human beings. No student should be denied this experience, and no lasting, substantive change can truly happen until all students are exposed to these experiences. The love between students and their teachers is radical in itself, and thus the love between *elite* students and their subaltern, middle-class, and usually public school-educated teachers (Livingston, 2019) requires trust and often sacrifice on the part of the educator. The critical pedagogical process in private schools can be painful for students and teacher. Children of privilege are children, after all, and just as they did nothing to earn their privilege, they also did not choose their position—it is necessary we remember they are also victims of this system of oppression, granted, in a different and much more comfortable way. We must be willing as a culture to shine the searchlight of critical consciousness on the difficulties that children of privilege have in breaking free of the limits of being born into a system of oppression—the limits forced onto both the oppressor and the oppressed.

Denis-McKay (2007) puts this in terms of “border crossings” between distinct social groups and wisely cautions us as critical educators in the private school world: both we and our students need be sure “to become border crossers in a respectful and responsible manner,” and to do this, “students of privilege must become culturally competent because by living in a place of privilege, these students are living in a dehumanized world (p. 26-27).” While this world is much safer and more comfortable than the lives of marginalized students on the other side of the “border,” we have a responsibility as educators that includes critically educating students existing on both ends of the enormous gap between us—a gap caused by capitalism and neoliberalism. Pedagogy for students of privilege should seek to liberate the advantaged children in the world from their bondage, perhaps also heal them from the sickness of their isolation and empower them to be able to connect with others. In addition facilitating their own healing and rehumanization, it is crucial we understand the societal potential in critically educating the elite.

Critical pedagogical work with elite students attending private schools is crucial for many reasons, but one of the most important remains the future access of these children to resources that can be positively harnessed to make positive social change. If critical work is omitted from their educational experiences, both the financial and social resources they possess—resources that the majority of us do not have access to—will be (sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously) used to dehumanize and disempower others, and thereby themselves allowing cycles of oppression to continue. A 2014 study by political scientists provides evidence that the traditional levers of political power are most effective when actioned by elite individuals (Gilens and Page,

2014). Their research proves that economic elites are the most influential political actors when it comes to the making of public policy in the U.S. Political scientist and writer David Rothkopf (2009) elaborates on the important, eventual influence of elite students when he claims, “it is still the case that many graduates [of independent schools] go on to careers in finance and government. It is at the intersection of these two sectors that critical decisions are made, sometimes in plain sight and sometimes behind closed doors” (p. 000).

Knowing this, it seems negligent to omit this group of future influencers and policy makers from any practice where the desired outcomes are substantive and egalitarian social and legal changes. Additionally, Persell and Cookson (1985) inform us that many though not all students in private schools go on to become members of the power elite (e.g. politicians, CEOs, corporate leaders), hence these spaces remain important contributors to the (re)production of upper class privilege.

Surely, these spaces could and should also be used for the removal of this same class privilege.

We must think of the ever-increasing global scale of the power and influence of America’s elite, accelerated by technology and the expansion of education generally—these stresses again the importance of critically educating the elite with the reminder that this globalness also exists in education and has led to greater global inequality within countries. This is yet another argument for the inclusion of the children of elites in critical education, as their future global power to repress can be replaced with larger spheres of worldwide liberation. With the amount of potential influence these students will possess, we are foolish to exclude them from our critical pedagogical work.

Key Dimensions of Critical Synthesis in Elite Nonpublic Schools:

A “Kincheloean” Approach

Critical pedagogy in private schools, like all critical pedagogy, must “take place on uncharted social and cultural territory” (Kincheloe, 2007) and, as such, the “key dimensions of critical synthesis” as described in *Critical Pedagogy in the Twenty-First Century* (Kincheloe, 2012) are both unique and uniquely necessary in nonpublic spaces. The application of these “key dimensions” of Freiran pedagogy to private education are a synthesis of the critical theoretical tradition and understanding students of privilege in their positions of power—including “understanding of dominant cultural pedagogies, and the subsequent identity construction” (p. 177). Like all critical education, this must include Freiran steps and shared experiences toward a pedagogy of liberation. With elite populations, these often manifest on a different timeline and through different sets of experiences than critical pedagogical manifestations with historically disenfranchised populations.

It is important here I echo Peter McLaren’s (2006) disclaimer in *Life in Schools*. I wish to make it clear that my teaching experiences attempting to synthesize these key pedagogical dimensions of Freiran experience with private school students are not offered as evidence that “proves” that *all* critical pedagogy will work in all private schools, but rather that it *can* happen, and that it is both important and life-changing to these private school students at any and all levels of success. I offer these experiences as suggestions that the inclusion of this pedagogy in private spaces is a solid, viable option; that up to this point it has been incompletely studied; and that it (hopefully) inspires my private school educator-comrades to consider its application seriously, both practically and philosophically. My detailing of the success (and challenges) of

critically educating elites is in no way meant to imply that I am an exceptional critical educator (or exceptional educator in any respect). Rather, I wish to share the modest successes that proved positive while working under my hypothesis that a combination of love and consistent reinforcement of critical practice would move participants in critical private school classrooms to places of growth and discovery, even with the nontraditional audience and complicated group of personalities and backgrounds found in these nonpublic spaces.

In my experience critically teaching children of elites, there have been a few successful tactics for moving students through phases of Freirian growth and toward necessary decodification of relevant issues. The first is a modification of existing curricula to include a Freirian perspective of the past so that past human decisions and choices are clear and the past can be seen as active rather than passive (Freire, 2000). Teaching the impact of human agency on the past and connecting it clearly to the hegemonic structures in place allowed my students to be aware of the root causes of problems while also empowering them to change the future by showing it is not a set course of events but rather dictated by human choice and response—that it can be influenced by their choices and responses. This is often seen by my private school students as both empowering (because they know they have the financial and social potential to institute change, having become aware of their privilege) and also overwhelming (as they realize the depth and breadth of the work that needs to be accomplished). While I did experience some students framing issues as abstract, and demonstrating a deep *unawareness* of their root causes (Swalwell, 2017), it took me several years to realize that this was often a *first step* toward their consciencization rather than a stopping point when I alerted them to their own oppression. As my journey as a critical educator of

elites continued, I found that my experiences were often parallels of (but naturally not the same processes as) those key experiences as outlined by Kincheloe in *Critical Pedagogy in the Twenty-First Century* (2007). It is useful, therefore, to frame these experiences through the lens of the private school educator:

Key Dimension #1: The development of a socio-individual imagination

It is the job of educators in elite institutions to move outside traditional private educational practices, challenging students belonging to the power group, often including the children of the wealthy, to consider and imagine new forms of knowledge acquisition. In particular it is our job to emphasize those forms of knowledge and its acquisition that lead away from static knowledge systems and others that laud domination, and instead purposefully stress systems that move these students toward social justice and democratic community. As the gap between the rich and the not-rich becomes larger by the day, and as federal policies continue to support the acquisition of wealth by the rich at the expense of those already disadvantaged, twenty-first century education continues to tear society asunder “by commodified informationalism (p.205)” (McLaren, 1994). This must be combated in all realms of education.

Key Dimension #2: The reconstitution of the individual outside the boundaries of abstract individualism

Reconsideration of the individual is central to all critical pedagogy as it celebrates self-realization, but in elite environments, it is particularly crucial that we contextualize this very carefully, considering the traditions in education that use the concept of individualism in the Western tradition. Private school critical pedagogs are tasked with constant re-emphasis and redefining the idea of the “individual,” making sure it is

anchored in critical communitarianism, highlighting that community should always take precedence over individual interests. This emphasis on community can only serve to further democracy and will hopefully help children of privilege acquire and retain a mindset that corrects the harmful traditions of individualism at the expense of the collective whole, especially if positively experienced over a period of time in a safe school environment such as private schools, which are safe and in which most students stay from ages four to eighteen (Council for American Private Education, 2017). This can be challenging if students have benefited from hegemonic systems that applaud individual wealth and present it as “earned” because of ability and hard work. However, because collective thought is not only an imperative but also a superior essential truth to human existence, exposure to criticism of Western individualism will mitigate the erroneous mindset of individualism when critical pedagogy is part of a student’s classroom experience. Realizing that their peers come from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds and being exposed to both their personal experiences and feelings about these experiences also often serve to foster elite students’ thinking more critically about their wealth, whether it is “earned” or not. Some students—for the first time—consider collective action and the common good as an option in their lives.

Key Dimension #3: The understanding of power and the ability to interpret its effects on the social and the individual

Perhaps the most urgent of the dimensions key to critical synthesis in the nonpublic arena is the need for students of privilege to be cognizant of their position (both present and future) in places of wealth, power, and authority. Even when we consider that the modern private school classroom contains more racial and class-based diversity than ever before, it must be acknowledged that being in these elite institutions gives every

student in the private school, to varying degrees, the *potential* for power, both political and economic.

The transformative, critical educator must work in two domains when moving private classrooms to places of praxis. In addition to “an understanding of how power operates in the social order and the ways it works to produce subjectivity” (Kincheloe, p. 178), critical private school educators must purposefully anchor their students (and themselves) to this power structure, asking them to consider their own relationships to it, all the while consistently and critically exploring together the ways that “hegemonic forces mobilize desire in the effort to win the public’s consent to the authority of various power blocs” (Kincheloe, p. 178). With so many students having family inside or adjacent to these blocs of power and control, this seems daunting, but as all critical pedagogy is concerned with connections of people, power, and place, it is paramount that students from the elite class are actively tasked with this social analysis so they will obtain a realistic sense of power (both of others and of their own) and examine its past and future impacts on all of these connections between people, power, and place with a critical eye. This does not mean students will not feel compelled to defend their place in a system that empowers them, but it does require all students to consider the system itself, and how it self-perpetuates. Often this is where my colleagues and I report having stopped critical teaching in the past, as the anger and guilt students feel about benefiting from this system require much emotional labor on students and teachers alike, and some risk to the educator if students take this anger and guilt home to their wealthy parents. It is not, however, insurmountable.

