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Decolonising Teaching and Learning in Anthropology, A Holistic Approach

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Abstract
The task of decolonising anthropology is not yet complete. Rather, it is an ongoing process, and recent times have reminded us that evidence of the colonial past can still be found in anthropology departments (and are potentially reproduced through our teaching). In this article, I argue for a holistic approach to the decolonising of teaching and learning. This is in contrast to more isolated attempts to decolonise anthropology, for example, in the inclusion of previously suppressed voices. I explore a repertoire that includes student-centred methods, links between fieldwork practices, teaching practices and ethics, and a practice of encouraging students to place their interlocutors aims and objectives at the centre of anthropological practice. Moreover, I argue for the importance of assignments, fieldwork exercises, and performative teaching techniques that assist students to experience, rather than merely discuss, anthropology. I also go on to encourage the teaching of an actively engaged and relevant anthropology, which is open to student engagement with contemporary issues and which is directly relatable and relevant to them. Finally, I provide examples of collaborative research methods as a medium for decolonising anthropology. I argue that these methods allow students to fathom more deeply the ways in which contemporary anthropological knowledge is produced.

Keywords: Actively engaged teaching; decolonising pedagogy; learning through practice; student-centred learning; inclusivity

Introduction

It is often taken for granted that we teach an engaged, contemporary, decolonial anthropology, which challenges power dynamics and recognises those who were historically oppressed and exploited. However, it is essential to question the extent to which we have fulfilled these claims. Are there ways in which colonialism might be reproduced through our teaching, and are colonial ideas perpetuated undetected in various forms in anthropology departments? This paper explores these issues, outlining ways in which the teaching of contemporary anthropology can be truly inclusive and focused on the needs of students. This article proposes an *actively engaged, relevant, decolonial anthropology*. I utilise such terms to convey a pedagogical approach that draws on engaged, activist, and applied anthropological traditions. In doing so, I outline a framework that can be applied to understandings of current social issues and propose the continued decolonising of anthropological knowledge, teaching, and learning methods before transmitting the discipline to students.

I intend not only to focus on decolonising anthropology from epistemic coloniality but to additionally take into account the complex interrelation between race, gender, sexuality, (dis)ability and class, which can also be recognised as a basis for inequalities, distinctions and hierarchies. Hence, following a similar line of thought as Robbie Shilliam (2021), I use the term "decolonise" to describe the process by which we move our focus from the centre (of power) and towards the margins (whether they be spatial or epistemological margins). After this move, we can then critically examine the interrelations and by-products of the relations between centre and margin. The aim is to expose structures of oppression and exploitation and provide solutions to empower the people and ideas located in the periphery (and who are oppressed by patriarchal, elitist and colonial systems). Moreover, this process aims to inform the "centres" in attempting to open up ways of listening back and learning from the margins.

This article also draws on my first-hand experiences of teaching anthropology as a white working-class man with a non-visible disability within departments in Scotland, France, and Greece. These departments all followed various anthropological and ethnological traditions, and each institution contained students of quite diverse

backgrounds. I had the opportunity to teach in two of the elite institutions in Scotland and France, with a cohort of international students. The student body in the Scottish university had attended boarding schools or other private schools, some had private tutors, and a few students came from a non-privileged background. The latter included the top achieving students in various local regions, and were able to study at the University as there were no tuition fees for Scottish residents. They were also able to secure student loans without too much difficulty. However, most of the first year students had selected anthropology modules as electives while majoring in a different subject. In France, my institution provided only postgraduate courses and the students usually had a degree in social sciences (not only in anthropology), and they took my module as one among a variety of Masters courses. In order to be accepted in a course in the institution, they also had to be top-achieving students, but their socio-economic background was more diverse than my students in the UK.

In Greece, universities are tuition-free and in theory, people from any background can attend them. However, the school leavers exams and the university entry system favour students who can afford private tutors or additional private after-school classes. This increases their chances of receiving high grades, allowing them to receive an offer at a department and city of their preference. People often cannot afford to invest in this pathway, and are most usually accepted in departments that they are not overly interested in, but which are located in the city where they live, avoiding potentially high accommodation costs. This means that anthropology students in Athens are most often those who were not accepted in the department of their preference (apart from 2-5% among whom anthropology was their first choice) or who cannot afford to live in a different city. In these cases, the students enrolled in anthropology department primarily to obtain a higher education degree (with the hope that it would help them to find future employment) and did not receive an offer from their first-choice departments. In many cases, these anthropology students were unsure as to what the subject entailed. In addition to these teaching situations, I have also taught anthropology in departments in Greece where anthropology modules were offered as electives.

