

Anthropology and Initiation of Teachers' Training

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ABSTRACT: This article explores the pedagogical strategies of applying anthropology in the field of Education, particularly in the initial training courses for teachers. It shows a way of doing applied anthropology by anthropologists who work as non-anthropologists but use their anthropological training and knowledge in their work. This study presents anthropology as a productive discipline in promoting different perspectives for the analysis and understanding of the social phenomena which, used in the classroom, facilitates students in training as educators to critically approach the fundamentals of Education as much as the processes of teaching and learning. Ultimately, this article points out how the shifts in Education students' perspectives instigated by the use of anthropology in the classroom might eventually lead to changes in education policies.

KEYWORDS: anthropology in education, applied anthropology, contributions of anthropology, initial teacher training,

Preface

I am currently working as a professor in the School of Education at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, where students are preparing to become teachers or pursuing graduate degrees in education. However, my initial training was in anthropology, a field in which I worked very actively for the first several years of my career. When I had to make a professional shift and started my work as professor in the area of Education, particularly in the training of teachers, I had to 're-invent' myself. Now my job was not only anthropology, but the training of teachers as well. In this professional transition, my own anthropological knowledge and training was what helped me navigate through the challenges of new professional tasks, where anthropology is not part of the curriculum. Likewise, anthropology has also coloured my career as educator; sometimes as major provider of feedback and sometimes as inspiration to articulate my initial profession within my role as educator as a way to unify both fields in research agendas and productive pedagogies in the classroom.

Here I show how anthropology has provided some of the fundamental principles underlying my tasks

and pedagogical strategies as professor in the area of the Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales (Teaching of Social Sciences) at both undergraduate and graduate levels. Therefore, this study aims at demonstrating ways of doing anthropology by those who practice anthropology in different professional arenas; it is also my goal to show how to benefit from the anthropological field by using its knowledge in contexts where the discipline is not explicitly present, such as in the initial training of teachers.

Introduction

There is a great variety of strategies and ways proposed to respond to social demands and needs using anthropological knowledge. At the same time, we have to reflect upon the changes that the discipline has experienced in the pursuit of adapting to the new contexts of engagement in which it needs to develop and grow. Current social phenomena which have attracted the interest of anthropological research and praxis include processes of globalisation, technological changes in the media, new social spaces emerging from the internet and increased displacement of people around



the world (Appadurai 1991; Hannerz 1998; Inda and Rosaldo 2002). The emergence of these social phenomena needs to be articulated with the epistemological, methodological and ethical scrutiny of anthropology, which has led to the influence of different paths of anthropological research and practice, such as the anthropology of native knowledge (Sillitoe 1998), collaborative anthropology (Lassiter 2005) or the role of the anthropologist as advocate, facilitator and collaborator. These deep changes in the development of our discipline also affect the conceptualization of fieldwork, which now needs to be more engaged in 'multisited' contexts (Marcus 1995). This dynamic moves anthropology to cross the borders of academia in such a way that its presence in other social and professional contexts is not uncommon.

Sánchez Molina (2012: 30–1) reminds us that there is increasing diversification of the professionalization of anthropology beyond academia; some anthropologists are consultants for multilateral organizations, NGOs and private companies (Chambers 1994; Wilson and Peterson 2002; Pink 2006). Although some of their tasks cannot be considered innovative, the contexts and conditions in which they work are (Baba and Hill 1997).

One of the most socially relevant themes for anthropological research and intervention is related to the conditions associated with global population movements and adaptation to host societies. Among the variety of proposals that deal with the topic of migration, it is transnationalism (Basch et al. 1994) that, as a theoretical and methodological position, questions neoclassical economist theories and national or nationalist models of research. We have been exposed over the last decades to other areas of interest such as studies and interventions around human rights (Wilson and Mitchell 2003; Merry 2006; Goodale and Merry 2007) or activism in postcolonial political movements (Cunningham 1999).

With this brief look at the discourse on anthropology and how it is practiced, it is my goal to present a particular type of relation 'of' and 'with' anthropology, which is mainly developed by anthropologists who do not work in the academic discipline as such but in different professional contexts. As this article highlights, anthropology is highly productive and socially relevant in professional settings that cannot be identified as strictly anthropological. This is an exploration of the connections between anthropological training and non-anthropological professions. At the same time, I also address whether the exercise of the

professions is influenced by anthropological training. An example can be found in the work of Cabrera (2012), which refers to the creation and organization of an association of alumni in anthropology who do not work as anthropologists but as experts in different professions outside of academia while interweaving their anthropological training in their professional duties.¹ These professionals, although not working directly in anthropological fields, utilize their anthropological skills and training in their everyday professional occupations.

