

Seeing and Being Seen: Pedagogy for Students of Privilege

By Zanna Denis McKay

Borders and barriers, which enclose us within the safety of familiar territory, can also become prisons, and are often defended beyond reason or necessity. Exiles cross borders, break barriers of thought and experience. (Said, 1990, p. 365)

Students of Institutional Privilege

It was the end of my first year of teaching humanities to sixth through ninth grade students at an American International School in West Africa. I worked with students whose parents, executives of the Peace Corps or ambassadors, could afford to pay \$15,000 a year in tuition in a country where the average annual income is somewhere around \$300. At the end of my first year of teaching, I offered what I thought of as a rather innocuous assignment. All students were to think of someone who had made a difference in their learning in the past year. That person could be the janitor, the bus driver, the director, the teacher, or even the lady who sold kabobs for lunch every day. The students were to write that person a detailed and heartfelt thank-you letter. Most students settled in, and after some wrestling with the notion that they must specifically name an incident and how this person had helped them, produced reasonable letters.

A number of the teachers and other staff mentioned how important this communication was to them. Many referred to these letters when school resumed in the fall, commenting on how positive they felt returning to a workplace where they were appreciated. The physical education teacher said that hearing from one student that what he had learned that year was how to get along with others and resolve conflict, as well as the rules of basketball and soccer, made the whole year seem worthwhile. Our janitor Ducara, from the Bambara people, came to me dressed in his very best clothes, with his letter and an interpreter, to tell me that now he felt honored and would work even harder at his job. The student who had written him told how much he appreciated Ducara taking the time every day to greet him in Bambara and teach him a few words. "You always make me feel special because you have time to greet me and teach me." In the Bambara culture, to be a teacher is a great honor, and Ducara felt honored to be seen as a teacher.

One young man, however, refused to write a letter. One of my older students, he was always done with his work first and had a real interest in analyzing the nuances of history. Slightly surprised, I assumed it was just the usual grumbling. I settled into a chair next to him to help him think of someone who had helped him learn in the past year. Eventually, with a vehemence that was shocking, he shouted, "All of you work for me. I will not thank

you for doing what you are paid to do!"

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy for Students of Privilege

Reading the world always precedes reading the word, and reading the word implies continually reading the world. (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 35)

Over the past years, several researchers have focused on developing successful pedagogy for students of color and students in poverty (Bennett, 1999; Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2001). Based on her research, Ladson-Billings (1995) used the term "culturally relevant pedagogy" to describe teaching that rests on three primary propositions. Students must experience academic success, students must develop and maintain their cultural competence, and students must develop a critical consciousness to challenge the status quo. Through her research, Ladson-Billings has demonstrated that the academic and social performance of all students is enhanced when culturally relevant pedagogy is based on academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness. Because students of privilege are systematically subjected to schooling that trains them not to see critically either themselves or the culture into which they are born (McIntosh, 1990), in this article I will discuss the need for a pedagogy based on these propositions as well. Children of privilege are children, after all, and did not come to their position through choice.

Although Freire (1993) posits that only the power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both the oppressor and the oppressed, I am convinced that there is a need for the development of a culturally relevant pedagogy for students of privilege. Che Guevara after all, was once a child of privilege. This pedagogy must focus on the struggles children of privilege face when they attempt a discourse of transformation and critique. We must be willing as a culture to shine the spotlight of critical consciousness on the difficulties children of privilege have in breaking free of the limits that being born into a system of oppression force onto both the oppressor and the oppressed.

Students of privilege often have advantages that provide them

every opportunity to experience academic success in the context of the schools of today. However, the borders that protect their place of privilege and immunity also confine them, restrict them, and in many cases diminish them. They can read the word, but not the world. We must teach students of privilege to be border crossers. This means that we must teach them to take leave of the cultural, theoretical, and ideological borders that “enclose them within the safety of those places and spaces we inherit and occupy, which frame our lives in very specific and concrete ways” (Borsa, 1990, p. 36). To become border crossers in a respectful and responsible manner, students of privilege must become culturally competent.