In all of these cases, students were diverse in background and interests but also shared some common characteristics. When teaching in anthropology departments in Greece and Scotland, the teaching staff had the opportunity to engage new students with the discipline. In Scotland, this could result in students changing their major to anthropology if they came to prefer the subject, whilst in Greece, instead of graduating with a degree in anthropology and then following a different career, some would end up pursuing a career in anthropology. Teaching anthropology in other departments could also result in students of other disciplines deciding to enrol in a postgraduate degree in anthropology. Additionally, in all cases, students' reasons for selecting an anthropology course or a module could be said to significantly affect their degree of engagement. Nevertheless, teaching in elite or working-class institutions does not change the fact that decolonising teaching and learning in anthropology is of equal importance and is always relevant. In all cases, the students have different experiences and knowledge, which meant that I had to adapt my teaching case by case. For example, in the elite institutions, the students often had impressive academic knowledge and skills, allowing them to proceed more rapidly to take on advanced topics. My students in Athens had first-hand experiences in dealing with police violence, discrimination, the economic and refugee crisis, making it easier for us to discuss current issues in economic anthropology and nationalism, topics that my students in Scotland were perhaps less personally exposed to.

After having worked in several anthropology departments, I experienced what Karen Brodkin, Sandra Morgen and Janis Hutchinson (2011) have described as anthropology being a "white public space". As Peter Pels has argued; "decolonizing anthropology is a historical process that […] has started long before decolonization, and will continue for long afterwards – if it is ever to succeed before humanity destroys itself" (2018, p. 74). If we subscribe to his ideas, we would have to agree that the process of decolonising anthropology is not over, but should instead be recognised as an ongoing issue (McGranahan & Rizvi, 2016; Pandian, 2018, 2019; Simpson, 2014). The vagueness of the decolonisation project is one of the factors that keeps it incomplete, and so, in this light I intend to make a number of concrete suggestions in relation to teaching and learning. The decolonial turn in anthropology brought to light many of the mistakes of the past, but it has not yet eradicated structural racism, sexism, and elitism in Euro-American anthropological spaces. In support of Brodkin's et al. description, I would add that anthropology in Europe and the US[1] could be better described until recently as a white able middle-class cis-gendered male field, which is still the norm in many places, and this has been articulated by the #metoo movement in anthropology (di Leonardo, 2018; see also Lukose, 2018) and the #hautalk.

[1] When discussing the issue with colleagues who work in various other regions (such as in Brazil, China, and South Africa), I could confidently say that these issues are not so strong as in Europe and the US. Hence, since my data is limited to departments outside of these particular areas, I cannot verify if my statement applies (and to what extent) elsewhere.

I also provide some examples of how teaching might benefit from anthropological practice and how engaged anthropology can inspire us towards more student-centred teaching and learning. I am arguing for an engaged anthropology which places fieldwork interlocutors and their understandings of the world at the centre of the analysis. Namely, this is an anthropology in which the anthropologist is not only trying to achieve their personal aims, but also considers the aims and objectives of one's interlocutors (as long as there are not ethical issues with this practice), and if possible, allowing them to become collaborators by employing collaborative research methods, and outputs (such as workshops, the production of videos and popular education materials) (Deltsou, 2020, p. 32; Sieder, 2013, pp. 223–224). Therefore, I strongly argue that we cannot talk of a decolonial anthropology which is not engaged. Although various scholars argue that anthropology is by definition engaged (Low & Merry, 2010, p. S203), there are plenty of ways and degrees of engagement, and some of them do not fully address the hierarchies between the interlocutors and the researchers. When our interlocutors or research participants are disenfranchised people (such as many people of colour, queer, and other populations that I include in the decolonisation project), then this engaged approach also contributes to the decolonisation of anthropology. These forms of engagement can vary depending upon the specificities of the project and on how the anthropologist decides to engage. Thus, not everyone can achieve such an anthropology, is willing to pursue this path, or willing to see it as desirable to become an advocate for their interlocutors, or deem it necessary for themselves to become an activist. Public anthropology, participating in policy making, sharing knowledge production and power with interlocutors are also forms of engaged anthropology (Low & Merry, 2010). Extending this to the classroom is to bring to the fore the needs of the students and to adapt our teaching to the ways in which students learn best, instead of forcing students to acquiesce to our teaching methods. Moreover, we should try to understand our students' varied motivations for taking anthropology and help them with their personal projects in an intensive way.

