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ANTHROPOLOGICAL LITERACY:

TOWARD A HOLISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE VARIETIES OF HUMAN

EXPERIENCE THORUGH OKLAHOMA SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

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A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

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ABSTRACT

In conversations about education in Oklahoma, there are differing views on how to handle equipping students to navigate a diverse world. Social studies education research has long sought new approaches to prepare students for global citizenship. Some conversations, among education researchers and the Oklahoma public alike, have revolved around the use of Critical Race Theory in education as one response to addressing diversity. Anthropology, as the holistic study of humans, offers another framework that moves beyond a focus on race. This study advocates for using the notion of anthropological literacy, or competence in core anthropological principles, as a new way of meeting the shared goals of anthropologists and social studies education researchers for educating students for citizenship. I assessed three different social studies curricula used to teach Oklahoma's past to determine to what degree Oklahoma public school curriculum is already consistent, or not, with anthropological principles. I examined each for overt content relating to anthropology, and I used Critical Discourse Analysis to uncover covert citizenship discourses that either do or do not translate to contemporary anthropological values. Under the limitations of the COVID-19 pandemic, I also observed to the extent possible the instructional methods of three teachers, one for each curriculum studied, and interviewed the teachers on their experiences. The curricula contain some anthropology content, but they otherwise mixed messages about social power in relation to anthropology concepts. It is clear that greater attention to teachers' instruction is the key to learning how to make social studies curriculum more anthropological and move toward a more anthropologically literate Oklahoma.

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I. INTRODUCTION: ANTHROPOLOGICAL LITERACY AND OKLAHOMA EDUCATION

Turn on the news, read the latest online articles, or scroll through your social media feed. One message will become clear: in the United States, people are talking about the things that make us different from one another. As a student of anthropology, my understanding of people has changed and developed over many years, and I have taken notice of the ways that others discuss our differences. When I started college at the University of Oklahoma in 2009, I began to meet people of different races, nationalities, genders, sexual orientations, and cultures. Recognizing how much bigger the world was than what I saw in my suburban Oklahoma City upbringing, I became interested in anthropology and declared it as a major. Anthropology presented me with new ideas – that we cannot evaluate the varieties of human experience in accordance with our own experience, that culture is not innate, that race is a cultural construction, and that we best learn about others by talking to them and living alongside them, not by reading about it in a book. I learned about systemic oppression, past and present. As my academic focus within anthropology was archaeology during my undergraduate career and while earning my M.A., I also learned of the underrepresentation of Indigenous and other non-Western perspectives in American historical and archaeological narratives. Overall, I learned just how misguided my ideas about humanity had been and how this lack of understanding could be harmful to the marginalized communities I had seldom interacted with prior to college.

These realizations of course drove me to do better, but they also incited feelings of disbelief. Why did it take a college education for me to better understand the realities of social inequality? How many people did I go to school with, brought up with the same perspectives as me, would come to the same realizations I did? How many would not? How many young people are coming into adulthood with ideas about social inequality that are harmful to others? If we as white children had received a different education, learning the same things my anthropology classes taught me, would we all have been better equipped to confront inequality or racism in adulthood despite growing up in our white suburban corner of Oklahoma? If anthropological principles provided me with more effective tools for understanding other people, then could they do the same for others?

These questions inspired this dissertation. I feel it is important to divulge my motivations for conducting this research and just how personal this journey has been for me. I am a heterosexual, cisgender white woman; I have by and large not experienced discrimination based on my way of being, but I have unwittingly contributed to the discrimination of others. I want to see this ignorance prevented in others. I long to see what our society could look like if all young people – university anthropology majors or not – learned the tools to empathize with the experiences of those who are different from them, as well as understanding how inequality has been systemized in American society past and present. Driven by these desires, I question if we could systematically introduce anthropological principles, which changed my outlook on humanity so profoundly, to all Oklahoma students. How could we benefit from embedding anthropological principles into social studies education in Oklahoma public schools? We also must ask whether this is already happening to any extent; public dialogues about race, gender, and inequality overall have changed since my high school graduation in 2009, so perhaps this has

already influenced changes in education. Regardless, how can social studies education become more anthropologically grounded?

To seek answers to these questions and explore the degree to which anthropological principles could (or already do) exist systematically in the education system, I decided to turn to one of the most ubiquitous aspects of Oklahoma education – the public school curriculum. All public schools in the state follow the same curriculum, so if anthropological literacy were to ever be systematized, then this is one of the avenues through which that could happen. Studying every social studies curriculum in Oklahoma would be a years-long undertaking. Thus, as a starting point, I chose to turn to my own Oklahoma City metropolitan community to examine the ways that public education in the state promotes the learning of the history of this place we call home – the place now known as the State of Oklahoma.

Anthropological Literacy

To understand the degree to which anthropological principles exist in Oklahoma curriculum about the past, we need to have a clear understanding of just what these principles are. Anthropology is broad and represents numerous different research disciplines, each of which have its own specific principles. To distill these into overarching anthropological principles, I thought back to my own anthropology education, as well as the anthropology education I have given my own students. What were the core ideas I learned? What were the most important things I thought my students should know? I also pored over several different anthropology textbooks, trying to determine what their authors deemed to be the most important concepts to introduce to new students of anthropology. In consideration of what these authors in the field of anthropology chose to present, and reflecting on my own experiences, I developed the concept of anthropological literacy – one's grasp of the core principles that underlie anthropological thought. To understand the relationship between anthropology concepts and social studies curriculum, we must define anthropological literacy.