These anthropologists, who develop their work in areas outside of anthropology, are successful in establishing linkages between their training as anthropologists and their everyday professional work. I think this is another area where anthropology can be present; it is surely a field of exploration that can provide insights for the social use of anthropology. At the same time, this dimension of the application of our discipline clearly responds to those who claim anthropology and anthropologists should have a more active role in the transformation of society rather than being merely generators of knowledge (Bullen 2012: 91). This criticism can be easily transferred to the educational field, in which some anthropologists have been highly critical of the status quo but have added little beyond reporting evidence. During one of the workshops for teachers' training, after the anthropological reports were presented, my own colleagues in Education replied: 'Besides these devastating studies so critical of our work in Education, what else do anthropologists do?' Undoubtedly, my colleagues were referring to the lack of proposals for action; for education professionals, these are an essential product of research. Anthropologists are used to the idea of presenting knowledge and analysis of situations that can be used by those who have the power to change situations. It is my argument that anthropology and anthropologists provide knowledge that can be used by others, and anthropologists can have the power to transform as well. With their knowledge, anthropologists can provide tools to assist those involved in particular contexts in becoming the decision makers and the agents of change. Before developing this argument below I present the referential framework of the article.

Referential Framework

The idea that anthropologists can provide knowledge and tools that can be used by others to make decisions

and create change is the framework I use to explain the applications of anthropology in initial teacher training. Although anthropologists may find what I say to be obvious, my aim is to show how anthropology can provide future teachers with tools to work with the concept of equity in the classroom, which might eventually address greater social equity issues. So, how and where I can introduce the knowledge and tools of anthropology?

As I noted earlier, anthropology is not present in the programmes of the different courses that I teach in the area of *Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales* (Teaching of Social Sciences), except in one course, *Fundamentos de las Ciencias Sociales* (The Fundamentals of Social Sciences), in which I can introduce the discipline of anthropology while discussing the teaching of Geography, History and Art History. Undergraduate and graduate students in Education are required to take some of the courses in Teaching of Social Sciences. Different programmes of education (compulsory as well as non-compulsory education and the initial teaching training) have mentioned anthropology since 1990, but from 2000 references to it are increasingly infrequent. Although programmes acknowledge anthropology, anthropologists are not usually those who teach these programmes. Thus, even if anthropology is included in the programmes for the initial formation of teachers, it is exceptional for it to have a significant role in these and its relevance depends on the professor teaching the course.

I am the only anthropologist in the department of *Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales* (Teaching of Social Sciences). Therefore, I am the only one who utilizes the anthropological approach not only in my teaching but also in the curriculum development. I do so not only because of my background in anthropology but also because I think anthropology can contribute significantly to education, especially in the initial training of teachers. I have identified four important reasons for this. First, I believe anthropology promotes the visibility of processes and dimensions in the praxis of education that other disciplines and fields cannot. Second, anthropology has the tools to train teachers to work with children in the classroom without assuming that students in education should be students in anthropology as well. It is only necessary that they acquire the anthropological perspective in order to analyse and understand the social phenomena (in this case, the classrooms, their students, the families and the school) from a perspective that is different from the one presented by the science of education. Third,

I believe that teachers who are trained with anthropological tools enrich their own performance in the classroom and the relationships that they nurture with their own students, their families and the other personnel in the school system. Teachers' new perspectives and attitudes also affect their expectations, and ultimately the success of their students. And fourth, migration and refugee flows have motivated particular dynamics in the field of education, especially those dealing with cultural diversity in the classroom; however, facing these new situations also requires adjustments in the training of teachers to meet new demands. Applying anthropological knowledge in the training of teachers is a very productive option for effecting needed changes in the classroom.

The use of anthropology in *The Fundamentals of Social Sciences* course concentrates on basic concepts (cultural diversity, multiculturalism, culture, socialization, ethnic group, ethnocentrism, cultural relativism, ethnography, race, racism, and so forth) as much as on skills and attitudes related to the cultural relativism and the micro-ethnographic perspectives in education. The goal is that students get trained in the perspective of cultural diversity so they can apply it in the classroom as well as become familiar with anthropological methodological tools so they can innovate in their own classrooms.