We must teach them to read the world, to become critically conscious, and to challenge the status quo, not because they have an obligation to help others be more like them, but because by living in a place of privilege, they are living in a dehumanized world. 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 (Freire, 1993).

Pedagogy for students of privilege should seek to liberate the advantaged children in the world from their bondage, or perhaps to heal them from the sickness of their isolation and to empower them to be able to connect with others. This pedagogy should help them see that all humans can live rich and full lives, and that the lives of the temporarily economically privileged can be immeasurably enhanced by developing an understanding of the nature of connecting, of community and a capacity to be in service to something larger than themselves. We need to nourish the capacity of the children of those of economic and political advantage to both understand and transform their world through critical consciousness and connection (Noddings, 2003).

The Limits of Privilege

The power of culture in the classroom and the need to develop an awareness and appreciation of students’ own cultures, backgrounds, and experiences is the foundation of multicultural education. Schools are often focused on preparing students to communicate in the larger society; the educational system is designed to socialize students to adopt mainstream values, most notably the mastery of the dominant standard language. It is largely perceived that if students come from the dominant culture they are in a position of advantage. They have no need for a specialized pedagogy; multicultural education is for everyone else. However, because the dominant culture relies on unquestioned privilege, the opportunities to name, critically reflect, and act are equally denied the privileged and the other. Students of privilege are hostage to the dominant culture into which they were born.

Because the privilege of their position requires that they accept without question their right to those privileges, students learn to see themselves as extensions of the class into which they are born. Powerless as individuals, their ability to see others and connect to others is stunted. A sense of community and connectedness, and the sense of self-agency that comes of these, are denied them.

Students of privilege need to be taught how to be academically successful while connecting with others, and in such a way that

they as individuals, not representatives of the dominant culture, create a narrative of success. They must become culturally competent while deconstructing the myth of the neutrality of their culture. They must develop a critical consciousness to challenge the status quo (Ladson-Billings, 1995), because if they 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.

As I worked with international students of privilege in West Africa, I reflected on my years as a public school teacher in Wyoming. I realized that wherever I taught there was a group of students who perceived themselves as privileged. No matter what advantages this privilege had, it never made up for the isolation and pain that came with it. It was a student of privilege who said of our connections to residents of a geriatric care facility, “I will go, but I won’t care about them.” Luckily, another student responded from the wisdom of his own life to say, “Yeah, but someday our parents will die, and this is just a way to practice loving them anyway.” Repeatedly, I saw that people could be paid to care *for* the elderly and vulnerable, but they could not be paid to care *about* them. And it is caring, as Noddings (2003) so eloquently states, that is the foundation of education. *Educare*, the root word of “education,” means to lead forth the innate wholeness in a person. So in the deepest sense, that which truly educates us also heals us (Reman, 1999).

A Description of Pedagogy of Privilege in Action

During the two years I taught at an international school in Mali, one of my biggest projects each year was taking my students, eleven seventh and eighth graders, to live with the Dogon for a week. The Dogon, who reside in the Bandiagara Cliffs of Mali, are one of the last indigenous peoples who have not been converted to either Christianity or Islam, but have maintained their worldview for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. The Bandiagara Cliffs are about 200 kilometers (125 miles) long and 600 meters (2,000 feet) high. Ancient tiny cliff dwellings mark the highest places inhabited by indigenous people in a time before



Arriving at our village in Dogon.

record. They are used as burial caves for the Dogon, who live in more accessible cliff dwellings nearer the savanna floor. The first time I saw the Dogon structures I was pulled back to my memories of the Anasazi cliff dwellings in the American southwest that I saw as a child. It could have been the same people who built them. I became friends with Ali, a man who made his living guiding people through the Dogon country. We began talking of a cultural exchange that would engage my students in learning something real, a chance to participate in village life.