Key Dimension #4: The provision of alternatives to the alienation of the individual

It is crucial to note that central to the evolution of critical pedagogy is finding alternatives to the social and educational alienation that exist in the current abusive hegemonic power structures surrounding education. This manifests with children of privilege specifically in two ways: First, while individuals from less politically and financially dominant locales such as underfunded public schools are denied access to institutions that provide tickets to social mobility by the use of a rhetoric of standards, excellence and values (Kincheloe, 2007), children of privilege *do* have access to these institutions by attending elite private schools. The trend in private school admissions to diversify access with respect to race, ethnicity, and economic status, paired with an understanding that student access to these “mobility tickets” will result in the eventual opening of the places of privilege to everyone collectively. Of course, the ultimate goal is the elimination of “social mobility” itself, but the opening of these spaces is a necessary step toward freedom from them altogether. Second, if critical pedagogy does not exist in private educational spaces, the children in these spaces are *also* victims of alienation, and are locked into the same oppressive system by their inability to move away from their own (admittedly much less dire) unique forms of alienation. It is possible to include children of elites as part of the German *Bildung* tradition of providing them alternatives to their own alienation (Kincheloe, 2007), and because of the deterministic nature of education, it is crucial that this include private spaces for critical learning.

Key Dimension #5: The cultivation of a critical consciousness that is aware of the social construction of subjectivity

An evolving critical pedagogy produces conscious individuals who are aware of their self-production and the social conditions under which they live (Kincheloe, 2004). What this means to private school students is that they often operate in a social reality that they themselves do not understand, and propagate social conditions they do not consciously choose. Students must acquire a critical consciousness so they recognize these dynamics, realizing that the blinders placed on them by their own social prominence and wealth are hindering their overcoming of their own alienation, thus allowing them to construct social relationships with not only each other but those outside their sphere of privilege. After acquiring this consciousness in the private critical pedagogical classroom, the public space/political culture can be merged with the private space/privileged culture, allowing the space to be completely reconstructed and eventually (if necessary) dismantled.

Key Dimension #6: The construction of democratic community-building relationships between individuals

Transformative pedagogy must be centered on a development of an individual self, coupled with the construction of a democratic awareness of difference (Freire, 2000). For private school students, the notion of their individual existence being relative to others is often surprising, but necessary because appropriate responsiveness is crucial for “the intersubjectivity that develops both social consciousness and individual agency” (Kincheloe, 2007). Students of privilege must learn to utilize these new understandings of how power shapes subjectivity.

While subaltern students who participate in traditional critical pedagogy often have individual experiences that allow them to understand how systems of oppression strip their social fabric and deny resources and power to their communities, children of privilege must be allowed and encouraged to see how their own positions of power can be used to *prevent* these systems; they can be made aware of their potential to provide resources to combat these systems, and see the need to break down the hierarchical social fabric. While this may seem counter-indicated, in my experience with the education of the privileged, most come to understand that democratic, community-building relationships are necessary for stopping processes that oppress; this often occurs as these children critically acquire appreciation for “the nature of justice, the invisibility of the process of oppression, and the difference that highlights our own social construction as human beings” (Kincheloe, 2007).

Key Dimension #7: The reconceptualization of reason—understanding that relational existence applies not only to human beings but to concepts as well

Kincheloe (2007) states that critical pedagogs have a responsibility to both critique the individualistic and one-dimensional definition of reason and to expand it so that it includes relationships and contexts, both concrete and abstract. Individualistic, Cartesian ontology has remained the primary reason tool in the traditional American classroom, as the individualism of “reason” encourages the hegemonic, capitalist emphasis on competition and deemphasizes any logic that uplifts, expands, or celebrates collectiveness. Thus reason its own tool of oppression. Removing these limitations on the definition of reason by revising it from this outdated, selfish, colonial definition focused on the individual allows students to educate themselves and each other in a new, transformative process that supports positive social education.

Revising the definition of reason in the pedagogy and curricula of private schools provides students of privilege with a new, expanded, and superior collective way to understand their own experiences and the experiences of others as “reasonable,” shifting them away from the individualistic systems that have allowed the existence of hierarchy and places of oppression.

This can seem difficult, but we should remember that the paradigm of emphasis on the collective rather than the individual is not a new or radical idea, as it has existed (and exists) in most traditional non-Western societies. Because this group-focused, indigenous concept is often replaced during colonization with the erroneous and overly simplistic Cartesian model, it has not been propagated in most systems of education in the U.S., especially in places of privilege and wealth. This must be remedied if critical learning is to occur.

Key Dimension #8: The production of social skills necessary for active participation in a transformed, inclusive democratic community

As Kincheloe (2007) reminds us, individuals of “all stripes, ages, and backgrounds in contemporary hyperreality search for an identity, (p. 181)” and this includes children of privilege. Of note is that the resources at their disposal, combined with their potential to hold positions in the current hegemonic power norm, will largely be harnessed for the collective, democratic good when these same students learn to look at social actions not just through the lens of the political, but also with an eye on the “economic, cultural, psychological, epistemological and ontological” (p. 156). Thus, they will not just inherit but also earn the ability to have input into civic and democratic life, where they

can be voices for emancipation, and have opportunities to act as truly democratic citizens. In my experience, most students are naturally very democratic, and desperately want to earn a place in this system—deeply desiring an identity that they feel is both positive and just.

Conclusions: Where Are We Now (Again)?

As a critical educator who works in private schools, I am used to defending myself—defending my choice to teach private school, defending my critically educating the children of the elite—and though I am early in my academic career, as a formidably experienced educator, I will share this: a great many private school children honestly care about, sympathize with, and want to work to change current systems of oppression in America and earnestly wish to move our nation to a place of both liberation and egalitarianism. Many desperately wish to be our allies and accomplices. Most teenagers I have worked with over the past twenty years have a very fierce sense of justice, are hyper-concerned with what is fair and what is right, and crave discussions about issues of equity and equality. When critical pedagogy is introduced to their classrooms, the majority (not all, but most) of them are relieved, sometimes thrilled, to know more about and have the tools to decide what is wrong and how it happened, to understand what is needed for positive change, and—as one young woman with both a huge heart and a huge trust-fund shared with our class—they are excited that they “now know what needs to be done.”

When I was beginning this work and I started discussing the need for implementation of critical pedagogy in elite places of learning, I experienced much skepticism and sometimes pushback from members of the critical pedagogical community,

occasionally even from scholars I had admired for years. It took me months of thinking before I concluded that I *genuinely believed* in what I was arguing: no child should ever be educated in a way that oppresses. No child. The implementation of critical pedagogy in private schools is just a step forward in the ever-evolving process Joe Kincheloe (2007) describes as “changing to meet the needs posed by new circumstances and unprecedented challenges.”

Writing this article, I frequently found myself returning to Shirley Steinberg’s (2004) Introduction to the reader *Critical Pedagogy: Where Are We Now?* in which she eloquently conveys not only what critical pedagogy *is*, but how it *feels*. It can feel empowering to educate critically, but by necessity it is also “uncomfortable.” I took solace in the fact that perhaps my uncomfortableness in applying critical pedagogy to elite populations of students meant that I was being an honest practitioner, and this allowed me to continue to progress.

What I have attempted to convey in this piece, hopefully with clarity and empathy, is that we *should* feel uncomfortable about critical pedagogy in elite places, but that this uncomfortableness is part of the larger experience of movement to a more just and equitable world, away from neoliberalism and its evils and toward a place of love and deep knowledge. It is similar in its uncomfortableness to the growth that occurs in a critical classroom. And while the students of the privileged *should* feel this discord while engaging in dialogue and positive praxis in their classrooms, we as critical pedagogs should feel that same uncomfortableness as we ponder whether or not the application of critical education should be extended to the private domain.

If what is written here—a challenge to the traditional applications of critical pedagogy—has made you uncomfortable, made you question, and has offered a challenge to your status quo, if it has offered another avenue to a place of liberation and love, then we have together, in the words of Paulo Freire (2007), acquired the “knowledge [that] emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other.”

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Book Review

By

Bülent Avcı

Title of the book	<i>Reading and Writing the World with Mathematics: Toward a Pedagogy for Social Justice</i>
The author	<i>Eric (Rico) Gutstein</i>
Publisher	<i>Routledge</i>
Publishing year	2006

Reviewer:

Dr. Bülent Avcı is a public educator in Washington State in the U.S. His research interests include equity and justice in math education, democracy and math education, and the dialogic teaching of math to counter neoliberal hegemony. He is the founding member of Critical Education Network (CEN). He publishes research articles in academic journals and is the author of the book *Critical Mathematics Education: Can Democratic Education Survive under Neoliberal Regime?* He can be reached at bavci@fwps.org and mjura41@hotmail.com

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Freire and Mathematics Education

This is one of the few books in the literature of critical mathematics education (CME), a new but growing domain of study. The book is based on Eric Gutstein's classroom teaching experience in a low-income middle school in Chicago, where most of the students were Latino. Gutstein states that his research methodology was practitioner-action research as framed by Anderson, Herr, and Nihlen (1994). While the book under review makes no connection with the research methodology of Paulo Freire, Gutstein does nevertheless draw on other aspects of Freire's thought. Indeed, the main theme of the book is teaching mathematics for social justice.

There are eight chapters. The first two encapsulate the research and theoretical framework for teaching math for social justice. The others draw on student journals, teacher-student conversations, and classroom observations to show how teaching mathematics can develop a sense of agency and sociopolitical consciousness.

For Gutstein, the larger sociopolitical context is the U.S., specifically, an unjust society that produces a number of injustices in education. The root causes of these injustices are racial inequality and race-based discrimination. In other words, the prime unit of analysis in this book is racial and ethnic discrimination in education.

The book is critical of the National Council of Teaching Mathematics (NCTM). Gutstein argues that the NCTM's approach to justice and equity is superficial, limited to merely *having access* to quality mathematics education. The NCTM fails to distinguish between *functional* and *critical* literacy, and thereby fails to connect the equity question in math education to the larger society. Gutstein argues that critical mathematics literacy is key to developing a sense of agency and sociopolitical consciousness.

In Gutstein's view, American society is divided into two parts: whites, who are privileged (the oppressors), and non-whites (people of color such as Latinos), who are unprivileged (the oppressed). He argues math education emphasizing critical literacy

can provide students the opportunity to develop a sense of agency and consciousness oriented toward justice and emancipation.

The book is a welcome addition to the CME literature. However, it raises a number of serious issues that cannot be ignored.

First, Gutstein claims to have been inspired by Paulo Freire. The key ideological-pedagogical point of Freire is *dialogic pedagogy*. Freire (2013) makes it clear that dialogue is an existential necessity and, moreover, is the opposite of propaganda:

Propaganda, slogans, myths are the instruments employed by the invader to achieve his objectives....True humanism [and humanizing education], which serves human beings, cannot accept manipulation under any name whatsoever, for humanism there is no path other than dialogue. To engage in dialogue is to be genuine. (p. 101)

As described in the book, however, teacher-student conversations are far from dialogical. Students are not invited to argue their own thoughts and ideas. Rather, a set of ideas is imposed top-down. It is more ideological indoctrination than dialogical pedagogy.