Contributions of Anthropology

Here I present the contributions of the discipline of Anthropology in my teaching, in three sections: classical knowledge of anthropology, the anthropological perspective on recent social phenomena, and tools for reflection and analysis on educational contexts.

Classic Anthropological Knowledge

Early in my work as a professor in the teaching of social science, I frequently used my anthropological knowledge to tackle new tasks. Sometimes this was to look for answers to the new challenges emerging in my classroom; at other times, to understand and comprehend students' reactions. I also needed it to find knowledge and tools to do my job. Almost always, I found help in this feedback, which sometimes facilitated the task of teaching and learning by revealing new areas for curriculum topics. Other times, it allowed me to discover new themes which could complement existing ones. I would like to document this process with the topic of *Fiestas*, which, using this

pedagogical strategy, were analysed as complex social phenomena rather than simply entertainment or remnants of old traditions.

Changes in the Education programme and curriculum during the 1990s allowed the inclusion of new courses offered within the *Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales*' track, such as *Fundamentals of Social Sciences*, already addressed, and *Knowledge of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environments*. With the new plans and changes, anthropology has a major role in satisfying the globalization and interdisciplinary demands of the programme. For example, this process allowed the exercise of the holistic perspective in dealing with different lifestyles, worldviews and cultural diversity. It resulted in the presentation of these phenomena in a global framework in which they were constituted as complex cultural dimensions rather than negative challenges to deal with.

The *Fundamentals of Social Sciences* course allows me to introduce and present to future educators a discipline like anthropology (often little or poorly known), in connection to relevant social phenomena within the context of education, such as cultural diversity, multiculturalism, ethnicity, ethnic identity, and racism, among others. For the second course, *Knowledge of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environments*, I rely on my initial anthropological training and work in community studies. Community studies is a very productive model since it facilitates the interconnection of different social disciplines like the classic Geography, History, Sociology, Economics, etc. Thus, the community studies perspective satisfies the Programme's demands of targeting globalization and interdisciplinarity for teacher training. In sum, I elaborate a general course structure based on anthropological knowledge in order to approach the study of the natural, social and cultural environments within the social sciences. Anthropology becomes the guide for the development of the course. The name of the course has now changed. It is offered as *Study/Discovery of the Environment*; however, I continue exercising the anthropological approach, which targets the globalization-related and interdisciplinary demands of the programme. The ultimate goal is to equip future teachers with the tools to: (a) better understand the context in which they work, so they can adapt to it; (b) introduce in the classroom with their students a way to discover and know the environment in order to comprehend better the complexity and richness of their activities, and (c) recognize the contributions of each of the social sciences and their

relevance to the knowledge of the environment/surroundings.

The Anthropological Perspective on Recent Social Phenomena

What are the consequences of looking through anthropological lenses? I address this question in the following paragraphs.

As I have indicated earlier, the course *Fundamentals of Social Sciences* allows me to approach anthropology (a discipline students barely know, but discover with surprise and amazement). At the same time, I introduce some topics to exemplify what anthropology can contribute to their formation, such as the concept of culture, ethnocentrism, cultural relativism, holism, and cultural diversity, among others. For *Knowledge of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environments* course, it is important to introduce students to the anthropological analysis of current global phenomena and adaptation processes to host societies by displaced people. Diversity becomes an environmental core element. On the other hand, introducing the perspective of cultural diversity implies rethinking many of the approaches that education students have been exposed to and are familiar with; the cultural diversity perspective helps them to question and develop a critical attitude when trying to analyse and explain the social reality in their classrooms.

What is the point of incorporating these 'bits' of anthropology in the training of teachers? Fundamentally, to familiarize students with elements of anthropology they can apply in their classrooms. Let me provide some examples of the concepts I introduce to the students and the strategies to address them in the classroom. Although they are basic, these concepts can be challenging for students to grasp; at the same time they challenge students' assumptions.

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

Presenting the concept of culture in the classroom implies deconstruction of the popular conception of culture as homogeneous, static, bounded and associated with predictive characters, incorporating the criticism from the discipline itself (Fox 1999). The goal is to provoke students to reflect critically on the meaning of culture.