Anthropology is, broadly, the study of humans. There are various ways to study people, and the development of the field of anthropology in the United States reflects this breadth. American anthropology is often divided into four subfields: archaeology, biological anthropology, cultural anthropology, and linguistic anthropology. Not all anthropologists agree that just four fields are adequate for addressing the diverse research and applied work occurring under the umbrella of anthropology, but the four-field approach to anthropology is still alive and well in the United States, including my own graduate program at the University of Oklahoma. Each of the four fields studies a different aspect of humanity, but all share common guiding anthropological principles in their unique approaches to gaining a holistic understanding of humans. Anthropological literacy refers to competence in these shared principles. Although American anthropologists often separately conduct research according to their subfield, most are trained in and informed by a holistic understanding of all subfields. I have developed a definition of "anthropological literacy" made up of six principles that I see as core to four-field anthropology. These are culture, hegemony, cultural relativism, heritage preservation, linguistic relativity, and human variation. The rest of this section provides more detail on each of these six principles:

1. Culture: All humans possess a learned set of ideologies, behaviors, and practices that are shared among a social group. (All subfields)

Culture is concept that many people tacitly understand, but it is not always easy to define. Numerous thinkers have defined this concept in different ways, but one of the most popular and longstanding definitions among anthropologists comes from early anthropologist Edward B. Tylor. Tylor describes culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor 1871, 1). Key to this understanding of culture is that it is learned; culture is not an innate property, and all humans learn their culture from others. Those learned cultural values are shared among a community, resulting in the idea of "cultures" as belonging to a group.

We can also think of culture as a form of *habitus* – socially ingrained and embodied perceptions and dispositions of social worlds (Bourdieu 1984). The idea of *habitus* helps us bear in mind the learned and shared nature of culture. One's *habitus* is shaped by those of others within their society. Whatever is considered normal or common sense in that society can be interpreted as a cultural value, and *habitus* represents the ways that these values become second nature and unquestioned among community members sharing that culture. Overall, it is important to remember that people are not cultures – rather, people *have* culture, and just what comprises that culture differs between communities and across time and space.

2. Hegemony: Power differentials among different individuals are present in societies in culturally distinct ways which are taken as common sense; these cultural distinctions determine which individuals are oppressed by these power differences. (All subfields)

The concept of hegemony can be traced to Antonio Gramsci, whose writings on hegemony in his prison notebooks have been highly influential to social thought (Gramsci 1971). Gramsci saw hegemony as a form of power that exists because those affected by it consent to their own domination, though they may not be aware of it. As I mentioned in describing *habitus,* some social realities come to be considered as normal or common sense. When power exerted by a ruling class is considered common sense, then the culture in which it exists can be said to exhibit a hegemonic power structure.

Gramsci's hegemony has influenced countless social theorists, but as the present research pertains to education, it is helpful to turn to the work of Freire (1982). Freire introduces the concept of critical pedagogy – a form of education where students are encouraged to achieve critical consciousness. Critical consciousness essentially refers to one's awakening to their own oppression, or in other words, to understanding the hegemony that acts upon them. In this study, I posit that the more a curriculum communicates hegemony through a Freirean approach, the more anthropologically grounded it is.

3. Cultural relativism: To best understand a culture different from our own, we must study that culture on its own terms, without judging or comparing it to what is familiar to *us*. (Cultural anthropology)

Cultural relativism, in my opinion and based on my experience, is one of the cornerstones of anthropology. It is most often attributed to the subfield of cultural anthropology, though its application can extend to other fields. Cultural relativism is the disposition that a culture should only be studied on its own terms, and not using one's own cultural experiences as a comparative basis by which to judge another culture (i.e. ethnocentrism). Anthropological researchers practice cultural relativism, as anthropologists strive to understand different cultures from within, enlightening us on how others experience the world.

The concept of cultural relativism is not necessarily attributable to one single anthropologist, but it is a culmination of the ideas of Franz Boas and his students, all of whom were highly influential in establishing American anthropology. While cultural relativism is important to the field, some anthropologists have debated the extent to which it counteracts moral relativism. In other words, by studying a culture on its own terms, are we required to turn a blind eye to cultural practices we find morally abhorrent just because we believe culture is relative? Scheper-Hughes (1995) for example is well-known for addressing such questions and advocating for a "militant anthropology" that is ethically and morally engaged. Despite these conversations among anthropologists, cultural relativism remains a distinctly anthropological ideal and an important way of rejecting ethnocentric approaches to understanding others.

4. Heritage preservation: Preserving the past is key for understanding the present and honoring the communities descended from those who created that past. (Archaeology)

Unlike culture and hegemony, which are relevant across all fields of anthropology in some way, heritage preservation pertains primarily to the subfield of archaeology. Also unlike culture and hegemony, heritage preservation is not a theoretical term once coined by a thinker and requiring a specific definition. Rather, here I refer to the general idea shared among archaeologists and others – that cultural heritage is important and should be preserved for the benefit of the communities to which the heritage belongs, and for all to appreciate past ways of life. Informed by experiences from my background in public archaeology, I personally believe that archaeology should always be in service of heritage preservation for the benefit of descendant communities. This is a sentiment similarly expressed in recent public archaeology literature (Atalay 2012; Stottman 2016).