I developed an integrated curriculum that involved students researching, investigating, and making a PowerPoint presentation about some aspect of Dogon life. Preparation for the trip, especially the second year, was very involved. Each student interviewed at least one person from the Dogon who now lived in our



The daily chores of a Dogon family would include pounding millet, grinding peanuts for oil by stone, washing, cooking, child care, hauling water, and agriculture.

community about some aspect of Dogon village life. These people included the three guides who would accompany us, a local man who was now a practicing physician in Bamako, and the many local people who were Dogon and provided services to the expatriate community. Following these interviews, students investigated through books and the Internet the ideas and questions their interviews highlighted for them. Our guides provided excellent resources by reading stories and myths into tape recorders, as well as offering their insights as “border crossers” (Giroux, 1992).

While watching them interpret and translate for students, I often wondered about the amazing strengths the guides showed in “reading the world” (Freire, 1993). They spoke upwards of

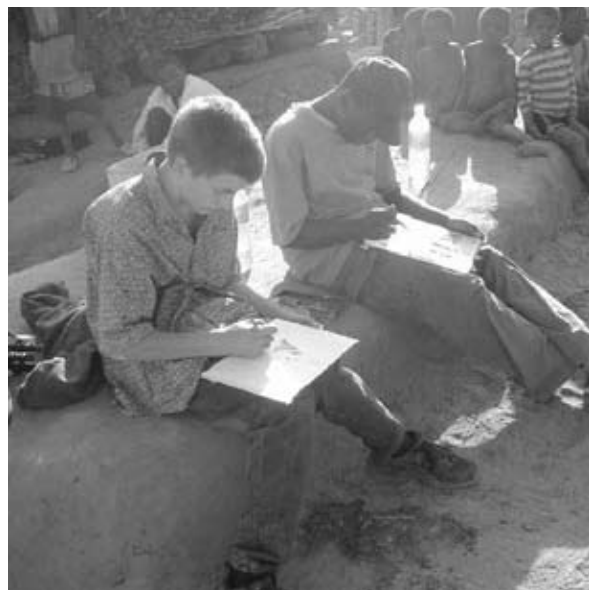
eight languages each and could reasonably discuss the differences between the worldviews of the Dogon and the Fulani, yet only one of them could read at all. Did illiterate really describe them? These men developed a strong sense of *communitas* and lived in a place of liminality, between the worlds of the Dogon as they have lived and the modern visitor. They traveled the chaos of different cultural worlds and points of contact and brought some sense of understanding to both worlds, as well as providing much-needed income for the Dogon villages (Turner, 1969).

As a group we prepared for our trip by having a parent night, in which the students presented to their parents what they would be investigating in Dogon country. The local travel agent worked closely with us to develop a trip with meaningful exchanges among students and villagers. I watched these students of privilege and power look to others to understand the world they would be entering. I could see my students beginning to recognize the intellectual and leadership qualities of many of those they previously saw as without these qualities (see *Tenets of Culturally Relevant Teaching Reframed*, Tenet 1). The actual trip provided a period of liminality, a threshold between worlds, as it required a day and a half of bus travel on dirt roads, followed by a challenging hike down a thousand-foot escarpment. During this time students read, played cards, and more and more just stared out of the window at the never-ending savanna. The world of the African bush became more and more real, and as this happened, the world of their place of privilege and power receded somewhat.

Arrival in the village brought work for students to organize our resources and begin their studies. Each student used a digital camera, and some used a video camera (Tenet 4). We worked as a group each day to learn the traditional style of pottery making. I wanted my students apprenticed in a learning community as much as possible (Tenet 2). We dug our own clay, we wedged the clay, and each student formed a pot. During this time about half of the class did pottery and the other half learned about village life (Tenet 4). Then they switched. Each student shadowed a person in the village doing tasks such as pounding millet and grind-