In order to demonstrate to students how the concept of culture works, I ask them to describe Gypsy culture: what do they know about it? And if they know gypsies, how do they respond to the ideas that students have about Gypsy culture? After students go

through this exercise, I ask them if they could do the same with Spanish culture; I suggest they could think about what foreigners say about Spanish culture and the images they use to represent our culture and people. Students do not have any problem in describing and talking about Gypsy culture and people; however, they show difficulties when pointing out generalities in reference to Spanish culture and how those general images, representations and assumptions apply to the great diversity that Spanish culture represents. I take advantage of this situation to, first, instigate students' reflexivity about assumptions and generalities related to Spanish culture; second, to discuss the idea that those generalities cannot apply to all Spanish people because there is a great diversity in the group; and third, to reflect on the consequences of using this way of understanding groups of people as if they were homogenous cultural units. After this reflective exercise focused on Spanish culture, we turn to the discussion of the Gypsy culture as a homogenous group without perceiving the internal differences in the group. Then, we extrapolate these reflective exercises and bring it to the school setting and start talking about the relationships with Gypsy children, the images that we use to think about them, and the expectations that we have based on the images/representations that gypsies have in the school context. We end up reflecting upon the images or representations that different cultural/ethnic groups have in the school and how these can affect teachers' interactions with students and with their families.

THE HOLISTIC VIEW

A holistic perspective responds to the need to seek interrelations in order to understand. It also aims at taking into account the connections in the field of education so students can go beyond the concrete data and facts to find explanations outside their immediate contexts. There are several examples to illustrate the value of work on the concept of holism in the classroom. Among these, I have noticed that my students understand the concept clearly when I ask them to think about themselves as future teachers. I also ask them to place themselves in the school they will end up working in as teachers, whether in a rural or urban school, in a marginal neighbourhood or with certain social and economic difficulties. I then ask, 'Is it necessary to take the context into account? Why? And for what?' Then, we work on the inter-relationship between the outside and the inside of the school contexts. In that way, students start identifying the

multidiversity of factors involved in the school experience. We use the same type of discussion framework to address phenomena such as 'dropouts' and 'at risk' students. In this case, I ask students to identify the factors involved that could explain the phenomenon. The analysis of the changes that the Education programme experienced in academia since 1950 is a very productive exercise as well in exploring the complex and intriguing connections between processes that occur outside the school system and from within.

ETHNOCENTRISM

In addition to understanding ethnocentrism and its presence in society, it is crucial that students understand the different ways people use it and learn how to address it so that it cannot become an element of exclusion for those individuals who are considered different. 'Why is everything about us considered "the best"?' is my key question to the students. We start with examples like food, and then continue with our customs and habits that oppose or differ from others. First, we identify arguments that support and validate our habits and customs in relation to those considered different. Then, we identify those explanations that support the customs/habits of the others. We then try to demonstrate how and why many people elaborate and create arguments to value positively what it is considered 'ours' and negatively what it is considered different or foreigner. Throughout the process of trying to understand 'the other', it is easier for students to accept the differences related to food or habits/customs because students are very familiar with the phenomenon of socialization and how it works with children. Students have been academically exposed to the importance of socialization to explain differences in culinary preferences, habits and customs. However, it is difficult for them to be more tolerant towards ideas, values and beliefs, although I try to point out that these are also a product of the socialization of the individual. So, this type of exercise is very productive not only in exposing students to different socialization processes but it also reveals the points of resistance and rejection that students express, particularly in relation to different ideas, beliefs and values.

CULTURAL RELATIVISM

Cultural relativism is a mechanism to combat the risks of strong ethnocentrism. It is a very effective tool for putting ourselves in the place of others, which is quintessential in the understanding of those perceived as different. The use of the *hijab* among Arab women has

been amply debated and discussed in the media in European countries. There is a documentary in Spain that shows the case of a young woman wearing it and the teacher tries to convince her to take it off.² When I show this documentary in class, it provokes great controversy; we hardly reach a conclusion or a solution but we engage in interesting discussions, reflections and arguments. Some students start broadening their minds in accepting other points of view but others resist these views and react by firmly opposing the cultural practice. Similar dynamics occurs when we deal with images related to gypsy students' behaviour patterns in school. These are discussions that raise polemical and confronting positions which are very difficult to modify in the classroom. Just to plant a seed of doubt, questioning and reflection among students is a sign of success for me.

RACISM

Racism is a very complex and sometimes subtle phenomenon that is present in educational contexts as much as it is in society. It is important to identify it and be aware of its dynamics, mechanics and strategies of reproduction so that we can design mechanisms to deal with it and pursue integration and social justice in schools.