Heritage preservation does not only refer to the material remains studied by archaeologists, however. Heritage encompasses other aspects of culture, like art forms, customs, and languages. The recognition of the need to preserve languages is as old as American anthropology itself. Franz Boas, often called the Father of American Anthropology, is known for his work in documenting various endangered Native American languages. Contemporary anthropologists continue to work to document and aid in revitalizing endangered languages, frequently working closely with the communities whose languages they are. Overall, while "heritage" is a broad concept, the anthropological principle of heritage preservation is most often applied to archaeology, the mission of which is to do exactly what the principle implies: preserve cultural heritage.

5. Linguistic relativity: The language one speaks is inextricably tied to worldview and culture, and by studying linguistic structures and language use, we can learn more about how others view and experience the world. (Linguistic anthropology)

The nuances of linguistic relativity have been debated among linguistic anthropologists, but the concept remains central to the field. Linguistic relativity refers to the relationship between language and culture – that one's language can affect how they code and interpret the world, or likewise, how culture can influence language. Linguistic relativity is sometimes likened to the "Sapir-Whorf hypothesis," which refers to a culmination of ideas about language and culture relationships explored in research by Edward Sapir and, later, his student Benjamin Lee Whorf. Whorf, for example, studied the relationship between Hopi cultural conceptions of time and Hopi language, noting that their linguistic expressions of time reflect their understanding of time (Whorf 1950).

It is important to avoid the logical fallacy of interpreting linguistic relativity as deterministic, meaning that people are limited by their language in their ability to understand the world. Linguistic relativity is best thought of as a complex web of language, culture, and thought – not as a cause-and-effect relationship between the three. Scholars today continue to explore the relationship between language, culture, and thought in order to understand how language relates to our culturally-influenced perceptions of the world.

6. Human variation: Modern humans are fundamentally the same regardless of appearance, and we can understand this by examining biological processes. (Biological anthropology)

Biological anthropology helps us to understand the biological and cultural facets of the concepts of race. The cultural category we call "race" is much more complicated when we examine its biological aspects. Livingstone and Dobzhansky (1962) described human genetic variation as a result of factors like gene flow and changes in equilibrium, stating that there are no genetic patterns among populations that could definitively be tied to a discrete "race." This was a novel idea at the time, and with advances in human genetics research, our understanding of human variation has enabled us to articulate even further how to account for the variations that most people regard as racial. That said, our cultural notions of race can have effects on biology (Gravlee 2009). For example, Black males exhibit a higher risk of hypertension compared to people of other races and genders. Rather than their race being a biological cause of this elevated risk, however, Black males face social pressures, discrimination, and lower social mobility because of cultural notions of, and treatments of, their culturally perceived race. These social and cultural factors can become biologically embodied and therefore associated with race (Dressler 1993).

Still, we cannot create cut-and-dry categories of biological race that wholly correspond to culturally perceived races. Current data reveal that the highest degree of human genetic variation is in African populations, supporting the theory that Homo sapiens originally evolved in Africa before migrating across the globe. Asian populations are a genetic subset of African populations, and European populations are a genetic subset of Asian populations, etc. – therefore, humans are

genetically very similar to one another, and the phenotypic traits that people associate with racial groups are not a reflection of this (Ramachandran et al. 2005). Race is cultural, and while it can become biologically embodied through social processes, genetics do not determine our culturally constructed categories of race. Rather, race is a cultural category that humans use to make sense of this genetic variation and other biological factors.

Together, these six concepts comprise what I call anthropological literacy. It is important however to recognize that one can be anthropologically literate without being an anthropologist. One can come to understand the importance of learning about cultural perspectives on their own terms without earning a formal education in anthropology. An anthropologically literate person may not necessarily know terms like "linguistic relativity," but their perspectives will be influenced by the ideas the terms communicate, and they could have encountered those ideas in settings besides anthropology classes. Given that the aims of social studies education are based on social sciences like anthropology, it stands to reason that one could be exposed to the concepts of anthropological literacy in their K-12 social studies education. This study therefore considers how anthropological literacy is embedded into current research in social studies education, social studies curriculum, and instructional practice.

Critical Discourse

Determining whether anthropological literacy is explicitly communicated in the curriculum is one question. However, I recognize that children are generally not learning about anthropology in school. As I have said, an anthropologically literate student may have never been taught what cultural relativism is, or they may not even be familiar with the field of anthropology. But if this is the case, then how could they become anthropologically literate at all? To answer this, we need to look beyond overt content about anthropology and examine covert messages that communicate the principles of anthropological literacy. Critical Discourse Analysis is one way of seeking out these covert messages and reading between the lines of what students are learning. This method involves analyzing texts (written and verbal) to understand what they communicate about social power and inequality. For example, if students are learning history in a way that privileges a Euro-centric perspective, then this could maintain the status quo of white dominance over historical narratives. In such a case, students may be less likely to adopt a culturally relativistic understanding of people (and, therefore, be less anthropologically literate). Critical Discourse Analysis helps us to identify these more subtle aspects of the curriculum that can contribute to one's anthropological literacy.