Second, it seems that the second chapter of the book is not written by the same person who wrote the rest. Chapter 2 puts great emphasis on Freire. The rest of the book, however—and in particular the ethnographic data Gutstein draws upon—reveals no trace of how Freire enacted dialogical pedagogy in teaching. Instead, the book presents yet another version of traditional teaching in which the teacher has pre-made agendas that are duly imposed on students.

Third, it is worth noting that *social justice* and *equity* are misunderstood and therefore often-exploited concepts. Neither is neutral: depending on one's political-ideological stance, they take different and contradictory shapes. The concept of justice is generally based on either liberal or Marxist points of view—the ideologies are drastically different from each other. The author fails to provide a working definition of social

justice and equity in the educational context let alone substantiate them through classroom teaching projects.

Fourth, the driving force of social, political, economic, and cultural life for the last forty years has been neoliberal ideology. As such, it is odd that the book makes no mention of neoliberalism or its implications for education. For example, Gutstein appears to have no problem with educational corporate colonization in general or standardization in math education in particular. He wants students to develop agency for justice yet does not see anything in the neoliberal system that brings about injustice in the first place.

Fifth, the author's definition of class and ethnic identity seems to be based on Max Weber's (identity politics), and it resonates with neoliberal ideology. Let us assume that Gutstein's Latino students have developed a strong sense of agency and the consciousness that privileged white people oppress people of color. What are these students to do? Are they going to straighten all white people up?

One does not have to look very hard to see that the U.S. is a class-divided society. Of course, racial discrimination is a big part of justice issue in America. However, class, not race, is the central global concept necessary to explain the human condition, as it encompasses oppression, equality, and freedom (Darder & Torres, 2009). In the U.S., neither communities of whites nor communities of people of color are homogenous. Within each community, there are poor, working-class, middle-class, and upper-middle-class people, as well as some who are super rich. And as long as the capitalist system is around, the America will continue to be a class-divided society.

When Latino students are fully equipped with a critical mathematics literacy and consciousness, how will they account for middle- and upper-middle-class Latinos and people of color? If ethnic background is the main obstacle to success in professional and private life, how to explain the fact that people of color take up important positions in politics, business, and bureaucracy? Among many other examples, the current secretary of education, Miguel Cardona, comes from Latino background. Similarly, if white people are privileged, how to explain the increasing number of poor-white people in the U.S.? Or the number of poor-white students in public schools?

With respect to education, the same holds true. Research from opposite perspectives agrees: the single most important factor in student success is socioeconomic background. Higher socioeconomic status is the best predictor of academic success.

It is not clear in what ways Gutstein's approach to justice and teaching will lead to a more just and equal societal order. One can foresee, however, that the ways in which he explains justice and equity in his classroom practices, his students may develop a sense of ethnic pride and potentially chauvinism.

Finally, if one claims to be inspired by Paulo Freire, one should internalize Freire's views. Freire encourages us to find unity in diversity; he reminds us that the things that bring us together and make us human—universal values—are much stronger than the things that separate us. If we want students to develop consciousness, top priority should be given to *class* consciousness so that poor students (and people) from all racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds can come together to fight against the handful of rich elites, and thereby make world a more just, more equal, and more democratic place for all.

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RCP Interview series**An interview with Dr. Rich Gibson**

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	<p>Rich Gibson, PhD, is professor emeritus at San Diego State University and an adjunct professor at Southwestern College in southern San Diego. Gibson is a co-founder, with Professor Wayne Ross from UBC of the radical activist education-based Rouge Forum. He was a regional organizer for SDS. A former iron foundry worker, Gibson helped organize what is now the largest local in the United Auto Workers Union. As a school union organizer, Gibson led repeated, usually illegal, school strikes. The constant in his life—organizing for a mass, class conscious, integrated group to transcend capital and empire. RG@richgibson.com</p>
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Bülent Avcı:

A quote from your personal website goes "*what makes good teachers struggle every day to swim upstream against the school systems that rarely reward them*". I might be wrong but based on my teaching experience, neoliberal education policy, and implementations-NAR, NCLB and RTT have almost whipped out "good teachers who would swim upstream against oppressive education system". Teachers especially new generations have become some sort of technicians who do as being told; no more no less. Today's teachers have no academic freedom, no authority, and no autonomy. Do you think a teacher can still be a good teacher who can swim upstream?

Rich Gibson:

Yes, I do... It is very difficult in K-12, but I know Marxist teachers who are thriving. They have been at it for a long time, have tenure, know the contract better than the bosses, know the kids and the community, never discriminate against disagreement. Of course, they have been in trouble, and are isolated from the Taylorized teachers you note, those who don't know how to teach without a regimented curriculum, without high stakes exams and, indeed, without fear. In colleges and universities, opportunism abounds. Professors tend to be like monks, alone in their little cubicles, protecting their own very valuable "specialty," (gimmick) from others... Having worked for the National Education Association as an organizer for years, I know that nobody on staff wanted to be assigned to organize profs.... Even with all those degrees, few figure out that they are deeply involved in class war and empire (adjuncts vs full timers vs bosses, intelligence and military agencies all over the campuses, etc.) So, most profs serve as key buffers for the ruling classes: financial, industrial, and agricultural elites.

Even so, about 25 years ago, a group of us, mostly profs and k12 teachers, created the Rouge Forum which, over time, involved thousands of school workers at all levels, parents, and students. We connected theory (there is no line in the RF, but there is a lot of Marxism) to activist practice.

We disrupted fake "professional" conferences. We published high-stakes exams before they were given. We had mass conferences that brought hundreds of school workers together--we became a community. We published in academic and popular journals. We wrote books. We traveled the world exhorting for class conscious struggle. We mentored younger scholars, got them tenure. We developed very close personal ties--comrades. Children were born, friends died. We fought racism at every turn. So, yes, there are still openings, cracks, in the empire. The RF persists.

Bülent Avcı:

In educational literature, we often encounter terms like *equity, social justice, diversity, inclusion, anti-racist curriculum*, etc. These concepts used to be mostly associated with the left-wing (or perhaps Marxist) worldview in 1960-the 70s. But today it seems that they became neoliberal narratives that are full of hypocrisy and manipulation. Without a sociopolitical revolution or reform, educational “reforms” have not gone beyond a neoliberal public-relation game. Can /should critical pedagogy scholars reclaim these concepts and redefine them from a revolutionary perspective?

Rich Gibson:

Too often, people use the term "neo-liberalism" to avoid saying capitalism and imperialism. So, I will stick with the latter two.

Let me shift the dialog a bit, however. Some of those terms you mention are prevalent in what became known as Critical Pedagogy whose most famous proponent was Paulo Freire.

Critical Pedagogy is not class conscious pedagogy... It is opposed to class conscious pedagogy. That is true in Freire's own history. He worked in Brazil with Dom Halder Camera, who was trying to build Catholic base communities to ward off growing communist movements. Freire later plagiarized a lot of Camera's work (see "The Texts of Paulo Freire" by Paul Taylor).

Freire was a revolutionary wherever he wasn't and liberal wherever he was. When he returned to Brazil from a plush form of what he called "exile," he went to work for the hack Lula and complained about the school buildings, not the core of instruction. Revolution was off the table. In that interim exile, he worked for the not-terribly radical World Council of Churches. He built an opportunistic little publishing cult around himself, then insisted, too much, on his own humility.

He sought to mix Che, Lenin, Mao, and others—add postmodernism, uncritically... Stupid... His last wife is/was a gutter racist... He claimed to “invent” a teaching method that probably predated Socrates... He is a dead end.

But the careers of many who fashioned his publishing cult followed a path that is now transparent. They went from very thin Marxism to postmodernism in all forms to, now, Democrats. In their postmodern stage, when that religion with an angry cloak was at the height of trendiness, they got high-paying tenured jobs at big-time universities, where they now

parade their counterfeit radicalism in front of rich students. I know some of these (mostly white) men well. I witnessed them organize their writing and patter for presentations. They're oozing fistulas of dishonesty and opportunism.

Some of these "scholars" leaped on the identity politics bandwagon, promoting "intersectionality" which elevates every sex/gender, race, nationality, language grouping, to the same level (and really a higher level) as class.

It's another anti-communist hustle, which gives jobs to the upper middle class sector of given parts of truly oppressed people. The carefully carved out Ethnic Studies departments, the enriching consulting positions, all this allows them a veneer of radicalism, while they make sure people are divided and ruled, and the dollars keep rolling.

A good example is Nicole Hannah Jones and the New York Times "1619 Project." Jones, harkening back to the American Eugenics Society, claims racism is "in the DNA of white people," and that the American Revolution was waged solely to preserve slavery---denying the entire history of the Enlightenment. Fortunately, prominent historians like Gordon Wood attacked the Project--but it is still being promoted in schools all over the US.

As Georg Lukacs observed, "the obfuscating and disordering of the social sciences in the imperialist age proceeded largely along the lines of racial theory (race replacing class)."

Lukacs, Georg. *The Destruction of Reason*, 1952. Accessed September 13, 2021. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lukacs/works/destruction-reason/ch03.htm>.

Should Class Conscious educators teach Marx, revolutionary theory and practice--dialectical materialism? Yes, of course, and in history and the social sciences, it is pretty easy... Saying good things about Marx in a California k12 classroom is illegal, it's in the statutes, but I know people who do it all the time.

Bülent Avcı:

Some scholars argue that traditional public schooling (K-12) within capitalist societies outlived its mission. Elites (or ruling classes) have been trying to redefine education and schooling in economic terms and get rid of the democratic mission of schools (perhaps get rid of public schools completely). To what extent would you agree or disagree?

Rich Gibson:

These are not democratic schools. They never were. They are capitalist schools serving the empire. They are segregated by class and race (in the main)... Since the war in Vietnam was won by the Vietnamese, US elites have moved systematically to regain control of the military, the political world, the economy, the Presidency, and, clearly, the schools. From Nation at Risk to No Child Left Behind, to Race to the Top and all in between, they steadily regimented the curriculum, attached that to high-stakes tests (measuring class, race, etc) and that to merit pay, school closings, etc. It is educational Taylorism.

History is largely eradicated in US schools, especially the history of the flight from Vietnam (parallel now to Afghanistan).