In this article, I propose a holistic approach to decolonised teaching. I detail this approach in four main sections. The first begins with the topic of decolonising texts with students, with the aim of democratising the identification of sources of knowledge. The second introduces diverse participatory teaching and learning methodologies which evoke ways of including embodied, creative approaches to the expression of student knowledge. The third section moves us onto issues of engaging with wider contemporary social issues in order to make anthropology relevant and current. Finally, the last section focuses on how teaching diverse anthropology methods and emphasising participatory or collaborative approaches contributes to creating new anthropologists who will not repeat the mistakes of the past, and which provides practical (and decolonised) tools for students' own agendas beyond anthropology.

Decolonising Texts and Motivating Students to Discover Written Resources

In class, it is essential to address structural inequalities through practice, rather than falling into the trap of only theorising on decoloniality. This approach can enhance student experience and learning, and can assist in demonstrating some of the applied dimensions of anthropology. Teachers may act as role models and focus on a regime of practicing what they preach (or theorise) in order to provide students with a direct example of how decolonial anthropology has practical value (Lumpkin, 2008; Wall & Hall, 2016). The first method I suggest here focuses on democratising the identification and critical use of sources of knowledge, ideally with the collaboration of the students. This includes those texts that we use or produce during our research and teaching. Commonly, many anthropologists are "trapped in a circular pattern of seeking confirmation by citing the same people and often reproduce a system of privilege that exists within anthropology" (O'Sullivan, 2019, p. no page). In my writing, and in my curriculum design, I explicitly work against this circular pattern, ensuring that I include readings by non-white, disabled, queer, female, and indigenous authors who themselves critically reflect on colonialism and settler colonialism. Therefore, with the term colonialism, I include a coloniality of gender as it has been addressed by feminist scholars (see Lugones, 2003). I also extend the term of colonialism to include aspects of ableism. For example, Audra Simpson's (2014) publications provide useful instances of indigenous anthropological voices in academia, and concern an anthropology that intends to work against ableism. Representing the work of disabled anthropologists, I often use in class the texts of Zoë Wool (2015), Ghassan Hage (2000) and Devva Kasnitz (2020). Works such as these also help us to move beyond the texts of authors who are linked to colonial backgrounds, privileged and elite upbringings, and whose work can at times reproduce, albeit unconsciously, various forms of coloniality. Having said this, I do not want to imply that every scholar who comes from a disenfranchised background contributes to decolonisation, since there are cases of scholars who seemingly come from a disadvantaged background but at the same time support colonial, patriarchal and fascist structures.

It is equally important to critically read texts that unconsciously reproduce inequalities and forms of colonialism, as it is to absorb texts that explicitly fight against this. Discussing these resources becomes a way of assisting students to think through the colonial baggage that we may carry, as well as examining the implications of how the anthropological knowledge was previously constructed, and how it has changed today (cf. O'Sullivan, 2019). When I use influential yet hierarchical or patriarchal texts, I always contextualise them and acknowledge power differentials. More importantly, when I discuss in-class the work of indigenous authors, I try to pass on to the students the importance of taking non-European philosophies and ethics seriously. I attempt to pave a way for students to find a deeper engagement with and analysis of such philosophies, as has been demonstrated by Kim TallBear (2013) and which can help us as teachers to fulfil the role of contributing to an epistemic decolonisation. In other words, I support Achille Mbembe's suggestion for *pluriversity*,

> …[the] process of knowledge production that is open to epistemic diversity. …a process that does not necessarily abandon the notion of universal knowledge for humanity, but which embraces it via a horizontal strategy of openness to dialogue among different epistemic traditions. (Mbembe, 2015, p. 19).

Even when we cast our eye towards countries without such obvious links to a colonial past (as in Greece where I have conducted most of my fieldwork), teaching decolonial anthropology is relevant. Michel Herzfeld has elaborated on how Greece and Thailand have suffered from a crypto-colonialism (Herzfeld, 1987, 2002). Herzfeld has depicted crypto-colonialism as a specific variety off-shoot of colonialism existing in the countries and buffer zones that acquired their political independence at the expense of massive ideological and economic dependence (Herzfeld, 2002, pp. 900–901). Research in territories of crypto-colonialism has been often carried out by people fitting Karen Brodkin's terminology (white privileged people). For this reason, when I refer to these areas, I include native researchers in the readings (at least when they are available). Nevertheless, regardless of the colonial, crypto-colonial or any other important aspects of the past and present, I motivate my multilingual students to search for and to bring into the class sources that are written in languages other than English. This approach highlights local knowledge-production, but also guides students in their seeking out of examples of diverse anthropological and ethnological traditions and to bring to the fore indigenous forms of knowledge.