So, what types of discourses are present in public education about Oklahoma's past, and how do they intersect with anthropological literacy? As this dissertation will reveal, the answer is quite complex. Oklahoma social studies education has come a long way in its presentation of cultural diversity compared to my memories of experiencing it firsthand years ago – no doubt developing as conversations about racism have become more prevalent in public discourse (and probably along with the proliferation of social media to enable this discourse). Yet, despite noticeable changes in presenting Oklahoma history from a Euro-centric perspective, the curriculum I studied contained mixed messages about unequal social power dynamics.

I want to acknowledge an important point: despite what discourses the curriculum may contain, teachers have the ability to teach the curricular content in any number of ways, and these can reinforce or disrupt these discourses. There is a difference between the written curriculum and curriculum in use (Mitchell 2016), or in other words, theory and practice. My research pertains to the written curriculum, but as I carried out the study, I began to understand the importance of curriculum in use. I was unable to conduct a robust study of the curriculum in use for the present research due to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, which began shortly before I had intended to begin observing the curriculum in use in classroom settings. Schools across Oklahoma moved entirely to online learning for a time. As a result, I instead analyzed the varied ways that teachers adapted the curriculum to virtual instruction. In some cases this enabled me to catch glimpses the curriculum in use, and in other cases it did not. COVID-19 has had detrimental effects in many areas of life, but it did create a situation where the written curriculum became uniquely important to education, as there was little to no curriculum in use to speak of. Despite this, the vital importance of the curriculum in use became clear.

Research Setting

The arena in which I conducted this research, Oklahoma public education, has been somewhat unstable in the past decade or so and requires some discussion to provide context to the study. Recent years have seen a shift among Oklahoma educators. Many experienced teachers have sought out positions in other states due to problems with low pay for Oklahoma teachers. The mass exodus of educators created a situation in Oklahoma where schools had to fill teaching positions with individuals whose teaching qualifications came from emergency certifications rather than a formal background in teaching and pedagogy. These frustrations over unfair pay culminated in a highly publicized teacher walkout which took place in April 2018. The walkout was driven by teachers protesting low wages, lack of educational resources, and crowded classrooms due to tax cuts and other issues related to the state's allocation of funds. Governor Mary Fallin, governor of Oklahoma at the time of the walkout, infamously compared the protesting teachers to a "teenage kid that wants a better car" (Villafranca 2018). The 2018 walkout was ultimately successful and resulted in the first wage increase for public school teachers in over a decade, but the state's response to this protest paints a telling picture of just how much value (or lack thereof) it places in Oklahoma education. For many teachers, the damage was done.

I conducted most of my research during the 2020-2021 academic year, in the wake of these protests. During this time and beyond, the Oklahoma education landscape experienced more shifts. First and most prominent were the swift adaptations that school districts across the state had to make in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Second were debates incited by the passing of House Bill 1775 on May 7, 2021 – known to many as the bill that banned Critical Race Theory in Oklahoma public schools. Some Oklahoma educators have contested this bill and its implications, noting that Critical Race Theory is meant to lead students toward understanding multiples perspectives of history (Diaz 2021). Even this very dissertation is oriented in Critical Race Theory – not in response to House Bill 1775, as the formation of this research predates the bill, but in acknowledgement of its importance for better understanding how power and inequality are manifested through education. All of these issues in Oklahoma education have a

bearing on how teachers feel about teaching and the curriculum, and their perspectives are as valuable to understanding the benefit of anthropology-based principles in social studies as are my own critical discourse analyses, if not more so. While every Oklahoma teacher is different, I worked with three whose teaching and perspectives shed light on the current state of affairs in Oklahoma history education, as well as what the future may hold.