Let us first be clear about the nature of the US government--with the 2008 bailouts, it became, full blown, an executive committee and armed weapon of the rich. Schools in the US are arms of that government. There is no single public school system in the US. There are five or six: Pre-Walmart worker in Detroit and Compton (also pre-prison), Pre-teacher, social worker in Del Cerro, San Diego, Pre-doctor, lawyer in La Jolla, CA. And pre-ruling class in the many elite (now fully integrated) private schools which the likes of Mitt Romney and the Bush family attended. I went to one of these ruling class k12 schools on a scholarship--class traitor. There is nothing unusual about elites picking off some children of the poor, educating them, and turning them back on their "own" populations. The church does that all the time.

Elite grads move on next to and Yale. Daniel Ellsberg went to the same school I attended... Money, capital, beats down the door of every schoolroom. Every child in California is worth a fixed amount per year, now over \$10,000. That money is prorated hour by hour. Teachers have to keep track. When kids are absent, the money is deducted.

Think of the sale of textbooks, developers and architects and buildings, the cost of busses. Schools are huge markets in themselves.

For much more on this see

<https://www.counterpunch.org/2016/08/16/why-have-school-blood-and-money-versus-reason/>

I know scholars of times gone by have suggested that "public" schools be abolished. Ivan Illich comes to mind. But this is silly. "Public schools" are no more going to be abolished than the military.

Anyone serious about social change will need to work in, organize in, both. And, in both, the crux is the fight for ideas, Marxist ideas, which can defeat

men with guns--as both the peasant nationalist ideas of the Vietnamese, and the radical ideas of US troops against the war, demonstrate.

Bülent Avcı:

There has been an ongoing discussion over if critical race theory (CRT) should be part of the nation's education system or not. While critical (left-wing) educators should struggle against right-wing narratives on this matter, would it be wrong to say that critical pedagogy researchers should have some reservations for CRT? A theory that ignores historical and dialectical relation between racism and capitalism; it reduces racism to a problem of white individuals which resonates with neoliberal stance in this matter. CRT, one way or another, pits black poor-working class people against white poor-working class people (poor-white students against poor-black students). Would it be too harsh to consider CRT as a petit-bourgeois ideology?

Rich Gibson:

I think I dealt with CRT above. But, yes, it is a petit-bourgeois ideology.

Bülent Avcı:

Critical pedagogy scholars teach in neoliberal universities; at the same time, they are critical of neoliberalism? It must be very difficult for scholars to work this way. What are the major problems today CP academics face and have to cope with?

Rich Gibson:

Again, I know there are class-conscious scholars teaching in capitalist schools of the empire. Some of them think of themselves as practitioners of Critical Pedagogy, many don't. They're reds, Marxists. They face the

usual divide and rule tricks of administrators, isolation from monk-like colleagues, and, depending on where they are, criticism, sometimes attacks, from students. In my experience, truly elites university students aren't bothered by Marxists much. They simply assume they will win. Occasionally, a few adopt and sustain class conscious action.

Students in poor and working class schools (and prisons) like Marxism, rarely reject class conscious education out of hand--unless they are deeply embedded in, for example, the Nation of Islam or some similar sect.

My experience is, of course, limited to my jobs, but I found upper middle-class students to be vehemently opposed to Marxist pedagogy as it threatens all they hope for, inside the system, and sometimes it demonstrates to them that many in their classroom won't "make it" as they believed... I've never had a problem with religious students--except the NOI and Zionists.

Bülent Avcı:

There is this recent series in Netflix-**The Chair**, which seems trying to unpack the collapse of the Western higher education system thanks to neoliberalism. Have you seen it? If so, do you think the show oversimplifies the situation or it reveals the neoliberal crisis in universities?

Rich Gibson:

Sorry, I haven't seen it.

Bülent Avcı:

Neoliberal advocacy groups have been promoting STEM education. How should we understand STEM campaigns? Could this be another tactical move of the neoliberal colonization of education?

Rich Gibson:

Stem wipes out history. Sure, it is part of the increased use of Taylorism in capitalist schools of the empire. But combine STEM with the bankrupt curricula, high stakes exams, carrot and stick teaching--and the US has created a couple of generations who have learned not to be curious, and worse, not to like to learn--future cannon fodder. I will add that it is not difficult to demonstrate to these students, "someone probably stole your education: steal it back. It is a matter of life and death. Ask the vets in the class."

Bülent Avcı:

Neoliberal ideology has shaped education over the last 30-40 years. Some think that neoliberal ideology outlived and will soon disappear. And others disagree saying that as long as opponents of neoliberal ideology have no viable alternatives at local, regional, and global levels, neoliberal hegemony in education will not go away. What do you think about this matter?

Rich Gibson:

We will differ on the matter of neo-liberalism. What is rising is fascism, as a more and more popular mass movement. Fascism is a social structure, not merely a person. I wrote long ago "What is fascism?" I think that holds up. <https://richgibson.com/fascism.html> What the Trump phenomenon has done is unleash a latent fascist mob. Armed violence is acceptable now, as

are racism, sexism, anti-science fanaticism, hyper-nationalism, old and new forms of superstition, and sheer hysteria.

The pandemic re-doubled the Trump effect.

Even before Trump, in the Obama era, I wrote that Americans were in the midst of a mass hysterical conversion crisis--ignorant of the wars, history, mystified about the underpinnings of inequality, gorging themselves in spectacles and consumption.

With a consumer economy, all are pitted against all in matters of exchange--different from an industrial economy where the necessity of solidarity becomes obvious.

The Democrats remain enablers of fascist structures with their diversionary promises about national health care, debt forgiveness, nicer cops, housing for all--guarantees that never materialize while the military is overfed, year-by-year. Biden's performance in the pandemic, forcing people on the death marches back to school and work, is more evidence that the capitalist parties of the empire will murder millions in order to preserve profiteering. These maneuvers, however, are not sustainable. Inflation, mass illness, climate disasters, resignations, wildcat strikes, over time lead to financial crises, collapse... I have no crystal ball, can't predict the form of collapse, but repeated financial debacles indicate a shattered economy ahead.

How do elites solve financial collapses? They can give people loans--but not to indebted people who have no jobs, or minimum wage jobs. They can try to pump consumption, but they run into the same barrier. They can run speed-ups, stretch ours, cut wages, lay off, and still they cannot wiggle out of crises of overproduction.

Or they can have a war, perhaps several wars, destroying the built-up backlogs, and restarting the cycle of gathering surplus value from desperate laborers.

What does this mean for students and school workers? It means schools will continue their service to rulers--fashion loyalty and obedience, submissiveness, indifference, new generations of warriors and spies, promote adoration of flags and bosses, habituation to hierarchy, while keeping the secret of all tyrants--they live in fear. The core issue of our time is the reality of booming color-coded inequality and the promise of perpetual war met by the potential of a mass, integrated, internationalist, class-conscious movement for equality and justice. With that as a grand strategy, school workers and students will need to develop their own creative strategies and tactics.

Bülent Avcı:

On behalf of RCP, thank you for your time and support

Rich Gibson:

Thank you

Challenges We Have Faced, and Hopes We Have Clung To

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Although teaching anthropology in Turkey is not without its challenges, there are also reasons to be hopeful. To explain these adequately, however, we first need to provide background information. Thus, the article presents a brief history of Turkish anthropological research (Section 2) and teaching (Section 3). Section 4 provides background on the city of Bartın, which is the site of our discussion of challenges facing (and hopes for) the teaching of anthropology in the country. Various pedagogies can contribute to teaching-learning outcomes: project-based, problem-based, authentic, blended, and experiential learning approaches are promising. In Section 5, we discuss the future of anthropology in Turkey. Existing departments are in danger of being shut down and merged with sociology. Tensions—and potential solidarity—between anthropology and sociology are discussed.

Keywords:

Project-based and problem-based model for anthropology teaching, authentic model for anthropology teaching, blended model for anthropology teaching, experiential model for anthropology teaching, future of anthropology.

Authors:

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Introduction

In this article, we discuss the history and present state of anthropology in Turkey, and provide background information about Bartın, the site of our discussion on teaching anthropology. Then we focus on problems related to anthropology teaching in Bartın, and give a set of recommendations. Finally, we briefly reflect on the future of anthropology in Turkey.

On the History and Present State of Anthropology in Turkey

Some sections of modern anthropology harbor contradictions that are the direct products of its historical development. The first contradiction is that anthropology—which aims for the highest-level generalizations about human beings and is expected to be a universalist and humanist science that aims to comprehend others—is the child of colonialism, and mostly owes its experiences of comprehending others (method, theory, and knowledge accumulation) to colonial relations between the West and others.ⁱ A second contradiction is that while anthropology takes as its ultimate goal the comprehension of universal similarities underlying identities and differences—the qualities that distinguish us from one another—the most powerful states in the world are founded on national and religious identities.ⁱⁱ This second contradiction raises ethical and ideological dilemmas for anthropologists who work under the control of governments that set national interests as their priorities, governments that tend to punish those acting against or ignoring these interests them. In some countries, anthropologists are turned into targets—the first to come to mind when a scapegoat is needed to stigmatize as unwanted, non grata, or even labeled as a spy or traitor.

In the case of Turkish Republic, new contradictions are added to those mentioned in our portrayal above. For instance, while anthropology was getting institutionalized

through the Anthropological Investigations Society, which was established as early as 1925, and which was even considered to be the first scientific institution of the new republic, currently it is a discipline that has never been heard of by a considerably high number of university students. Furthermore it is a discipline that is associated with wrong information and false images.ⁱⁱⁱ This contradictory situation can be grasped only if the institutionalization history of anthropology in Turkey is elaborated.

The period of foundation/institutionalization of anthropology overlaps with the foundation of the Turkish Republic as a nation-state. In this historical context, the last waves of racist theories that were influential in European sociology at the end of nineteenth century belatedly arrived Turkey in the 1920s, when it was time for military commanders to build a nation-state after long years of war. In the 1930s, anthropology together with archaeology was tasked with supplying the data to feed the nationalist ideology concerning the ancient history of Turks, who are the founding nation of Turkey. In the Ottoman Empire, the relationship between political power and society had taken place on a legal plane predicated on the nation system, which in turn is based on religious group memberships. Various ethnic groups had waged wars of independence under the influence of nationalist ideas, and established their own state. Turks were late to arrive at nationalistic thinking. That is why the ideologues of the new nationalistic state, which is in favor of Westernization, would promote nationalism from top to bottom, and the people would be trained with these ideas. In this period, the thesis that connected Turkish history with ancient civilizations was proposed. Science was mobilized for political purposes—a hasty response to the theses in circulation in European science.