Looking through the lens of crypto-colonialism also helps us to move beyond race and to highlight class and other particularities of disadvantaged populations, without inadvertently diminishing the significance of race (cf. Reed, 2018). Thus, it is equally important to highlight the work of various disadvantaged populations (and not only of people of colour), such as academics of a first-generation or working-class background who are underrepresented in many places (Sanchez, 2018, p. 4). While studying in a less prestigious, local university is an indicator, nevertheless, identifying authors of a working-class background is challenging since this information can only be found through our personal contacts or in monographs and rarely in articles in which the researchers discuss their positionality (Dews & Law, 1995). It should also be said that this does not imply that the work of academics with an upper (or middle) class background are less important or requiring exclusion, as we can look to influential examples such as Anthony Appiah, whose contributions have greatly helped to decolonise thinking.

Introducing Diverse Participatory Teaching and Learning Methodologies

Building a curriculum out of underrepresented voices is not in itself a satisfactory endpoint. Potentially, including embodied, creative approaches will allow diverse students to access and express knowledge in multiple ways. Moreover, another way to underline the experiential and embodied way of knowing in anthropology and to communicate this to our students is in the use of teaching methods which are directly related to the issue of decolonisation. In this section, I begin by describing my alteration to the student experience, which I also consider as a step towards decolonising pedagogy. Teaching anthropology includes teaching students how to think ethnographically. I therefore am in agreement with Carole McGranahan (2014) when she defines ethnographic knowledge as both epistemology and ontology, as "a way of thinking about and being in the world" (ibid: 25), and I also find evocative the idea that anthropological thinking is an experiential and embodied way of knowing (26). Furthermore, learning is not only embodied, but also emplaced: the sensory perception of the environment is part of the learning process (Fors, Bäckström, & Pink, 2013; Pink, 2011). I aim to embrace these approaches with two main methods: exercises in class that I give some examples of here, and fieldwork exercises out of class that I discuss in the next two sections. This approach is similar to Freirean "praxis" which underlines that critical thinking should be always combined with concrete actions (Freire, 2020).

As I stated in the introduction, the issue of decoloniality is not only a theoretical matter, but also a practical one which should be addressed in our everyday actions. Teaching, in a direct and experimental sense, can be re-seen as one of these everyday actions, and I see myself as a facilitator of an anthropological corpus which I make accessible to the students. Having this attitude, I challenge the conservative hierarchies between teacher-student and other power asymmetries in class (Hyde, 2005; Shor, 2014). At the same time, I know the limitations of this project which I share with my students, making them collaborators and aiming to find the best possible solutions to work together and address these asymmetries. One of the reasons that I make my students collaborators in their learning through student-centred methods is also to demonstrate in practice the principle of engaged anthropology. I believe that students can explore an engaged anthropology during class exercises, fieldwork or even during every other social activity, promoting what Pandian calls open anthropology (2018), as an ethical and reciprocal anthropology. Thus, we not only discuss decolonial anthropology, but we continuously experiment on how we can apply its principles in and out of class. This is a form of decolonising pedagogy and student-centred teaching.

One of the methods that I use in class is that of "Performative Pedagogy":[2] during which students participate directly in learning anthropological research methods in the classroom. They are asked to write, direct, and perform short plays addressing hypothetical problematic fieldwork scenarios. This type of assessment introduces novelty into the classroom and students take ownership of their own performance, and furthermore, their education. Tactility and performance are also central in communicating intricate concepts to an audience with diverse learning thresholds. This kind of teaching is also part of an effort to engage anthropology students in a dramatic way which can potentially alter their experience of university education, build their confidence, and inspire them to be creative and independent learners. This approach also facilitates dialogue between all participants in the class experience (students and teachers). In this way, we aim to reinforce trust and respect for each other and weaken power imbalances between teachers and students. We decolonise learning by giving more power and choices to the learner (Freire, 2020; Rapport & Vaisman, 2005, p. 9). Even when I use other methods, in all cases I aim to engage their senses and achieve an embodied understanding (Garrett, 2022; Nathan, 2021) of concepts such as habitus and the arbitrariness of culture. Audio-visual material can reinforce students experiences and understanding, particularly when this material is gathered by the students themselves (Freire, 2020).