These three teachers work for the Garfield School District in metropolitan Oklahoma City. Garfield is a large school district and in the 2019-2020 school year had 19,652 students and 1,258 teachers across 26 schools (U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics). Two of the teachers I worked with were at Ford Elementary, and one was at Carter High School. In 2019-2020, Ford reported an enrollment of 494 students and Carter reported 1,565. The student body of Ford is predominantly white, while Carter's has an equally high proportion of white and Black students compared to students of other races (Figure 1). These demographics provide a sense of which racial/ethnic/cultural groups are present among these teachers' students – an important consideration as we explore how Oklahoma social studies curriculum engages in teaching the past.
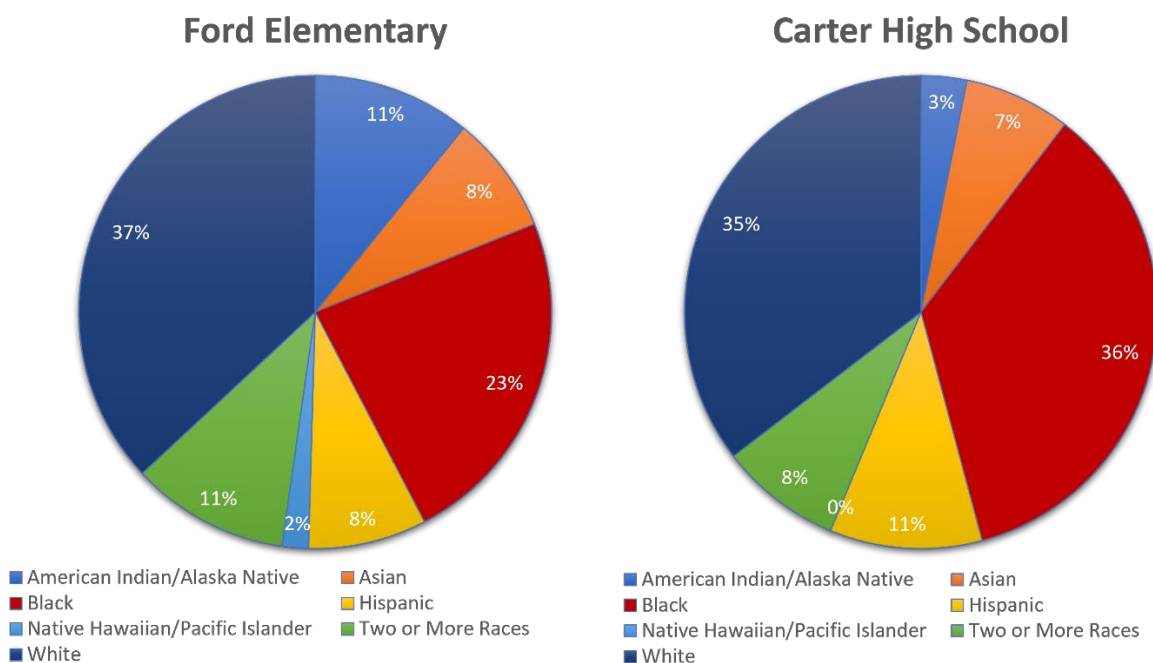
Figure 1. Percentages of students of different racial categories at Ford Elementary and Carter High School. Data from U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics, 2020-2021 academic year.

The Curriculum

To say I am assessing anthropological concepts in social studies curriculum is broad, as numerous different curricula exist across grade levels. Rather than attempt to generalize all possible social studies curriculum in Oklahoma, I chose to conduct three case studies for three: 1. *Project Archaeology: Investigating Shelter* (Letts and Moe 2009), an independently produced curriculum unit teaching archaeology, scientific inquiry, and past cultures pertinent to Oklahoma, 2. *Oklahoma Studies Weekly: Our State* (2019), the 3rd Grade curriculum for all Oklahoma public

schools, and 3. *Oklahoma: Land of Opportunity* (McDonald 2013)*,* the 9th grade curriculum for all Oklahoma public schools. All three provide different approaches to Oklahoma history but are different in their content and delivery.

Each curriculum had a different instructor, as each was for a different grade level or group of students. *Project Archaeology: Investigating Shelter* was taught to a group of 4th Grade "gifted and talented" students at Ford (the gifted and talented program is for high achieving students), while the other two were taught universally to all 3rd and 9th graders at their respective schools. The Project Archaeology curriculum is also different from the other two as it is not a state-adopted curriculum, meaning it is not taught at all schools. Furthermore, it is not expressly an Oklahoma history curriculum, but its content is applicable to the archaeological exploration of Oklahoma's past as well as the archaeology of descendant communities that now call Oklahoma home. These differences mark *Project Archaeology: Investigating Shelter* as unique from the two state-adopted Oklahoma history curricula, but I see these differences as allowing an opportunity for comparison. Is this specialized unit any more or less anthropological than the curriculum adopted by the state? I felt this question was worth exploring, leading me to select these three specific curricula.

Project Archaeology: Investigating Shelter

Project Archaeology: Investigating Shelter, or *Investigating Shelter* for short, is a curriculum unit produced by the independent organization Project Archaeology. The organization is a joint venture between the Bureau of Land Management and Montana State University, and they produce curriculum units on various facets of archaeology for different grade levels. Most of the units are geared towards younger students, including *Investigating Shelter*, which is Project Archaeology's most publicized product. *Investigating Shelter* is intended for students in Grades 3-5.

It is important to consider Project Archaeology's model of distributing their product. The Project Archaeology team conducts professional development workshops – called Leadership Academies – at their headquarters in Bozeman, Montana, and participants are selected through a competitive application process. Teachers and archaeologists from around the United States attend the Leadership Academy to learn how to teach the curriculum to students as well as how to conduct a professional development workshop on the curriculum for educators in their local areas. Upon completion of the Leadership Academy, participants become Project Archaeology Master Teachers who are authorized to lead these professional developments and introduce the Project Archaeology curriculum to teachers in their home communities. Once one of these local teachers takes the workshop, then the hope is that they will start to use the curriculum in their own classrooms. This, briefly, is Project Archaeology's distribution model. Laura, the gifted and talented teacher I worked with for this study, is a Master Teacher herself. She has led local workshops for *Investigating Shelter* in the past, but she also uses it in her own classroom regularly.

Oklahoma Studies Weekly: Our State

Unlike the project archaeology curriculum, the 3rd and 9th Grade Oklahoma History curricula require less introduction, as they are simply the state-adopted curricula that all public

school teachers use. However, the 3rd Grade curriculum – *Studies Weekly: Our State* (*Studies Weekly* for short) – is notable, as the 2020-2021 academic year when I observed it was the first year it was used in Oklahoma classrooms. The state had recently gone through the process of assessing their textbook adoptions, and *Studies Weekly* was chosen to replace the previous curriculum beginning in Fall 2020. *Studies Weekly* is produced in both traditional (physical) and virtual formats. This meant that when the COVID pandemic hit and schools moved to online learning, Hannah did not have to adapt any of her Oklahoma History lessons into an online format. The curriculum was already designed for such a purpose.