According to the new, revisionist account, those who established and diffused civilization were the brachycephalic Central Asians. In other words, Turks had

contributed to the creation of other world civilizations of the world by leaving Central Asia, the cradle of all civilizations. Turks currently living in Turkey were therefore not kin to the Mongoloid race or the races living in the Middle East. Rather, they were members of the White and Alpine race, as white as the Europeans, of medium height, with light-colored eyes. Sumerians and Hittites are considered to be of Turkish origin. Thus, According to this thesis, Anatolia has been the Turkish motherland for thousands of years and Turks living currently in Anatolia are racially kin to these ancient civilizations (Aydın, 2000, p. 25). “This mixture of truth, half-truth and error was proclaimed as official doctrine, and teams of researchers set to work to ‘prove’ its various propositions” (Lewis, 1961, p. 353). Furthermore, the scientists who developed the racist human categorizations in Europe had classified Turks under the “yellow race.” Atatürk, the founder of the republic, was personally involved in the relevant research to counter this thesis, and had sent young scholars to Europe and the United States for anthropology education. As Toprak (2012) pointed out,

the science field that the Early Republic had clung to for theoretical support was physical anthropology. The same old fake story about the yellow race that is attributed to Turks as a symbol of a lower race could only be defeated by the findings of physical anthropology. That was why physical anthropology became the most developed science field in Turkey of between-the-world-wars period.
(p. 62)

On the other hand, ethnology had moved toward “rural studies”; that is, folklore, which was deemed the site of “authentic culture of the nation that was not spoiled,” as in the case of Germany. Rural compilations were issued, village associations were established, and folklore magazines were published with the widespread participation of teachers and other officers working in villages.^{iv} In the Cold War era after World

War II, the racist thesis of the pre-war times was discarded, replaced by a program that can be called “early McCarthyism,” a concept proposed by Karaömerlioğlu (2017). For example, Village Institutes—the important educational projects established with the expectation that they would enlighten the villagers and graduate conscious citizens—were shut down after 1945 due to the fear that the villager-turned-teachers would become communists. A limited number of anthropological field studies were conducted by scientists such as Behice Boran and Niyazi Berkes, affiliated with Turkish sociology departments. This work was framed by the founding ideology (the nation-building project). However, those who conducted research that directly contacted society were expelled from universities in 1946. Some of these scholars continued their research in the United States and France, including Muzafer Sherif, a pioneer in social psychology, and Pertev Naili Boratav, a leading ethnologist (Aydın, 2002).

This contradictory history we have described so far is the main reason for the current ignorance about anthropology. The widespread ignorance about cultural anthropology in particular is a serious problem complained about by the anthropology faculty and writers alike:

Anthropology, which has determined its subject matter as the physical and cultural diversity of the human species is, nevertheless continued to be perceived and recognized as “the science of the races” (referring to the “biological elements” of the physical and cultural diversity of the human species) in various countries; whereas in Turkey, in addition to the ignorance of its less well-known properties, the number of people who define and recognize it as a science involved with the human races is very high. (Gültekin, 2015, p. 96)^v

Anthropology at Turkish Universities

Currently there are 206 universities including higher institutes of education offering two-year-vocational programs in Turkey. Among these, 129 are public universities. Of the 206 universities, only twelve host an anthropology program (see Figure 1).^{vi} Of these, all but one, Yeditepe University, are public. Of eighty-one Turkish cities, only ten have a university with an anthropology department. All register students at the undergraduate level through an entrance exam common to all programs. Anthropology departments are structured as two main branches: (a) physical/biological anthropology and (b) cultural anthropology. This is the same as in American universities, which indeed were taken as the model for the restructuring in the 1980s.

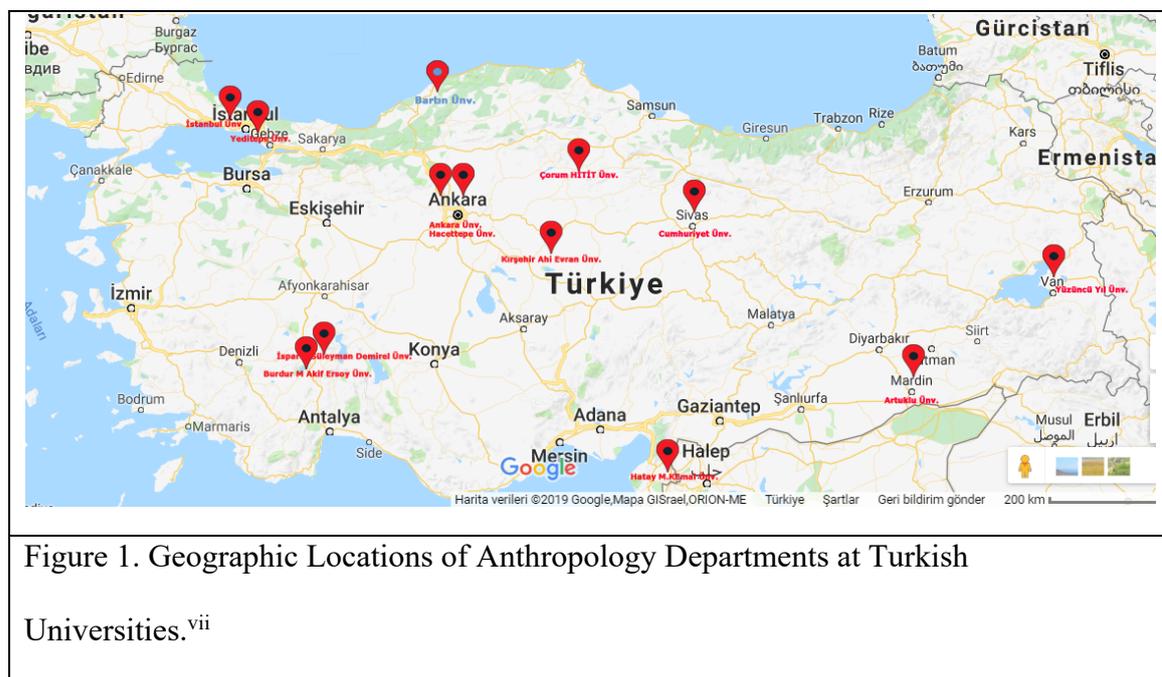


Figure 1. Geographic Locations of Anthropology Departments at Turkish Universities.^{vii}

Officially, Turkey consists of seven geographic regions (see Figure 2), which exhibit cultural, geographic, and social diversity due to differences in climate, subsistence, history, cultural influences, and so on. The maps show us that each region has at least

one anthropology department, with Central Anatolia (İç Anadolu) having nearly half of them (see Table 1).



Table 1 summarizes the information provided in Figures 1 and 2:

Regional Distribution of Anthropology Departments in Turkey		
Region	City	University Name
Aegean Region (Ege)	Burdur, Isparta	Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University, Isparta Süleyman Demirel University
Black Sea Region (Karadeniz)	Bartın	Bartın University

Central Anatolian Region (İç Anadolu)	Ankara, Çorum, Kırşehir, Sivas	Ankara University, Cumhuriyet University, Çorum Hitit University, Hacettepe University, Kırşehir Ahi Evran University
Eastern Anatolian Region (Doğu Anadolu)	Van	Yüzüncü Yıl University
Marmara Region	Istanbul	Istanbul University, Yeditepe University
Mediterranean Region (Akdeniz)	Hatay	Hatay Mustafa Kemal University
Southeast Anatolian Region (Güneydoğu Anadolu)	Mardin	Artuklu University

Table 1. Regional Distribution of Anthropology Departments in Turkey^{viii}

In the Turkish higher education system, the universities annually report how many seats are available for new students who will take the university entrance exam. Yeditepe University, the only private university on our list, is also the only university that adopts English as the academic language of study. It has the lowest number of annual seats available, fifteen, ten of which are awarded with full scholarships and the rest with a 50% fee waiver. This is rare among Turkish private universities, but it shows the value placed on anthropology by the board of trustees of Yeditepe University.^{ix} Yeditepe tops the list of university entrance exam scores: the top-scoring anthropology students register at Yeditepe. Yeditepe also has the lowest class sizes.

On the other hand, Sivas Cumhuriyet University accepts the highest number of students (sixty-five), followed by Istanbul, Hacettepe, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, and Mustafa Kemal (sixty each). However, only four out of twelve universities are able to fill all the seats; thus the average number of students annually is 47, much lower than the seats available. All four universities with a full complement of students (and the highest entrance scores) are in Istanbul or Ankara, the two largest cities.

The content of these departments' programs differs from one another.^x The major reason for the differences is faculty expertise. For example, at Mustafa Kemal University (Hatay), a course on education and culture is offered, as one faculty member conducts research in that area. Similarly, at Hitit (Çorum) and Yüzüncü Yıl University (Van), the anthropology of religion is offered, and at Ankara University, folklore studies. (Historically, at Ankara ethnology was converted to folklore and then subsumed within social anthropology.^{xi})

The physical/biological anthropology curriculum tends to be similar across universities: human biology or anatomy, Anatolian palaeoanthropology, osteometry, living and fossil primates are offered in all programs. In social/cultural programs, major topics (e.g. gender, globalization, religion, and history of anthropological thought) are covered in all, whereas more specialized topics may be taught at one or two programs. For instance, anthropology of education is offered only at Artuklu (Mardin) and Mustafa Kemal (Hatay), and ethnomusicology only at Yeditepe (Istanbul). From the names of the courses—migration, anthropology of Islam, history of Anatolian civilizations, for instance—it can be inferred that some universities are trying to establish connections among different areas, such as archaeology, history, and religion. Such programs take into consideration the cultural/social realities and needs of the region or the country.

The most full-fledged anthropology programs in terms of course variety and elective options are at Yüzüncü Yıl, Sivas Cumhuriyet, and Hacettepe Universities. The major research topics are covered in these programs. For example, important research topics in social/cultural anthropology, such as anthropology of art, anthropology of sport, and political anthropology, are not offered at other universities. This variety may be due mostly to the number of teaching faculty and their research interests, as mentioned before. It is notable that in the programs of Hacettepe University and Sivas Cumhuriyet University there are a considerable number of courses on evolution or with evolution in their titles. Evolution is not an easy topic to talk about in Turkey due to religious beliefs, and any discussion usually leads to tension. Indeed, the negative image of anthropology can be partially explained by the belief that anthropology is the science that “tries to prove the kinship of monkeys and human beings.”