Through such experiential learning, students can begin to question, analyse and newly understand practices that are presented to them during their lives as "the way things are" or "how we've always done it". Thus, during my classes, students not only study what is "exotic" to them, but they are also encouraged to look in the mirror and to study home. In this way, students learn skills which are useful in their everyday lives, regardless of whether they will continue their studies in anthropology. Such an approach is also an attempt to demonstrate directly to students the wider relevancy of anthropology today. Moreover, students deepen their understanding of the world, and educators acquire a better insight into their students' perspectives (Freire, 2020). During class and using methods such as Performative Pedagogy, and also during fieldwork exercises, I make students aware of the limitations of these practices, an issue also raised by John Borneman and Abdellah Hammoudi:

> Writing not based on much experience in the field, much acquaintance with people or with the questions that concern them, cannot fail to show a certain vagueness no matter how theoretically competent the writer. Rhetorical and performative virtuosity can rarely compensate for the lack of fieldwork experience, which provides an opening to dilemmas in the contemporary world. (2009, p. 18)

Hence, neither the students nor the teaching staff should expect that the goal of thick description can be achieved via short-term fieldwork, although sometimes this can happen against the odds. Good ethnographic fieldwork requires skill as much as time, but through these pedagogical exercises, students learn the basics and if they continue to pursue anthropology, they can develop their research capacities.

Engaging With Wider Contemporary Social Issues

In my understanding, teaching contemporary anthropology has two main dimensions. The first involves the tasks of discussing and analysing current topics of interest. The second dimension is in assisting in their understanding of current anthropological methods, theories and writing. Contemporary topics are not only helpful for engaging

[2] This method was conceived by Stavroula Pypirou during the research project "Dance Pedagogy": A collaborative project between a lecturer and her students (Kristiyana Kalcheva, Lucia Volpato and I). This project explored holistic perspectives of the effectiveness of transferrable teaching and learning skills and we are planning to present it in a future publication.

students in anthropology, they can also help to guide students in learning to apply anthropological thinking to everyday situations. Hence, in this way they achieve a better understanding of the "Other", and of the world that they live in. Additionally, focusing on worldly problems that relate to students' lives may encourage them to begin analysis of how and why those problems exist. According to Freire, such a model of learning directly combats oppression by empowering people to question their conditions, and by encouraging dialogue (Freire, 2020). This is in line with making anthropology relevant to a wider audience, and not only to students interested in pursuing a career in research. An additional approach that I bring to my teaching is to make students aware of anthropological responses to recent developments, particularly to crises (such as the current economic, refugee and health crisis), and including the use of peer-reviewed publications in class. For example, anthropological research on the COVID-19 pandemic was published in the first six months of the crisis, into multiple special issues of anthropological journals[3] and alternative venues such as blogs.[4] Discussing a current issue such as the pandemic, we can analyse global inequality, home violence, political movements and examine various forms of engaged anthropology for each case.

When teaching students about the writing of contemporary anthropology, I have found insightful Carole McGranahan's (2014) list[5] *of what makes something ethnographic* which was generated by her students and helped them to focus on nine empirical points of what anthropology is characterised by today (without saying that these are the only core features, or that they will be present in every version of contemporary ethnography):

1. Anthropological purpose clearly stated in author's research question and argument;
2. Clear marking of the production of ethnographic knowledge, i.e., how the anthropologist knows what he or she knows;
3. People appear in the text as named individuals or characters (e.g., "Gloria" in Donna Goldstein's book *Laughter Out of Place*), rather than categories of people (e.g., sister-in-law, farmer, mother, etc.) or common denominator people;
4. Research topic in dialogue with issues of local concern (rather than solely important within the discipline);
5. Focus on ethnographic realities, on life as lived, on everyday life and ordinary time rather than solely on extra-ordinary time;
6. Attempt to articulate a native point of view;
7. Sufficient context for the ethnographic data in terms of the necessary anthropological literature, history, theory, etc.;
8. Clear scholarly credibility of the author, such that the reader trusts their credentials; and,
9. A sense of the ethnographer's relationship with the community s/he writes about, how was trust gained, or relationships of care forged? (McGranahan 2014: 28)

In particular, points 2-4 refer to criteria seen in contemporary ethnographies. The first point refers to good practice, but is not directly relevant to contemporary ethnography, and the rest are older anthropological practices which are still essential today.

McGranahan's points are useful for teachers who are attempting to discuss ethnographies examined in class, and topics such as positionality and the production of ethnographic knowledge. In engaging these themes, I usually provide examples from my research on the goth scene (Karampampas, 2016) to demonstrate how the researcher can take various roles into the field, their pros and cons, and how reflexivity is essential to every step and decision of the anthropologist. For example, I do this while I elaborate upon how I gained access to specific actors such as club owners, DJs, and event organisers and the dilemmas that I faced. Aften a few years of fieldwork, I became a DJ when I was invited by one of my research participants, who was also a DJ, to learn

[3] Some examples are the *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* (Forum on Covid-19 pandemic, Volume 28, Issue 2, May 2020), *Anthropology Now* (An Anthropology of the COVID-19 Pandemic, Volume 12, Issue 1 June 2020), *Anthropology in Action* (COVID-19 and the Transformation of Intimacy, Volume 27, Issue 2, June 2020). There are also many other publications in languages other than English such as the book Impressions in Dangerous Moments [Αποτυπώσεις σε Στιγμές Κίνδυνου] (Kapola, Kouzelis, and Konstantas, eds 2020) in Greek.