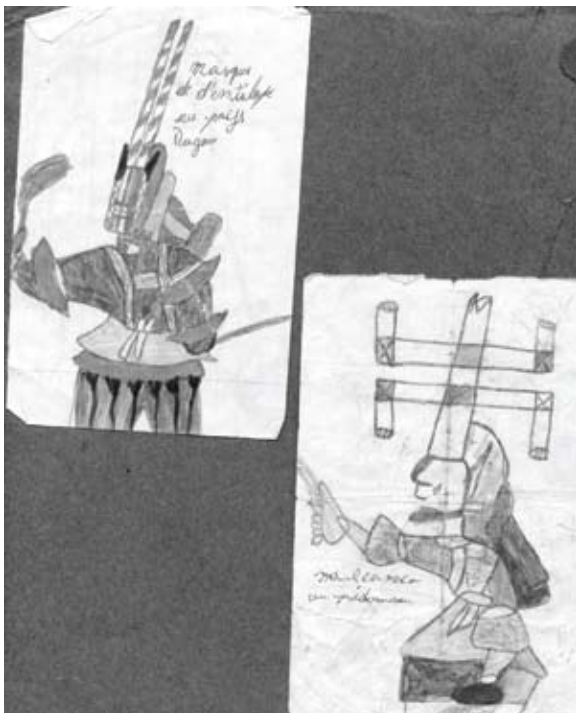
A masked dance celebration provided for us by the Dogon.



AISB (American International School of Bamako) students paint under the watchful eyes of village children.

ing nuts with a stone, cooking, and hauling water. Students were required to keep a journal with questions and observations, as well as produce a poem and some watercolor sketches (Tenet 4). Because of these requirements, students could be seen spending long periods of time watching the cliffs or people in the quiet of a time before machines. Their reflections were powerful reminders of the need we have for contemplation. They also demonstrate how legitimizing students' real-life experiences as a part of the official curriculum can empower them (Tenet 3). My fellow teacher, who taught math and science, also conducted a number of projects. One was a deforestation research project that sent data back to Washington, D.C.

Finally, students produced books about themselves that covered interesting personal facts, such as where they were from, what their family looked like, what their dreams were, and even the music they liked. Students were surprisingly engaged in these books, even drawing pictures of themselves and their families and including photos. Every other page was left blank. When my students went to the Dogon school, they met with an interpreter



Two masks drawn by an eight-year-old Dogon student. The top one is an antelope mask, the representation of excellence, and the bottom is the Kanoga mask, the representation of the meeting of spirit and physical. Interesting how artistic and accurate the students are.

and a Dogon student and wrote down the Dogon student's information on the blank pages. These books were left as gifts for the village students. Many of my students continued to write to their friends in the village after they returned home. When we discussed this project later, students were more surprised by their similarities to the Dogon children than by their differences. This activity in particular fulfills a number of the tenets of culturally relevant teaching by providing opportunities for students to em-

pathize and connect, to recognize the intellect of others, and to participate in a broad concept of literacy that incorporates both literature and oratory (Tenets 1, 3, 4, 6).

We were particularly lucky to be treated to a full-dress Dogon masked dance. The students were thrilled. Many interviewed dancers and took notes on all the different kinds of masks. They later investigated the names and meanings of these masks by interviewing mask makers and dancers. The dances are so lively and vivid that we felt the life of the villagers in a way that cannot be explained. Students recalled myths that guides had told them and tied the characters into what they saw acted out in the dances. It was a wonderful opportunity for students to participate in a broad concept of literacy.

As an aspect of our project, students had a *Night of the Dogon* presentation for the international school community of West Africa. They each showed the PowerPoint presentations they made from the photos and interviews they took in Dogon. We covered the walls of our gym with a display of their art, photos, and writing. After a meeting with the elders of the village, the students also developed a fund-raising project to buy an electric pump for the village well and school supplies for the village school. As a personal aside, the supplies provided brought a flourishing of art produced by the children of Dogon. I saw page after page of these amazing pictures of masked dancers and mud houses when I returned for my own time of reflection in the cliffs of the Dogon.