Also noteworthy are the courses offered exclusively at Sivas Cumhuriyet University: industrial anthropology, urban anthropology, mythology, family anthropology, and anthropology of religion and art. Another remarkable is that courses at Sivas Cumhuriyet, Van Yüzüncü Yıl, and Hacettepe Universities are distributed in a balanced way across physical/biological and social/cultural anthropology. According to the national university ranking institute, the program at Hacettepe is considered to be the best in the country.^{xii}

The department at Istanbul University emphasizes data collection and statistical analysis in social/cultural anthropology. Statistics is not a preferred tool in other departments: approved theses tend to use qualitative methods such as participatory observation, in-depth interviews, oral history, and fieldwork. In their final year of the undergraduate program, students have to take a course in thesis preparation/application. At Istanbul University, students are normally expected to do fieldwork in villages.

While some other universities encourage students to do fieldwork in groups, generally literature reviews are acceptable as undergraduate theses.^{xiii} A graduate of Istanbul University anthropology program wrote the following on a popular forum:

The exams of this department are usually easier than the ones in other departments. Every year the same questions are asked in multiple choice form. Midterms and final exams usually take 15 minutes. However this easiness is heavily compensated with the fieldwork thesis on your final year. On the summer of the completion of the third year, they are sending you to a village with a friend. The location of this field work village changes every year, that is why it becomes impossible to receive useful information from the ex-students. One time Marmara, another time Black Sea, then Aegean Region, yet another time Central Anatolia....It is just by chance....Villagers who would treat you very friendly and genuinely on a normal occasion can make everything difficult for you when they see that you have a “mini”-interview form with 1,500 questions and when they hear that you would live with them for a month and especially when you are two men. If you are two women, then the danger is that you can get marriage proposals every day. When you get accustomed to the village, and villagers to you on those dog days, your field work ends and you return to Istanbul and move to data interpretation stage which would take a month. If you are lucky, you can first write these data on paper, then type them by a computer, interpret the findings emerging from these data, write your thesis and do your presentation. The relaxation feeling after doing the presentation can't be described by words.^{xiv}

Employment areas for anthropology graduates in Turkey are almost nonexistent: a number of units under the Ministry of Culture such as museums and public relations

departments of some of the large corporations or research companies are among the few options. Anthropologists with higher degrees usually work at universities in Turkey or abroad.^{xv} Other than anthropology departments, anthropologists are employed at sociology departments and communication faculties in Turkey.

Master's programs are of course more flexible and, as is the case for the undergraduate programs, the expertise areas and interests of the faculty are a determining factor. Master's programs consist of two years, which correspond to four semesters. The first year is dedicated to face-to-face teaching/learning and reading activities; the second year is for fieldwork. Master's programs are expected to abide with international quality standards, but at the same time the students are expected to be locally competent. Thus they are encouraged to and sometimes even forced to do fieldwork. In some universities, however, a thesis based on a literature review is also acceptable. Researchers who do research on Turkey usually select as their fieldwork site villages or suburbs of the major cities. Most of the ethnographic studies before the 1980s were based on villages or urban shantytowns. The most popular topics were the following: kinship, vendettas, ethnic identity, religious beliefs, work relations, gender, parenthood, education, social memory, and migration. These topics follow from the cultural diversity of Turkey. A few Turkish anthropologists are doing their fieldwork abroad. The number of scholars being educated in the European Union, U.S., Canada, New Zealand, and so on has increased in recent years. Accordingly, the number of non-Turkish research topics has increased as well.^{xvi}

Almost all Turkish graduate programs have courses on fieldwork methods and the history of anthropological thought. Courses such as biological anthropology, living and fossil primates, and dental and forensic anthropology may be offered as well, depending on the expertise of the department. Master's and PhD courses in physical anthropology

cover applied training mostly to be completed in labs and at excavations in Turkey and abroad. Physical/biological anthropology necessitates reading sources in foreign languages, and is therefore more internationalized than social/cultural anthropology. Research on primates requires participation in projects abroad. By contrast, social/cultural anthropology PhD programs feature courses such as the anthropology of religion; marriage and kinship systems; feminist anthropology; historical, political, economic, and educational anthropology; urbanization; and religious, cultural, and political relations in the Middle East.

The general tendencies in the world, especially the global West, are reflected in the topics selected by Turkish researchers. Since the 1980s, popular topics include postmodernism, symbolic/hermeneutic anthropology, globalization, construction of ethnic identity, popular culture, and media studies.

To become an associate professor in the Turkish higher education system, an application is submitted to the central higher education authority.^{xvii} The applicant chooses keywords from a long list covering all academic areas. As mentioned earlier, this system divides anthropology into two areas: (a) physical anthropology and palaeoanthropology and (b) social and cultural anthropology. Within social/cultural anthropology, the research keywords are the following: anthropology of science, cognitive anthropology, ecological anthropology, linguistic anthropology, anthropology of religion, ethnology, anthropology of development, visual anthropology, economic anthropology, media anthropology, political anthropology, digital anthropology, historical anthropology, conservation of cultural resources, medical anthropology, and gender.

The status of social/cultural anthropology at universities is problematic in various respects. The institutionalization of these fields started at a later date than those of western Europe and the U.S. One problem is that cultural anthropology is often confused with ethnology and sociology, and there is no consensus on how it differs from those disciplines. This situation was especially acute in the 1980s, which is why courses in ethnology, folklore, and social anthropology were offered separately. Academic activities such as establishing a departmental structure and curriculum are under the authority of the Higher Education Council, a central decision-making body formed after the 1980 military coup. After 1980, Turkish universities were redesigned on the basis of the American model, except for academic autonomy.

A more serious problem is the declining financial support for the social sciences generally in Turkey, as is the case in almost everywhere. University budgets tend to favor technological research that promises material benefits, such as techno-parks and R&D units. By contrast, the social sciences and the humanities tend to be neglected. Another problem results from the increasing number of universities and the university entrance system. The policy to have at least one university in every city, which has been in place for the last fifteen years, produces students with very low exam scores. Nevertheless, these students are eligible to register for undergraduate programs at provincial universities, and thus more graduates than needed are produced. Although establishing university programs throughout the country could be viewed as a democratic ideal, as it supports each citizen's access to education, it short-circuits the process of selection and sorting that is in the nature of science, which is an activity based on ability and effort. The smallest provincial universities are accessible to those with lowest scores, which de facto means that the central entrance exam is no longer applicable. We can interpret these as political actions to discard scientific/academic

activities in favor of political, social, and economic benefits. Thus, although the problem of unemployed graduates is common in many countries, in Turkey it became worse, and additional problems emerged to make the situation even more complicated. For instance, in private universities, where students with very low scores were accepted, the quality of law and medicine faculties deteriorated so much that a minimum exam score was imposed for these faculties. In the last two years, faculties of engineering and education adopted the same model. Not all faculties have done so, however. In faculties without the minimum score criterion, much debate centers around how to educate students who are unsuccessful in the overall education system.

In addition to the problems at provincial universities with student competence, other problems are related to selection and appointment processes for faculty. Briefly, the source of the problem is “natural selection”: the highest quality faculty members have many options worldwide, and often prefer not to work at provincial universities. It is worth mentioning that the notions of “provincial academy” and “academic provinciality” have yet to be studied from a scholarly perspective. It is also important to recognize that scientists and other faculty are considered state officers, and as such their autonomy is not tolerated. The origins of this still-powerful system predate the Turkish Republic. The history of modern Turkey—nearly a century old—is punctuated by military coups. After each military coup, those who are outside the frames set by the university, official science, and state ideology are punished.

Anthropological research and even teaching is undertaken by a handful of academics in the shadow of the fear culture, including the fear of being “tamed” by violence. This culture is deeply embedded in the state and societal consciousness. For anthropologists who are trying to understand “the other” in modern national and international contexts, problematizing political power and religion entails certain risks. In Turkey, a country

without colonies, “the other” of course refers to subcultures and subnational groups and minorities. Thus the absence of academic autonomy and freedom of thought is a significant obstacle to the development of anthropology and the popularization of anthropological points of view.

Finally, it might be useful to take a look at the number of anthropological studies conducted in Turkey. According to detailed bibliographies by Erdentuğ and Magnarella (2000) and Akşit (1986), social/cultural anthropological research published in 1940–1980 comprises fifty-two books and twenty-four articles. Fifteen of the books and five of the articles deal with ethnology.

Bozkurt Güvenç, who returned to Turkey after completing his education in the U.S., founded the anthropology department of Hacettepe University in 1971. Hacettepe became the leading institution to champion modern anthropology—one that promotes a culturally relativistic and humanist approach.^{xviii} The new generation of anthropologists became accustomed to modern anthropological theories, understanding anthropology as cultural criticism. Their number of publications skyrocketed. Additionally, the concept of globalization (increased circulation of commodities, people, and symbols) contributed to heightened interest in anthropology.^{xix}

The Anthropological and Ethnographic Properties of the Black Sea Culture and Bartın

One of the best publications to date about Black Sea is Neal Ascherson’s *Black Sea* (1996). This is a unique work with elements of ethnography, history, and political criticism. It can also be read as a travelogue. Guided by his own curiosity, in a balanced

scholarly language, Ascherson blended all these elements together. The Black Sea's geology and geography are the starting points. The author makes us feel the flow of history of various human groups that geography and time have thrown together, a history full of irony and sorrow. At times you laugh; at times you cry. Always we marvel at the creativity as well as destructiveness of human beings. Ascherson (pp. 2–3) points out that the Black Sea is mostly a dead sea: there is no life deeper than 150–200 meters as a result of the accumulation of hydrogen sulfur gas. The gas is caused by tons of waste carried by rivers flowing into the sea from Asia and Europe. Although hydrogen sulfur is accumulated in all other seas as well, the Black Sea has the distinction of being the largest body of water in the world that has no life.

The Black Sea is up to 2,200 meters deep, and consequently it is a wavy and cold sea. Its history can be traced back to ancient Greek colonies. Fishing has long been an important means of subsistence there. The sea is an ancient maritime route connecting the Atlantic Ocean to the entry gate of Asia, Crimea. This resulted in settlement sites forged by human mobility, immigration, occupations, and two-way commerce between East and West.^{xx} Remarkable cultural diversity is the outcome.