[4] Covid-19 Research at UCL Anthropology https://www.ucl.ac.uk/anthropology/research/covid-19-research-ucl-anthropology; Cultural Anthropology's Forum on Covid-19 https://culanth.org/fieldsights/editors-forum/covid-19; Medical anthropology weekly: COVID-19 http://www.medanthro.net/medical-anthropology-weekly-covid-19/ (last accessed 23 Dec. 20).

[5] This list was inspired by George Marcus and Dick Cushman's (1982) own list, in which they record nine characteristics of ethnographic realist writing derived from texts of that period.

from and to collaborate with him. After some consideration, I decided that it would be beneficial to the research and would not pose methodological ambiguities as long as I would continue to be reflexive and considerate of my positionality in the field, as other anthropologists have managed to do so previously in other settings (Cook, 2010; Harris, 2005, p. 201; Lave, 2011; Marchand, 2007; Pálsson, 1994; Rapport, 1993, 2009, pp. 26–33; Theodossopoulos, 2003, p. 7). This allowed me to extend my network of research participants, to club owners and staff, DJs and goth artists, such as musicians, photographers, and fashion designers, and to change my focus on goth industry and economy. Research-led examples such as my own may help students to enter into theoretical discussions about contemporary anthropology through familiarity with a teacher's first-hand experiences of fieldwork. Discussing one's own research can allow students to discuss the reasoning behind each decision, from planning the research to disseminating the results, and thus providing students with a holistic understanding of what is contemporary anthropology and how it is done.

Research and teaching could be interconnected, and it is useful to integrate research into a module design, into the form of Research-led teaching, and have it positively affect the learning experience for students (Seale 2010), as well as engaging a class with contemporary anthropological research. Thus, it is beneficial to update the modules with the latest research every year. Additionally, in more advanced modules, I include a "research-based" element (Healey 2005). This could be a fieldwork exercise (see also the last section of this article), which allows students to apply in practice the actively engaged, relevant, decolonial anthropology that they discuss in class and reflect on after their experience of conducting a brief version of fieldwork.

With a focus on student-centred learning, teachers can learn to place the student at the centre of the teaching and learning process, giving them the power of choice, something that could otherwise remain in the hands of the teacher. Each student and his or her individual needs should ideally be considered, and learners "are able to learn what is relevant for them in ways that are appropriate" (Edwards 2001: 37). Additionally, "learners no longer have to learn what they already know or can do, nor what they are uninterested in" (Edwards 2001: 37). Student-centred methods have received criticism, but most of this critique is related to extreme examples. Nevertheless, a balance should be kept between student and teacher-centred learning, depending on the case and situation, and on what will be most appropriate for the optimum student experience and learning outcome. For example, teacher-centred learning might become more prevalent in the later years of student degrees due to the subject-specific background and critical thinking developed in their junior years. In these later years, they may conduct fieldwork for their dissertations and have almost total control in their decisions (except in cases of ethical and safety concerns). Moreover, students might also choose the topics of formative and summative assessments (usually based on the themes of the module) which could be applied even from their first year of study. Such an approach can help to motivate students to engage deeply upon a topic that they are interested in and to receive personalised feedback focused on the individual student's needs (Yorke, 2003). This is not an easy task, particularly in understaffed departments. There were certainly difficult times during which I had suffered overbearing workloads and I had to work hard to pursue my creative approaches. As part of a heavy work schedule, I managed to provide feedback to large classes of students on their unique topics. Seeing their improvement throughout the semester encouraged me, and gave me the confidence to continue expanding upon the methods and approaches that I am outlining in this article.

At other times, even small changes in the curriculum can improve student satisfaction and motivation. When teaching an honours module on Material Culture, I had planned a visit to an ethnographic museum and to open up a discussion with the curators. I informed the students about my plans and decided to ask if they agreed or if they had other suggestions. To my surprise, they were not keen on visiting an ethnographic museum, and said that they did not imagine themselves in the future as working in a similar establishment. However, they suggested going to the (Greek) National Museum of Contemporary Art (EMST). One of the module's themes was Anthropology of Art, and thus visiting EMST instead of the one I had planned was still relevant, particularly since the curators of EMST also agreed to introduce my students to their work. They were keen participants during the visit and discussion compared to a possibly more passive attitude in an excursion of less interest to them. In addition to their high engagement, multiple times before, during and after the visit, they expressed how delighted they were with this arrangement and felt included in the creation of the curriculum. In examples such as this, the learning outcomes, the transferable skills and the aims of the module remained unchanged, and were fulfilled and based upon the students' self-evaluations, and this made their experiences more productive and enjoyable.