     Studies Weekly is presented similarly to a newspaper instead of as a traditional textbook. Its readings take the form of shorter "articles" for students to read. Rather than book chapters, topics are divided into weeks. Each week contains several lessons based on these short newspaper articles. Typically, students must read an article and then either answer a few assessment questions over the content (usually multiple choice quizzes) or engage in an activity. Each week also includes a writing prompt pertinent to that week's content as one of its lessons.

     In terms of content, *Studies Weekly* generally follows a chronological telling of Oklahoma's history. It begins with discussing the oldest known inhabitants of what is now Oklahoma, known primarily through archaeological research, and concludes with a discussion of the Oklahoma City Bombing and past and present famous Oklahomans. Parts of the curriculum also discuss Oklahoma geography, climate, and natural resources. These are less relevant to anthropological literacy and to my study, but they are part of the Oklahoma Academic Standards for 3rd Grade Social Studies and comprise a notable portion of the curriculum.

Oklahoma: Land of Opportunity

     The Oklahoma History state curriculum, taught in 9th Grade, is *Oklahoma: Land of Opportunity* (*Land of Opportunity* for short). Unlike *Studies Weekly*, this curriculum has been in use for some time in Oklahoma public schools. Also unlike *Studies Weekly*, it does not have an online version. It is a typical textbook, organized into chapters with 2-4 topical sections per chapter. Because the content standards for Oklahoma History are different from the 3rd Grade social studies standards, *Land of Opportunity* has much less of a focus on Oklahoma geography and climate compared to *Studies Weekly* and instead provides a more thorough history of Oklahoma. The curriculum's teaching of history begins with the earliest archaeological cultures found in Oklahoma and concludes with discussions of contemporary notable Oklahomans.

<div align="center">The Teachers</div>

     I worked with and observed three teachers, one for each of the three curriculum case studies (*Investigating Shelter, Studies Weekly,* and *Land of Opportunity).* Each teacher has a unique background and outlook on teaching, but all are equally devoted to education. All of these teachers were born and raised in Oklahoma and share a passion for teaching driven by their care for the students.

     First, I introduce Laura. Laura is a teacher at Ford who specializes in teaching students in the school's "gifted and talented" program. She has been teaching or the past five years or so, Laura has taught the *Investigating Shelter* unit to her gifted and talented students, motivated by her personal interest in archaeology and her belief in its educational value. Laura was born and

raised in Oklahoma and received her teaching degree from Oklahoma Baptist University, but she has lived and taught around the United States. Some of these included places with spectacular archaeological sites, like Arizona. I met Laura in 2016, back when I was engaged in public archaeology education and outreach as a director of the Oklahoma Public Archaeology Network. The Network had ties to Project Archaeology, the entity that produced the *Investigating Shelter* curriculum, and I came to know Laura through her position as a Project Archaeology Master Teacher (I will explain this designation in further detail in Chapter 3). Laura's passion for archaeology was evident from our first meeting, and she has always found joy in teaching the *Project Archaeology* unit. More than just loving archaeology, Laura loves teaching, and she has a heart for her students.

Laura faced quite a challenge in adapting the curriculum to an online format during the COVID-19 pandemic. The curriculum contains many hands-on and interactive activities which she could not recreate for online learning. She did however make great effort to adapt as many lessons as possible to a virtual format and include her own Powerpoint presentations, narrations, and supplementary online content (not provided by Project Archaeology) to engage her students. Not all of the lessons in *Investigating Shelter* were possible to convert into an online format, as they are focused heavily on hands-on activity or extensive discussion. In those cases, Laura created new lessons that could be done online and still captured the spirit of the Project Archaeology lesson content.

The second teacher I worked with is Hannah, a 3rd Grade teacher at Ford who teaches Oklahoma History using the *Studies Weekly* curriculum. Born and raised in Oklahoma, Hannah has taught for 15 years, most of which have been within the Garfield School District. She comes from a family of teachers and knew early in her college education that she possessed the same passion for teaching children. The 2020-2021 school year was her first year using *Studies Weekly* – textbook adoptions for Oklahoma public schools are periodically assessed, and this is when changes and updates to curriculum occur. Fall 2020 happened to be the first semester after a new 3rd Grade social studies curriculum was adopted.

Hannah sees the importance of social studies education but is under pressure to work within restrictions placed upon her, especially with respect to standardized testing. State tests for 3rd Grade focus on mathematics and reading, and in my conversations with Hannah and other teachers not connected to this study, I have learned that these pressures can result in some 3rd Grade teachers not teaching social studies at all. At Ford, Hannah and the other 3rd Grade teachers abided by a schedule that assured students would cover social studies (and science) on Wednesdays. It still received less attention than the subjects that are covered in standardized tests, but social studies instruction is a consistent part of the 3rd Grade schedule at Ford. The *Studies Weekly* curriculum was already optimized for an online experience prior to the pandemic, so Hannah did not have to adjust her Oklahoma History instruction to virtual learning – she simply provided students with the online curriculum as it was produced.