In ancient times the city of Bartın was located in Paphlagonia province, which takes its name from the Parthenios River that is mentioned in ancient Greek sources such as Homer's *Iliad*. Bartın residents say Bartın is “a city of waters,” drawing on the historical belief that the name refers to a goddess associated with waters. Bartın Stream is formed by the confluence of two rivers that collect water from the nearby mountains. The distance between Bartın and the Black Sea is 14 km. Due to the depth of the water, the wide riverbed, and the relatively weak current, Bartın is one of the few cities in Turkey with active river transportation (at least until the 1980s).

In and around Bartın traces can still be seen of ancient Greek colonies. Traces can also be seen of Venetian and Genoese merchants who, in the Middle Ages, controlled the trade routes between the Black Sea and Crimea, and even beyond, to the interior of Asia. Traditionally, subsistence was based on fishing and processing forestry products. In modern times, these have been largely replaced by mining and industry. times.

Bartın, with nearly 200,000 residents,^{xxi} is close to Amasra (Amastris, formerly Sisamos). Although it is much smaller than Bartın, Amasra is better known—a popular tourist destination with an ancient harbor. Although Bartın reflects most of the aspects typical of the Black Sea area, it has certain peculiarities owing to its active river transportation. Maritime transport and the river network are integrated.

We interviewed captains whose families have been involved in maritime transportation or trade for generations—in some cases, for more than seven generations. The seamen reported taking refuge in Bartın Stream to save their wooden ships from harmful crustaceans (“sea bugs”) found in the Black Sea. This was effective because the sea bugs can’t survive in freshwater. The river also offered a safe place to carry out the maintenance that their ships needed. Undoubtedly seamen have been aware of the river’s advantages since ancient times. In any event, Bartın’s unique geography meant that it was connected through the seamen to other cities around the Black Sea, even when it was just a market town where villagers sold fruits and vegetables.

They also sold and traded wooden products: home furniture such as the wooden spoons, barrels, and chests they made in their woodworking shops. As Xenophon noted on Anabasis 2,500 years ago when passing through the region, the trees here that are appropriate for shipbuilding. By the nineteenth century, Bartın was famous for its shipbuilding. The ship architects of the region even invented a type of a vessel called

the *çektirme* in order to cope with the wavy and dire conditions of the Black Sea from the west of Sinop Cape onwards. Those architects used to learn their profession through apprenticeships; currently no master has survived from that era. *Çektirme* ships had two distinguishing properties: they were able to carry heavier cargo and able to cope with treacherous waves due to the special design of their backs and fronts.^{xxii}

The most important agricultural source of subsistence is the production of tea and hazelnuts; kiwis are another, more recent, product. Formerly, mining was a significant source of revenue for the Western Black Sea region, but its contribution has declined (Işık, 2018). Since the 1970s, the decline of traditional patterns of subsistence based on natural resources has led to widespread migration to the region's industrial cities, especially Istanbul. Because land and weather conditions that do not allow large-scale agriculture, people in Black Sea cities are prone to migrate. In the Western Black Sea region, Bartın, Kocaeli, and Sakarya are the most important industrial cities.

As mentioned above, in the past river transportation was important in Bartın. Bartın owes its wealth to the availability of lumber. In its lumber factories were built the wooden ships that, by the end of nineteenth century, carried goods to ports such as Istanbul, Crimea, Izmir, and even Alexandria.^{xxiii} In the second half of nineteenth century, a merchant class engaged in the transport of commodities was formed. The destinations extended from Black Sea cities (e.g., those of Romania and Bulgaria) to Mediterranean ones (e.g., Alexandria). River-maritime trade and shipbuilding support each other.

By the end of nineteenth century, Bartın had all the properties that a city is expected to have. The nineteenth century was very dynamic: the Ottoman Empire was dissolving quickly; attempts at Westernization were intensified; and the empire received migrants

from different regions and sent migrants to others. With the settlers from different places such as Georgia, Peloponnese, and Romania, the cosmopolitan nature of the city was formed. This made it similar to the oldest cities, even though Bartın was a relatively small town with only 8825 inhabitants.

Some of this migration was especially important in terms of urbanization. For example, most of the Greek families that were settled in the 1820s from Central Anatolia to Bartın were well educated. Some even served as bankers for the empire. One of the migrating Greeks was Cevahircioğlu Bodosaki Konstantinidis, who invested in the region's mining, jewelry, and lumbering. It is said that he was also a banker with ties to international commerce. (Unfortunately, written sources on Konstantinidis are virtually nonexistent. Those available are usually based on oral narratives.) He pioneered the establishment of the lumber factories. Together with other merchants, Konstantinidis founded Bartın's Chamber of Industry and Commerce and served as a board member. Other Greeks were also urbanized and educated. They were pioneer photographers, bakers, tailors, and florists. They also offered foreign language courses for local residents. They contributed significantly to the enrichment and modernization of the city. Similarly, migrants from Tuna province (currently Romania), Crimea, and Caucasia contributed to the cosmopolitanism and multiethnic structure of the city.

Port cities, Bartın and Istanbul were necessarily involved in the sea trade. Thus developments in Istanbul and the world reverberated in Bartın. The upshot was that Bartın acquired a culture different from that of regions in the interior of the country that were isolated due to mountain ranges. For example, in contrast to other Turkish cities, women in Bartın actively participate in social life.

The following anecdote says a lot about Bartın's distance from Turkey's average. A female teacher narrates what happened to her at a folklore contest in the 1990s where the children were dancing in traditional local costumes:

After the performance, the jury awarded low scores due to our dress. We appealed this. They said "No." "In Anatolia traditionally women wear headscarves; we don't have no-scarf costumes in our traditional culture." We said "No, we do have." We had old black-and-white photos of women taken in 1920s. We showed them. In those old photos, the women had no scarves. They were really surprised and accepted our appeal. We won the prize.^{xxiv}

This anecdote (and many others that we won't relate) shows that multiculturalism exists in Turkey. In Bartın you frequently see peasant women driving cars to market, which is not the case in other small provincial cities. Additionally, in Bartın you encounter female shopkeepers, managers, and waitresses; female painters, who have exhibitions all over the world, and globetrotting adventurers. These are signs that the city has cultural depth. Complex human typologies emerge despite its tiny population.

Of course, there are other consequences of early capitalism. For instance, the local newspaper, published since 1924, is the third oldest paper in the country.^{xxv} In the same period, education and culture associations were established to connect the city with art and literature elsewhere.

On the other hand, Bartın residents are not immune to global anti-intellectualism. While people have fun with the internet and their smartphones, the city is trying to become a tourist vacation hotspot due to the fame of the nearby Amasra, as well as other beach towns in the vicinity.

Teaching Anthropology at a Western Black Sea City

Bartın University is the only Black Sea region university with an anthropology department. The university was established in 2008. It is a provincial university with nearly 15,000 students and 600 faculty members. In addition to the problems due to the national education and science policies as mentioned in sections 2 and 3, there are some additional problems at the local level that makes anthropology teaching, research, and practice even more difficult.

First, explaining anthropology to students who graduated from high school without hearing anything about anthropology (not even its name!) is a fundamental difficulty when teaching the subject for two hours per week. Thus introducing anthropology in its most generic sense, helping students comprehend the anthropological way of thinking, and encouraging them to view contemporary and historical matters from such a way of thinking can be too ambitious a task for the teaching staff. The teaching strategy of anthropologists can be summarized as drawing attention to cultural diversity and correcting ethnocentric stereotypes and prejudices as much as possible. In other words we are helping them resist the extremely powerful pressure that official pedagogy and ideology exerts on us all. Anthropologists here, as elsewhere in the world, are trying to help people swim against the mainstream. For students who embrace national and religious identities in response to the uneasiness of living in a global world, anthropologists promote the notion of universal humanity.

On the other hand, the deficiency that students most frequently mention on course experience surveys is the teaching method. They complain that audiovisual resources are not used enough. They complain that courses, being based on weekly readings and discussion, require literacy. Most students who come to Bartın were not previously

challenged in terms of literacy. Thus they did not develop the skills required. This makes humanities professors feel helpless and creates dilemmas: Is it ethical to fail students—deny them their diplomas and thereby their career prospects in sociology, history, etc.—in an age of wild capitalism in which the humanities are not valued in any case? Compounding the difficulty is that most students are from the lower classes, and attend university at great sacrifice by their families. Should faculty award grades that students don't deserve?

The impression exists that the social sciences in general and anthropology programs in particular are a luxury. Several factors contribute to this image: (a) the small number of anthropology departments, (b) the reluctance of PhDs to work at provincial universities, (c) graduates' difficulty in finding employment, and (d) the channeling of most resources to areas such as engineering and medicine. Under such difficult circumstances, it was a foregone conclusion that a separate department for the teaching of anthropology would not be formed at Bartın. The department continues to serve students from other departments through introduction to anthropology courses, but does not have its own students.

Currently, compulsory social anthropology courses are offered under the aegis of the faculties of Humanities (sociology programs) and Education (social science teaching and psychological counseling programs). At the intervention of the Higher Education Council, the name of the course offered in psychological counseling has been changed from social to cultural anthropology; the name of the course offered in social science teaching has been changed to history of civilization and anthropology. This course was offered in the 2018–2019 spring term for the first time.

On the plus side, a course in educational anthropology has been added to the graduate curriculum of the Faculty of Education. Given that even cultural anthropology is not very well known in Turkey, educational anthropology is a decided novelty. The country's cultural geographies differ markedly from one another, which makes learning about anthropology especially pertinent for teachers. Teachers are the only public officials working at small sites such as villages, which may be inaccessible in the winter. Sometimes teachers in remote areas encounter languages, beliefs, or ethnic and religious affiliations that are uncommon at the country level. Especially for those who were born and grew up in the West and in cities, some corners of the country are as foreign as an exotic culture. The popularization of anthropological discourse—transformation of the social scientist's knowledge to everyday, common knowledge—is an urgent need for Turkish society. To meet this need requires using tools other than academic reading and writing platforms. One of the most effective ways to do so would be by including cultural anthropology into the high school curriculum.

As for anthropology at the undergraduate level, in light of the problems discussed so far, the guiding principle should be capitalizing on students' own cultural backgrounds for pedagogical objectives. Not all students are from Bartın. In the first session of the semester, we could ask where they are from and form groups on the basis of their geographical identity. Each group should be as geographically diverse as possible. Ideally, there would be at least one member from Bartın, another from the Black Sea area, and another from regions other than Black Sea.