Teaching Diverse Anthropology Methods and Emphasising Participatory or Collaborative Approaches

As a final point, I want to highlight how teaching research methods can be an avenue for creating an actively engaged, relevant, decolonial anthropology. Teaching can also be a site for creating new anthropologists who can use practical and decolonised tools for their agendas within and beyond anthropology. McGranahan's (2014) list can certainly prove useful for undergraduates who choose a few anthropology modules as electives or first-year anthropology students who have not yet had many or any opportunities to conduct fieldwork. Nevertheless, for postgraduate students and undergraduates preparing for their dissertation fieldwork, a hands-on learning method is arguably more effective. This approach could also apply even before students begin preparing for their dissertation, experimenting with an in-class small project when the ratio between numbers of students and staff allows for this possibility. Thus, students participating in fieldwork exercises can explore tasks which will contribute to their fieldwork, they can learn through practice and embody anthropological methods to become better equipped for their dissertation fieldwork.

Teaching contemporary anthropology cannot be achieved without teaching its methods, especially if we consider that the ways in which knowledge is produced and constructed are interweaved with the pedagogy and the methodologies through which we practice (McGranahan & Rizvi, 2016). Therefore, digital anthropology (Hine, 2015; Horst & Miller, 2012; Pink et al., 2016; Karampampas, 2020a), multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 2009) and collaborative anthropology (Gay y Blasco & De La Cruz Hernández, 2012; Kurzwelly, 2017; Lassiter, 2005) are essential inclusions in the curriculum. In particular, collaborative anthropology is also about the decolonising of anthropology and is a form of engaged anthropology. Working together with research participants allows us to include them in the research and representation process. This can be done in various ways, e.g. in the form of co-writing and co-analysing (Gay y Blasco & De La Cruz Hernández, 2020; Kurzwelly, Fernana, & Ngum, 2020), in photography as an additional non-textual form of communication allowing the reader to see what the research participant considers significant and framed under their own terms (Cox, Irving, & Wright, 2016; Gordon & Kurzwelly, 2018; Kurzwelly, 2019) or even when the research participants read what we write, comment on this writing and add their own analyses in our texts.

This is not always a smooth process and is not appropriate for all anthropological projects, something that should be discussed with the students. Having experienced difficulties in working together with some of my research participants, but also having enjoyed a smooth process of co-writing with some others, I provide personal examples during class, discussing the parameters of successful collaboration. Collaborative methods decrease (without completely eradicating) the power of the anthropologist over the research participants and can promote research participant's interests and not only those of the researcher. Equipped with an understanding of the pros and the cons of these methods, students can make informed choices and pursue an actively engaged, relevant, decolonial anthropology which fits in with their project and with their personalities.

During fieldwork exercises, I motivate the students to test collaborative methods, having as a motto that "ethnographic knowledge is charged in that it is produced out of real-life encounters between people" (McGranahan, 2014, p. 33) and "ethnographic research can be troubled and it requires care and commitment, humility and cooperation, vulnerability and trust, but it is one of the most poignant ways of knowing another and thus, knowing the self" (ibid., p. 33-34). Even now, in times of social distancing, social media allows students to experience engaged anthropology when approaching these digital areas as another kind of "ethnographic place" (Karampampas, 2020b; Postill & Pink, 2012; Sideri & Kapetanaki, 2022). However, supervision and mentoring are crucial if field exercises are to produce fruitful learning outcomes for the students. During class and office hours, the teacher and students should discuss and reflect on the ethnographic encounters. Another tool to complement field exercises may be the reflective fieldwork reports which can act as a formative or summative assignment. Going through the reflective reports and providing extensive feedback allows students to gain a deeper and practical fathoming of anthropological methods and of how to do anthropology, which will be different from an understanding only gained through discussion of the discipline. Moreover, the teaching staff should guide students in taking into consideration the ethical dimensions of an anthropological project. Nevertheless, regardless of the methods that students use, they should be free to experiment with forms of engagement, ideally using new ones in every assignment, and understanding through practice the multiple ways that contemporary anthropology can be engaged and decolonial. Teaching a decolonial anthropology is crucial, anthropologists who do not recognise the elements of colonialism that persist in ourselves and in our discipline may be doomed to reproduce a problematic past, instead of contributing to the decolonisation of anthropology and epistemic knowledge. Additionally, teaching an engaging decolonial anthropology allows students to apply

module ideas to real life situations and, ideally, would motivate students to implement aspects of decolonisation into their everyday lives, and perhaps to circulate these ideas outside the walls of academia.