I have been working with an interdisciplinary group of scholars, Grupo INTER,³ focused on the identification and analysis of racism in the educational arena.⁴ The research projects that we have been working on have shown the existence of what we call 'latent racism' in educational contexts. This 'latent racism' is not visible and consequently it is difficult that people accept it as 'racism'. Our publications, particularly *Guía de Racismo* (Guide of Racism), address this phenomenon and provide pedagogical strategies to deal with it in the classroom.⁵ Our research team has elaborated a definition of racism based on the ethnographic input and feedback from immigrant students attending public schools in Spain when asked how and when they have been exposed to racist comments or situations.⁶

We understand racism to mean:

- a) Social behaviour and the socio-political ideas and institutions that support it, including a series of different and complex mechanisms learned from childhood onward.
- b) This behaviour consists of classifying people in groups, that is, of using what we believe about a group to refer to individuals, based on real or

imaginary differences; what is important is that these differences are believable and believed.

- c) These differences are associated with behaviours (also real or imaginary) of the people in the group and they are generalised to all the members of the group.
- d) The objective of the classification is to justify a hierarchy among the groups, making it seem that some are better than others.
- e) This hierarchy is what makes us accept the privileges of the people in one group over people in another group, in terms of social goods: power, prestige, and money.
- f) This hierarchy also has the power to make the blame for disadvantages fall on the victim, because it makes everyone believe the explanation that some people are worth more than others and therefore deserve more and better, simply because they are classified in one group and not in another. (INTER Group 2007b: 23)

When I bring this definition to classroom discussion, students express their scepticism in identifying some of the characteristics as 'racist'. The Guide has a section titled '*Privilegios invisibles en la vida cotidiana*' (Invisible privileges in everyday life) (INTER Group 2007b: 33) which is very illustrative and when introduced to the students it generally instigates great disbelief and astonishment. When this section is presented to an ethnically and culturally diverse student group, or we use examples addressing different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, it is quite evident how for some everyday life is easier than for others. There is a great variety of reactions among students, from surprise, perplexity and confusion, to resistance and a rejection of accepting situations that people have experienced as 'racist'. Some of my students cannot comprehend why the subjects consider certain situations as 'racist'; in their own terms, 'I cannot see that is 'racism'.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

It is valuable to be familiar with the anthropological perspective in order to situate ourselves in our current multicultural and plural social fabric; this social composition is also present in schools. Thus, it is important to use the diversity perspective in the classroom to identify its strengths as much as the challenges of implementing it in the classroom dynamics. Students show great difficulties in changing their ideas and approaches towards 'diversity' when we discuss it in the classroom, even though it is not difficult for them to un-

derstand and accept that families are very diverse today, that the children they will have as students come from a great diversity of family contexts and that they should accept and not discriminate against them. We also watch numerous documentaries on different types of families.⁷ As part of the curriculum, students need to engage in class activities that they would develop in their professional future as teachers, based on the different family models they could face in their own classrooms. Thus, students are asked to work with an 'inclusion' approach. As such, a basic activity is to ask children first to draw and then explain their families. The goal is to work on the concept of family as basic social institution intimately connected to school.

When I subsequently ask my students to propose classroom activities related to the idea of family, they tend to forget about the concept of family using the perspective of diversity and inclusion, and surprise me using the traditional concept of a nuclear family to identify the different members of the family, occupations and interactions among the different family members. This demonstrates how difficult it is to change thinking patterns that have been deeply rooted.

The introduction and discussion of the anthropological concepts mentioned above often raise much controversy among my students; our debates highlight the ways students have been 'trained' to think by some of my colleagues in education and how resistant students are to open their minds to a different way of thinking. The mental 'shock' that students experience is clearly exemplified by comments such as: 'I am leaving this class with many questions rather than answers', or 'Things get turned around in this class'. I also need to point out the enthusiasm that students express when they 'discover' new ways of thinking; students collaborate in providing new resources and readings to be implemented in the classroom according to their new ways of approaching anthropological themes and concepts in their own research projects. Students also propose ways to 'intervene' and share their ideas in the virtual space that professors and students have to work and communicate.

Tools for Reflection and Analysis on Educational Contexts

Among the contributions that Anthropology has in the training of teachers, ethnography plays a significant role. It can assist educators with explaining and analysing educational contexts as well as bring about innovation as a way to promote positive changes. At

the undergraduate level, my goal is that students know about ethnography and the possibilities that it uses entail in the classroom. At the graduate level, I present ethnography as a valuable and productive tool for research. As both methodology and as an exercise, ethnography has been the anthropological tool that has impacted my students the most (Hernández Sánchez 2010).