Tenets of Culturally Relevant Teaching Reframed

In an effort to begin the discussion on pedagogy of the privileged, I have reframed Ladson-Billings's (1995) six tenets of culturally relevant teaching. I will use them as the frame in the discussion that follows to reflect on the integrated curriculum previously described. The tenets for multicultural education by Ladson-Billings are presented, followed by revised tenets for students of privilege (in boldface) and comments from my educational experiences.

Tenet 1: "Students whose educational, economic, social, political, and cultural futures are most tenuous are helped to become intellectual leaders in classrooms" (p. 117).

Revised: Students whose educational, economic, social, political and cultural futures are most **secure are helped to recognize the intellectual and leadership qualities of those whose same futures are most tenuous.**

This tenet was foundational to my elementary classroom community when I taught in Wyoming. It was more difficult to enact when revised for students of privilege in West Africa. The truth was that in the insulated world of expatriates, except for our trip to the Dogon, most students were protected from interacting with students whose futures are most tenuous, save in the most superficial of ways. We did have the opportunity to invite a group of students to our classroom who were visiting our town on a speaking tour after being rescued from slavery by the Save the Children

organization. The students ranged in age from nine to fourteen and had been saved from everything from mining to prostitution. Having been deprogrammed by the Save the Children volunteers, these youngsters were astoundingly articulate and real. The conversations that developed from this began our Tuesday salons, in which we invited experts to discuss with us situations of world importance. To teach our students to be border crossers in a respectful and responsible manner is possibly of the greatest importance (Giroux, 1992). For students of privilege to leave the safety of their confinement and give power to other ways of seeing and knowing is foundational to their being able to really grow in “the vocation of becoming more fully human” (Freire, 1993, p. 26).

Tenet 2: “Students are apprenticed in a learning community rather than taught in an isolated and unrelated way” (p. 117).

I did not change this tenet because it applies equally to all students. However, because students of privilege often do not have community in the same sense as those who struggle in solidarity with others against oppression do, it may be even more important for them. It may be that self-agency is seen as an aspect of privilege, not a personal strength. Yet at the same time, a position of institutional privilege, which denies people a sense of personal strength, also denies the connections and community of those who struggle against institutional privilege. With its focus on individual attainments and self-expression through material goods, privilege often denies any form of community except in the most theoretical or superficial way.

Tenet 3: “Students’ real-life experiences are legitimized as they become part of the ‘official’ curriculum” (p. 117).

Revised: Students’ real-life experiences **and abilities for connecting and empathizing** are legitimized as they become part of the “official” curriculum.

Repeatedly students found that their abilities for connecting and empathizing served them well in garnering information. Although there were three translators available to the students who were shadowing and carrying out their research projects, the students soon found that it was not their academic abilities that

luxury of technology, they could enter the worlds of villagers and participate fully while capturing the interaction to be viewed later. Students could fully engage and still critically reflect. It is interesting that they chose to act on their reflections through the fund-raising project—by asking the villagers how they could enact an ally relationship and help to change the power structure that disempowered.

Tenet 5: “Teachers and students engage in a collective struggle against the status quo. Teachers do not accept the prevailing belief that their students will not do well. They have high expectations for their students and convey their belief to the students” (p. 118).

Revised: Teachers and students engage in a collective struggle against the status quo. Teachers do not accept the prevailing belief that their **students cannot understand power differentials and act to change unfair practices**. They have high expectations for their students and convey their belief to the students.

When working in the international community, it is difficult to deconstruct the “morally neutral” stance of those in positions of privilege because there is not a uniform position of privilege (McIntosh, 1990). The students are children of ambassadors of African nations, executives in aid organizations like the Peace Corps, BBC correspondents, and members of the American diplomatic corps. In a class of 22 students, more than 30 countries were named as countries of origin, as some students named the countries of both parents’ origins, even though they had never lived in either. However, many of the integrated curriculum assignments were constructed so as to require students to recognize both the similarities and the differences between the students of Dogon, one of the poorest and most disadvantaged groups in the world, and the students of international leaders, one of the most advantaged groups in the world. They were also required to recognize the many literacy and leadership strengths of those who helped them access information about a completely new culture. These assignments required that students begin to try to see power differentials. The conversations about these differences and similarities saw some students discussing “unearned advantage, and whether we will use any of our arbitrarily awarded power to try to

I learned to try to see the people, not as my cultural expectations would lead me, but as they were.

brought them information, but their connecting abilities. They were learning other ways to “read the world” (Freire, 1987, p. 35).