Every week in the first hour, we could give short lectures on the basic concepts of anthropology; the second hour could be dedicated to discussion of group work. The group work consists of weekly activities to be reported in written form. Every week, there would be a theme to explore: birth, marriage, and funeral traditions; common food

items, etc. These are examples of themes that could be explored. Within groups, the responses would be collected on the basis of different provinces; the conclusion section reflects on similarities that are over and beyond regional diversity. Students will be encouraged to contact their parents or relatives back home to receive information about local traditions. The final week will be dedicated to a cultural fair where students from various provinces are expected to cook their food and serve to classmates. This is a combination of a project-based model, authentic learning, blended learning, and experiential learning approaches. Alternatively, for small-sized classes, a problem-based approach can also be implemented whereby the order of the lecture and in-class group activity would be inverted. In other words, in this alternative design, the teaching staff would do the workshop in the first hour and the lecture in the second hour. In this way, students would form some ideas in the first hour to be evaluated and reflected on in the second.

The Future of Anthropology in Turkey

Unfortunately, due to a set of problems discussed here, the future of anthropology in Turkey is bleak. Whereas sociology departments are in more than half of the country's universities, only 6% host an anthropology department. PhD programs in anthropology are not popular either. Young scholars prefer other areas, especially sociology, mainly due to better career prospects and academic vacancies. Thus, it is highly likely that anthropology programs and PhDs will become nearly extinct.

Another reason for the unpopularity of anthropology relative to sociology is because it challenges the official ideology. Sociology, on the other hand, can be easily adapted to official discourse through tamer concepts such as balance, homeostasis, and a version

of functionalism. Although the gap between critical and mainstream sociology in highly polarized countries such as Turkey is widening, the latter offers more vacancies and resources. In its democratized form, anthropology is considered to be useless if not dangerous for official conceptualizations of culture, society, and politics.

We propose that anthropology has passed the self-criticism test and has confronted its colonialist and racist past. Currently anthropology is far from its dark history in its emphasis on diversity, respect, and human dignity. In this era of capitalism, anthropologists, critical sociologists, and researchers of other “devalued” social sciences need to organize to promote their professions. Otherwise, anthropology will become either just another sociological approach or “de-academized” to be a literary, scholarly approach with no foothold in universities.

We nevertheless close this section on a positive note: although the notion of *humanity* goes back as far as the Enlightenment, its persuasiveness boomed in the twentieth century, when the image of all humankind traveling on the same vessel (i.e., Earth) became a reality. The notion of humanity is no longer merely an expression of longing, and this is due to several factors. The current epoch has been named the Anthropocene as a result of population explosion, environmental risks, depletion of the resources, and the fact that humans have changed the material structure, geology, and biological systems of the planet.^{xxvi} Moreover, economic and cultural ties have effectively shrunk the Earth. Although many are pessimistic—or realistic—about the future, scientific forecasts are not sufficient to unite us on the basis of common values of humanity. Our differences in language, culture, and belief continue to exert a strong influence. Technologies, already powerful, improve very fast, making us think that we are capable of solving many of the problems we’re facing. Even so, credible scholars and scientists

forecast a highly unequal world in which the distribution of vital resources (especially water) increasingly favors the rich.

In this context, anthropology can help bring about a worldwide conversation that extends beyond academia and nation-states. Such a discussion is necessary if we are to save the world from destruction and ourselves from self-destruction.

Turkey is said to be a country of contradictions. This perhaps explains why, given the “underdevelopment” of academic anthropology, books about anthropology nevertheless attract considerable public interest. Let us also note that in its modern history, Turkey has closely followed developments in the global West and has tried to adapt to and adopt paradigm changes emanating from the West. Thus, paradoxically, the future of anthropology in Turkey is interdependent with scientific and political developments in the global West. It is hoped that, eventually, Turkish public opinion will catch up with global public opinion about the critical role of anthropology for our planet and our species.

Conclusion

In this article, we have provided an introduction to the history of anthropology and its teaching in Turkey. We provided some background on Bartın, and discussed problems associated with teaching anthropology there.^{xxvii} We had some suggestions on how to improve teaching and some reflections on the future of anthropology. We hope that the problems mentioned in this article will be fixed. This seems unlikely in the short term, however, unless global influences on Turkish public opinion prevail faster than expected, positively affecting attitudes toward anthropology. We hope for that.

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ⁱ See Lewis, 1973; Pels, 2008; Stauder, 1974.

ⁱⁱ See Eriksen, 1991.

ⁱⁱⁱ There is a considerably extensive literature on the problem of underdevelopment or belated development of anthropology in Turkey, and especially complex problems within the academic organization of social/cultural anthropology. See Magnerella and Türkdoğan, 1976; and Aydın, 2002. Other than these articles, Toprak (2012) is a book organized through a comprehensive review of the problem.

^{iv} Learning more about the nearby villages and reporting the collected knowledge as “village monographs” were among the main duties of these organizations. “The village visits that were done for this purpose were reported to the central agency as well, and the figures related to the aids offered for villagers such as the number of villagers vaccinated or the number of patients treated were statistically archived” (Öztürkmen 1998, p. 97).

^v Let us note that from now on, by “anthropology” we refer mostly and particularly to cultural anthropology.

^{vi} The statistics presented here are taken from the Turkish Higher Education Council website. See <http://www.yok.gov.tr/web/guest/universitelerimiz>

^{vii} In fact, Bartın is the thirteenth university hosting an anthropology program; however, as explained later, the department can no longer register students.

^{viii} Source: website of the official authority overseeing university entrance exams and other supporting websites. See <http://www.osym.gov.tr/> and

<https://www.basarisiralamalari.com/antropoloji-2019-taban-puanlari-ve-basari-siralamalari/>

^{ix} This view is based on the email exchange with Yeditepe University and the second author. The authors have no conflict of interest; this observation is based on annual seats statistics.

^x Program contents were ascertained by reviewing the thirteen university websites listed in Table 1, supplemented by phone calls to faculty members of some. In alphabetical order, departmental websites are the following:

<https://akademik.ahievran.edu.tr/birim/Fen%20Edebiyat%20Fak%C3%BCltesi/Antropoloji/0>,
<http://www.dtcf.ankara.edu.tr/antropoloji-bolumu-3/>, <http://www.artuklu.edu.tr/antropoloji>,
<https://antropoloji.bartin.edu.tr/>, <http://antropoloji.cumhuriyet.edu.tr/>,
www.antropoloji.hacettepe.edu.tr, <http://www.fef.hitit.edu.tr/tr/antropoloji>,
<http://antropoloji.edebiyat.istanbul.edu.tr/>, <https://fef.mehmetakif.edu.tr/antropoloji/>,
<http://www.mku.edu.tr/departments.aspx?birim=150>, <http://fef.sdu.edu.tr/antropoloji>,
<http://fenedebiyat.yeditepe.edu.tr/tr/antropoloji>,
<https://test.yyu.edu.tr/AkademikBirimler/Personeller.php?s=90>

^{xi} Interestingly, Ankara University is the only one to host a separate ethnology department. Four others, all in Central Anatolia, host a *Turkish* (not generic) ethnology department: Ankara, Hacettepe, and Sivas Cumhuriyet (as listed in Table 1), as well as Erciyes (Kayseri) and Hacı Bektaş Veli (Nevşehir).

^{xii} The University Ranking by Academic Performance provides comparative yardsticks at a national level. It is run by Middle East Technical University, a prestigious Turkish university in Ankara. See <http://www.urapcenter.org/2018/>

^{xiii} Information about these issues was collected through phone calls to various departments.

^{xiv} See <https://eksisozluk.com/istanbul-universitesi-antropoloji-bolumu--1156794>

^{xv} For a list of some of the prominent Turkish anthropologists see

http://www.antropoloji.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=74&Itemid=472

^{xvi} E.g. Gezgin, 2004.

^{xvii} This information is from the website of the Inter-University Council which has the authority to grant associate professor titles. See <http://www.uak.gov.tr/?q=node/10>

^{xviii} Prof. Güvenç (1926-2018) was among the most influential anthropologists of the Turkish intellectual history. He educated generations of public readers about cultural anthropology with works on various cultures, including Japanese and Mexican ones. However, after the 1980 military coup, public readership rates gradually declined, which may be one of the factors associated with public ignorance about anthropology in the country.

^{xix} See Olson, 1986 and White, 2003 for anthropology works in Turkey and anthropological publications about Turkey by non-Turkish researchers.

^{xx} Ascherson mentions almost all countries and cultures surrounding the sea. Other anthropological/ethnographic work conducted in the Turkish Black Sea region are the following: Ildiko Beller-Hann and Chris Hann, 2001; Kıray, 1984; Michael E. Meeker, 2002; Sabine Strasser, 1993; Sylvia Wing Önder, 2007; Michael E. Meeker, 2002; and Sabine Strasser, 1993.

A more recent but not necessarily anthropological work on Black Sea cultures is Grinevetsky et al., 2015.

^{xxi} Source: TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute) <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=temelist>

^{xxii} For more details about *çektirme* ships see Damianidis, 2010; Davulcu, 2013; Turna and Pirim, 2015.

^{xxiii} In a document published by Zonguldak Chamber of Industry and Commerce in 1933, the following information was provided: “There were 315 sails in 1923 and currently [in 1933] 521 sails in Bartın. The idea of doing transportation business by wooden sails disappeared and instead modern trade idea that involves engines with the modern machines is put in place. Consequently, within a decade, 986 engine-powered ships were produced. Bartın’s merchants are engaging in trade activities with all the ports of Black Sea and Marmara and some of the Mediterranean ports (Zonguldak Chamber of Industry and Commerce, 1933, pp. 208-209). Samancıoğlu (1999 [1942]) states that the population of the city centre was 8825 in 1935, the number of workplaces, shops, and stores was 1066, the sum of all structures were 3010, and there were 730 merchants and tradesmen (documents of Bartın Chamber of Industry and Commerce; Samancıoğlu, 1999, pp. 5-10).

^{xxiv} This no-scarf local dance costumes for women can be seen in the following performances:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zak_gz4ns1Q;
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S8QDPOTN4x0>

^{xxv} This is ‘Bartın Gazetesi’ meaning ‘Bartın Newspaper’. See <http://www.bartın.gov.tr/bartın-gazetesi-94-yili-geride-birakti>

^{xxvi} For a well-known discussion of the notion of ‘Anthropocene’ and its implications for social sciences, see Chakrabarty, 2009.

^{xxvixxxvii} As a final footnote, we should mention that as this article was being written, Bartın University’s anthropology department was closed and merged with sociology. The first author was asked to move to the Sociology Department. (Likewise, the archaeology department was incorporated in History of Art Department.