Particularly for graduate students with teaching experience, the encounter with ethnography is tremendously fruitful. They are able to connect readings and discussion with experiences and anecdotes from their classrooms. In addition, with their exposure to ethnography, they can put names to some of the processes and dynamics that, although they could intuitively sense or perceive, could not conceptually interpret or systematize. I would like to illustrate this point with examples with my undergraduate students. I ask them to practice classroom observations; they have to annotate what they watch, perceive and discover while observing the classroom and all that happens in it. Then, we go over the results of their observations in our own classroom. It is through the discussion in our classroom that students discover certain aspects and dimensions of their observations that they were unaware of; students recognize how much their training as educators prepares them to apprehend some elements of the reality under observation but not others.

When such observation practice is undertaken by graduate students, the discussions are enlightening. Some of the graduate students are teachers and when they have to observe other colleagues, they discover aspects, elements, phenomena that they thought were not part of the classroom microcosm. It is not uncommon that when the teachers work on these observations, they realise that what they thought they were practising in their classrooms as 'active teaching' in reality is a 'transmissive' or traditional teaching, which they do not agree with. These experiences provide students with the opportunity to question their pedagogical practices and their role as teacher/educator. In some cases, students themselves proposed to organise these practices in their own schools and among their colleagues. Furthermore, they proposed that the principal of the school create a school policy that could facilitate the general practice of peer observations.

Conclusion

The argument that has framed this article is that the use of anthropology by anthropologists who do not work specifically in the anthropological field is a way of doing applied anthropology. I have documented this through examples that demonstrate how anthropology can be socially useful. However, I need to stress that there are many possibilities for anthropology in the educational arena; there are many examples that cannot be systematized and emerge in classroom dynamics among teacher students when using their anthropological lenses. Let me turn to the eloquent voice of one of my students to explain better what I mean by this. In the following quote, she expresses her comments about a movie:⁸

It was so beautiful ... It surprised me to realise that it was talking about those glasses, Caridad's glasses, those glasses that are so hard to take off, and I thought about their significance, not only in Nepal but in any classroom. This is why I think I need to send it to you, because I think it is a good example and it can help many teachers when you talk about those glasses as you did with me.

At this point, it would be interesting to present a type of evaluation of this way of practising anthropology, pointing out achievements or results in the training of teachers; I cannot provide this type of evaluation. What I can provide, however, as I have in this article, is an account of the transformative role that anthropology has in changing the explanatory conceptual structures that students are so used to operating with. Overall, using anthropology in my courses has been highly effective in my view, although I need to note that students' resistance to change perspectives has involved challenges. Perhaps only a third of my students internalise their new anthropological knowledge initially; the rest are often torn by the conflict between the anthropological perspective and their established patterns of understanding the world. On the other hand, our work allows us to identify the challenges and obstacles to changes and transformations, which ease our ways and strategies to reach the goals that we pursue.

In summary, anthropology has the capacity to influence education by contributing useful tools to the training of teachers that allow them to question the status quo, and see the situation of schools and children from another perspective that is enriching, and useful in different contexts.

In this article, I have tried to show how anthropology can be used in contexts that are not expressly anthropological. Though this might not be called applied anthropology because it is not intended to use anthropological methods and knowledge to help solve social problems, it is still a highly anthropological effort to encourage critical reflection on dominant systems of knowledge and guide the search for alternatives. The aim of my work is to promote anthropological reflection and criticism among teachers in order to help them become more equitable educators and thus contribute to greater social cohesion.

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Notes

1. Asociación Cordobesa de Antropología (Cordobese Anthropology Association) (ACA).
2. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rPj7kSJhe88>; Velo islámico – YouTube. El velo islámico – Film corto Español.
3. GRUPO INTER: www.uned.es/grupointer.
4. See the links: <http://www.uned.es/grupointer> and <http://www.proyectos.cchs.csic.es/integracion/>.
5. <http://www.uned.es/grupointer/libros.html>.
6. <http://www.uned.es/centrointer/guia%20racismo.pdf> (p. 23).
7. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7HYpuXfP3TA&feature=player_embedded.
8. Una maestra en Katmandu (A teacher in Katmandu) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7AJF4z5rmpQ>.

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