Tenet 4: “Teachers and students participate in a broad conception of literacy that incorporates both literature and oratory” (p. 117).

Revised: Teachers and students participate in a broad conception of literacy that incorporates both literature and oratory **in the worlds of both the privileged and the oppressed**.

This aspect of helping students become culturally literate was addressed in many ways. Because the students were afforded the

reconstruct power systems on a broader base” (McIntosh, 1990, p. 6). After spending afternoons pulling water from the well, buying a pump was a personal commitment for the students, not an arbitrary endowment.

Tenet 6: “Teachers are cognizant of themselves as political beings” (p. 118).

Revised: Teachers **and students** are cognizant of themselves as political beings.

Because students were asked to identify issues to investigate during their stay, they had a sense of critically analyzing much of what they saw. I believe I was most aware of this when one of my students, a boy from England, questioned the appropriateness of traveling to Dogon country at all. His position was that we were perhaps doing damage by bringing our way of being and our money to this relatively isolated culture. When we were given audience with the village leaders, he asked their opinion on this. The elder who chose to speak said, "We want the same as you, medicine so our children will live, safe houses, clean water, and enough food. And perhaps if we had all those things we would get big cars after we built roads," he said with a smile, "but we would do whatever we do as Dogon."

Beyond Action: Seeing and Being Seen

What about the boy who could not say thank you? I have to honestly say I don't know. I know that his voice rang in my head as I prepared my students, including this boy, for the second-year trip. I know that I thought again and again of ways for students to be taken out of the rigid confines of the position they happened to be born into, to allow them to really "see" others (McIntyre, 1997).

Although this student was academically talented and demonstrated academic success over and over, he was unable to critically reflect on his own culture, indeed his own position in life, and he was certainly unable to connect or form community. A child of great privilege in a land of need, he had been cared for by nannies, cooks, butlers, and guardians. His parents hired many people to provide care. They were unable to buy caring, however, and this student was stunted in his ability to be critically reflective about the "morally neutral" ground of his privilege, as well as his ability to form connection and community.

Because of the position of prominence his father had in this small international community, my student never did write a thank-you note, not the first or the second year. He traveled to Dogon and made a PowerPoint presentation with all the other students. His father was impressed with the level of involvement and analysis my students, in general, produced. At a critical level, however, this one boy did not engage. He was unable to demonstrate cultural competence by naming, critically reflecting, and acting on issues of his own culture or that of others. He was not willing, and perhaps not able, to challenge the status quo. He was unable to "see or to be seen."

The culture that students of privilege are born into has at the heart of it the understanding that we will not "see." We will not see the havoc that maintaining our economic and political privilege wreaks on those around us, the environment, our own children, and ourselves. In this denial of the ability to see, we deny our children the ability to feel seen. As Jared Diamond illustrates in his new book, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*, cultures that do not learn to be responsive, that do not teach their children to be able to see and to be seen, risk alienating themselves in the global village in which we all live. In the kingdom of Tonga there is a saying: "The greatest wealth is a grateful heart." So frequently this wealth is denied children who live in the world of privilege.

How much better would our world be if the children of privilege joined the struggle for equity? How best to bring this about?

When I took the job in Africa, I was ABD and the mother of a nine-year-old. I left in August with the data organized, and the tentative beginnings of the portraits that were the heart of my dissertation. Hearing from the school I would teach in that there were only a few miles of paved road even in the largest town, I imagined hours to work on my paper. When I arrived, I was greeted by the drums and the dance, by goats, monkeys, and the five or six people it takes to keep a puny *toubob*, white person, alive. I realized immediately that there was much to do, and I wouldn't need paved roads to do it. For one year my portraits sat while I spoke with teachers and students, danced and drummed with children and old ladies. I visited villages and learned ancient methods for making pottery with my students from the international school.