Conclusion: Towards a Holistic Approach in Teaching and Learning in Anthropology

In this paper I argue for a holistic approach in decolonising teaching and learning in anthropology in contrast to isolated attempts at decolonising anthropology. The latter may often only be based on decolonising the curriculum[6] or making anthropology relevant as the appeal of Ryan Jobson (2020) to "let anthropology burn" suggests. Thus, I could not agree more with all the aforementioned colleagues on how to decolonise anthropology and teaching and learning in anthropology. At the same time, I argue that the anthropology we teach and how we teach it should be actively engaged and relevant. What I emphasise here is that in order to be more successful, we should synergistically utilise more than one method, for the fact that every one of the four points that I have highlighted are to be seen as reinforcing each other rather than standing alone. However, these four points are neither a "closed system" nor a panacea. It is a tried and successful approach that allows space for experimentation, for new methods to be added or replaced and adapted to the needs of different students and modules. Thus, this flexibility is one of the pros.

My first suggestion is that that teachers should act as role models in aiming to decolonise the classroom and the curriculum (and anthropology per se) as much as is possible. Thus, as we address structural inequalities through practice, and as we diversify materials and content by including readings by non-white, disabled, queer, female, and indigenous authors who themselves critically reflect on colonialism and settler colonialism, students are enabled to learn how to do the same. In taking non-European philosophies and ethics seriously via the medium of the classroom, pedagogical methods can also contribute to our aims. Furthermore, when we have a multilingual cohort of students, we can invite them to bring into class and present anthropological texts in languages other than English, highlighting local knowledge-production and anthropological traditions. This strategy could expanded by going beyond text and also including the local knowledge learning from the local populations as other authors have suggested (Judge, Fukuzawa, & Ferrier, 2021).

When an anthropologist is recognised for their research, it does not necessarily follow that they will be good at teaching. And, even if an anthropologist is recognised as an excellent teacher, it does not mean that they cannot develop and improve. As we follow the theoretical developments in anthropology, we should do the same in research in education and adapt ideas and methods that we find there when teaching anthropology. We can begin by designing modules which meet the needs of learners of different abilities, allowing every learner, whatever their capacity, the opportunity to improve themselves. This was the initiative that drove me to the second and third points. By incorporating a student-centred approach which aims to engage learners with anthropology via their own interests and experiences, we might hopefully inspire students to combine their own interests with their first steps of partaking in a contemporary, engaged and decolonial anthropology. Incorporating student-centred design enhances students' learning and satisfaction, and even simple practices, such as allowing them to choose the museum to visit in relation to their texts, are easy to adopt and prove beneficial. , Moreover, stimulating their senses through exercises and conducting fieldwork helps students to experience what anthropology is. During exercises and conducting fieldwork, they can also examine current events, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, find answers to their questions and discover for themselves the relevancy of anthropology today.

In the last section, I argued that teaching particular research methods also promotes an actively engaged, relevant, decolonial anthropology and allows students to fathom more deeply how anthropological knowledge is produced. In particular collaborative methods are useful for decolonising anthropology and can facilitate a more engaged anthropology. Students can learn to place their interlocutors and their interlocutors' aims and objectives at the centre of their anthropological practice. Simultaneously, teaching methods such as digital and multi-sited ethnography, which have become widespread for answering questions in an interconnected world, aids students to discover anthropology as a process that creatively links these students to their world.

[6] For more suggestions for decolonising the curriculum see the 2018 special issue "Canon Fire: Decolonizing the Curriculum" of *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* (Volume 36: Issue 2). Moreover, more ideas for decolonising anthropology in class see also the 2021 special Issue "Decolonizing Anthropology: Race, Emotions and Pedagogies in the European Classroom" of this Journal (Volume 10: Issue 4).

As a final note, I want to underline that although I follow what I preach by adopting this holistic approach to teaching anthropology, most of the time, it is not always possible to use all four points in every module. Precariously employed academics with high teaching loads, often designing new modules from scratch every semester, and juggling various administrative duties, trying to stay afloat in this "publish or perish" environment, must find a fine balance between their different commitments. Henceforth, this paper is not aiming to ask more from precarious (or not) academics under heavy workloads but suggests ways to improve students' learning that can be implemented partially or fully based on our human limits. Exceeding these limits and having teachers overworking themselves due to external pressures is not what decolonial anthropology suggests. Such pressurised conditions may only support existing power structures and thus end up contradicting the statement that a teacher should act as an example for the students.

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