Last is Alan, 9th Grade Oklahoma History teacher at Carter. Alan is both a teacher and a soccer coach with a love for the game and for his students. He is a product of the school district in which he now teaches and harbors a love for the community. Having been a teacher for 16 years, Alan's main motivation in continuing the profession is his care for the students. While he is a self-proclaimed "history guy," he cares more about his students finding success in whatever

area they are suited to than he does about molding them into lovers of history. The students are truly at the heart of what Alan does, and he wants to see them succeed.

Unlike 3rd Grade, 9th Grade Oklahoma history is taught to every 9th grader in Oklahoma as a one-semester course, and there are no standardized tests for 9th Grade to interfere with any teaching priorities. Alan's class that I observed took place over the course of the fall semester in 2020. While Ford conducted online learning all year, Carter occasionally allowed some in-person attendance in accordance with trends in virus case numbers at the school. Still, Alan's Oklahoma History class was entirely online. He adapted his instruction by assigning textbook readings, posting PowerPoint presentations, quizzes and exams, and other content such as YouTube videos. Any in-person instruction he did was for the same material he provided online. Alan had very few opportunities to do his Oklahoma History instruction in person, but I was fortunate that the school gave me permission to observe one of these sessions.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation covers a broad spectrum of issues. I synthesized knowledge from several fields of study beyond anthropology, and these require explaining to contextualize how they are related to the research. Furthermore, I am concerned not only with the anthropological literacy of the curriculum, but how these results tie into broader conversations about education in the United States. The remainder of the dissertation will be organized as follows:

Chapter 2 provides a review of the theoretical and methodological considerations needed to contextualize the study. This includes relating anthropological literacy to the field of social studies education, finding the points of congruence that demonstrate why social studies is an ideal avenue for seeking out anthropological principles. I also explore this research's grounding in critical race theory, noting its applications to social studies education and social theory (like anthropology) more broadly. This chapter also discusses the method of critical discourse analysis in more detail, including its specific applications to studying educational texts. Overall, in this chapter I demonstrate how the fields of anthropology, social studies education, critical race theory, and critical discourse analysis all converge to inform the aims and results of this research.

Chapters 3-5 are the three curriculum case studies I have referred to – one chapter each for *Investigating Shelter, Studies Weekly, and Land of Opportunity.* These chapters describe the content of the curriculum (both written and in use) in more detail and provide the results of each of the three critical discourse analyses I conducted. I also assess in each chapter how the overt and covert content of the curriculum relates to anthropological literacy and if there are any notable differences between anthropological literacy between the written curriculum and curriculum in use.

In Chapter 6 I reflect on the similarities and differences among the three case studies and explore the broader implications of these results for education in Oklahoma and the United States. I particularly consider this in light of the recent issues and conversations about Oklahoma education that have taken place recently, as I have described in this chapter, but also my ethnographic perspective as a participant observer of Oklahoma culture, witnessing the conversations on these issues that take place in public forums (especially social media). Most importantly, I will describe how the teachers themselves feel about these issues, as well as their feelings and perspectives on the curriculum and education in general. Finally, Chapter 7

concludes the dissertation, reflecting on the experience and discussing areas of potential future study as revealed through this research.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This research is anthropological in nature, but also requires a knowledge of other fields of research, theory, and method pertaining to social studies education. To understand the applicability of anthropological literacy to social studies curriculum, we need to understand just how anthropology concepts suit the needs of social studies education. This requires an examination of research trends in social studies education and finding points of congruence between these and anthropological research trends. Similarly, I have oriented my research in Critical Race Theory and used a Critical Discourse Analysis methodology, neither of which are born of anthropology, but both of which serve as a meeting point between anthropology and education research, further demonstrating consistencies between the two disciplines.

In this chapter, I will demonstrate the connections between these varied disciplines and their relationship to understanding anthropological literacy in education. I will first explain core tenets of social studies education research pertaining to social studies as the production of citizens, including descriptions of various citizenship discourses that I considered for this study. I will also explain how education researchers have discussed theory vs. practice (written curriculum vs. curriculum in use). In the second section, I describe Critical Race Theory and its relationship to anthropology and social studies education. Last, I explain the method of Critical Discourse Analysis, its applications to education, and its relevance to this anthropological study. By the end of this chapter, the reader should be able to make sense of the relationship between anthropology, social studies education research, Critical Race Theory, and Critical Discourse Analysis to understand the utility of the anthropological literacy concept for social studies curriculum.

Social Studies Education

The school subject of social studies is "the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence (NCSS 2021). It prepares students for citizenship through exposure to the varied knowledge and experience of human relationships. Exactly what "citizenship" means has been debated. In a piece that has remained influential, Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) identified three prevailing traditions to teaching citizenship: citizenship transmission, social science, and reflective inquiry. Citizenship transmission refers to teaching students that being a good citizen means understanding the functions of government, participating in politics, and following the law. The social science citizenship model means that students learn to be good citizens by learning to think like a social scientist. Last, the reflective inquiry model encourages students to become good citizens by identifying and analyzing social issues, then making informed decisions about these issues.