I learned to try to see the people, not as my cultural expectations would lead me, but as they were. There was an old man, thin and poorly dressed, who drove the children I nodded to each day as we passed. As it turned out, he was a *griot*, a storyteller. In the tradition and worldview of the village, he was the memory and the molder. He told what had happened, as well as the possibilities of what might occur. When there was disagreement, he was sought out, because he remembered the stories and had the perspective to offer a valued opinion. One of my African friends offered this piece of advice: "Here we are not what we do for money, but who we are, who we are connected to." The man is not just a storyteller as he might be in America, but a Bambara storyteller from a specific village. He was certainly not a driver.

This understanding of my urge to label people in Africa led me to look at how I might be doing this here in America. It made me want to really see people. I learned never to make assumptions in this new culture. I learned to keep my eyes open and listen with my heart, for the words were often not clear. Whenever I thought I knew what the situation was, I was quickly brought back to reality. I learned that the boxes that I put people in were often so wrong as to hinder rather than further our communication.

To try to understand more of the life around me, I took a Bambara language class. There I learned that it is critical to greet and that the longer your greeting takes, the more you honor the person you are greeting. This became something of a joke, as the men who guarded the doorways of the houses I walked by on the way to school began to try to outdo themselves, both in honoring me by asking about every member of my household, including the animals, and in trying to teach me how to say more and more elaborate greetings. Finally I asked my teacher, "Isn't there a quick greeting, like hi?" He said the power of the greeting is that it is about time, that everyone is subject to "In sha'allah," the will of Allah, and rich or poor, all we really have is time.

However, in a small village in Dogon country, I was walking on a trail, and my guide and I came upon a woman with a heavy water jug on her head. He greeted her quietly and with few words and stepped aside. She gave a short reply and walked on. I asked him what the Dogon greeting was, and he said that when you meet someone on the trail, one of the many greetings is, "I see you."

"Then I am here," is the correct response.

References and Bibliography

- Bennett, C. I. (1999). *Comprehensive multicultural education: Theory and practice* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Borsa, J. (1990). Towards a politics of location: Rethinking marginality. *Canadian Women Studies*, 11: 36–39.
- Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: New Press.
- Diamond, J. (2005). *Collapse: How societies choose to fail or succeed*. London: Penguin Books.
- Freire, P., & Macedo, D. P. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the word and the world*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Freire, P. (1993). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Giroux, H. (1992). Paulo Freire and the politics of postcolonialism. *Journal of Advanced Composition*, 12(1): 15–26.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, 32(3): 465–491.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2001). *Crossing over to Canaan: The journey of new teachers in diverse classrooms*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- McIntosh, P. (1990, Winter). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Independent School*.
- McIntyre, A. (1997). *Making meaning of whiteness: Exploring racial identity with white teachers*. Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press.
- Noddings, N. (2003). *Happiness in education*. New York: Cambridge Press.
- Remen, R. (1999). Educating for mission meaning and compassion. In S. Glazer (Ed.), *The heart of learning*. New York: Penguin Putnam.
- Said, E. W. (1990). Reflections on exile. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. T. Minh-ha, & C. West (Eds.), *Out there: Marginalization and contemporary cultures*. New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art and MIT Press.
- Turner, V. (1969). *Ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.

Zanna Denis McKay is an assistant professor of education at the State University of New York at Oneonta. 🌍

“**Teen Voices** is different. It's like a group of good girlfriends bringing you support, fun, humor, and advice on problems of growing up to be oneself.”

– Gloria Steinem

Notice that teen magazines don't have much to say!

There's an alternative!

Written by and for teen women with more on their minds than fashion and celebrity gossip. *Teen Voices* has been promoting social change and a healthier self-image for over ten years.



Join Now at www.teenvoices.com or call 888.882.TEEN.