Since Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) introduced these three traditions, social studies education researchers have continued to develop these ideas and what citizenship education means in an ever-changing world. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) propose three conceptions of what makes a "good citizen" – personally responsible, participatory, and justice oriented, each of which carry political implications for what makes a good democracy. Osler (2011) has discussed a need to move toward thinking of citizenship as one's sense of belonging to local, national, or global communities. Furthermore, Levinson (2011) defines citizenship as "constituted by the

meanings, rights, and obligations of membership in publics, as well as the forms of agency and modalities of participation implicated by such membership" (Levinson 2011, 280). As notions of citizenship and "good" citizens shift, so do conceptions of citizenship education in the social studies.

Two strong lines of inquiry have been prevalent in the field of social studies education research in response to these changing ideas about citizenship over the past several decades. The first of these is multicultural education, which seeks to teach social studies in a way that is more culturally relevant for students of color (Banks and Banks 2010). A major aim of multicultural education is to provide a more holistic view of history and humanity, rejecting Euro-centric models of teaching and giving more legitimacy to the situated cultural knowledges of diverse student bodies. To some extent, it also aims to foster critical analysis of social inequality based on this diversity. Banks (1993) named five dimensions of multiculturalism: content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, an equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture and social structure. Multicultural education is relevant for students in the United States with changes in demographics, increases in immigration, and shifts in political circumstances that have contributed to ever-increasing diversity in students' communities (Gay 1994; Nieto 1992).

Global education is another frequently discussed approach in education research. Global education builds on the foundations of multicultural education, but rather than focusing on multicultural representation, it aims to produce "global citizens" that have a competent understanding of global systems and their individual existence within them, in turn promoting empathy for other cultures (Banks 2004; Gaudelli 2017; Tye 2003). Education researchers have discussed a lack of global perspectives in the curriculum in favor of a conception of citizenship through nationalism, and they call for curriculum and instruction to move toward a focus on creating cosmopolitans (Myers 2006). Overall, we have seen shifts in social studies education in regards to what citizenship means and how to best teach citizenship, whether through multicultural or global education approaches. To understand just how different social studies education approaches apply notions of citizenship, we can study curricular discourse.

Citizenship Discourses

In exploring ways that varied conceptions of citizenship in social studies education have changed in the past several decades, I refer to Abowitz and Harnish's (2006) citizenship discourses. The authors propose the existence of several different discourses of citizenship that we can identify in past and present social studies education, arguing for a move away from some in favor of others to produce citizens that are more prepared to navigate a diverse world. Informed by these ideas and the existence of multiple types of citizenship discourses, I have distilled Abowitz and Harnish's designations into four discourses that best summarize the combined aims and concerns of social studies education, Critical Race Theory, and anthropology.

The four types of citizenship discourse guiding this research are conservative discourse, liberal discourse, critical discourse, and transnational discourse (Abowitz and Harnish 2006). In this section, I explain how each of these discourses express notions of what it means to be a "good citizen," and how this has changed throughout the history of social studies education and

across lines of inquiry for multicultural education and global education. I will also clarify to what extent each of these citizenship discourses is consistent with anthropological principles, demonstrating how uncovering them through Critical Discourse Analysis is part of the process of assessing anthropological literacy.

Conservative Citizenship

Abowitz and Harnish (2006) describe what they call civic Republican citizenship discourse, which is foremost concerned with service and loyalty to one's political community – primarily that of the nation-state, but also at state and local levels. This promotes a patriotic and nationalistic view of citizenship. For purposes of this study and to better complement liberal citizenship discourse (described below), I think of civic republican discourse simply as conservative discourse. Overall, conservative citizenship discourse brings civics to the forefront of social studies education out of a desire for students to understand the history and present circumstances of government before understanding other aspects of history and humanity.

Conservative citizenship has fallen out of favor in contemporary social studies education research and has received much critique. For example, Benei (2011) describes the ways in which students' senses of belonging to the political community intersect with the production of citizenship as it is negotiated with nationalism and notions of modernity. Despite the critiques of the conservative citizenship model in educational research, it persists in the education system at the government level, which favors a teaching of "traditional" history and patriotism over examining social inequality in U.S. society across time (Myers 2006). Conservative citizenship discourse was particularly prevalent in the 1990s and early 2000s. Attitudes are slowly changing, but actions during the Trump presidency indicate that preferences for conservative citizenship discourse in education still persist among some (Wise 2020).

Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (2000) provide a detailed account of conservative citizenship in the 1990s. The authors describe the ways that they personally were met with political resistance to their attempts to embed multiculturalism into national standards. While the intent of multicultural education is to provide a way for students to critically evaluate social issues, policymakers adhering to conservative models of citizenship saw it as an attempt to force "political correctness" upon students. This favoring of conservative citizenship discourse as patriotic indoctrination has continued as a key point of tension between educational research and policy. Recent dialogues regarding the use of Critical Race Theory in education suggest that this tension still exists (Martinez-Keel and Forman 2021).

Liberal Citizenship

Abowitz and Harnish (2006) have discussed what they call neoliberal and political liberal citizenship discourses. For this study, I simply refer to liberal citizenship discourse – that which promotes democratic ideals of entitlements to equal rights and treatment as well as participation in self-rule. Such discourses frequently emphasize unity of difference and notions of "colorblindness." In other words, liberal citizenship discourse perpetuates the idea that the democratic system (in this case, of the United States) guarantees equal rights for all people, and that all people are therefore equal.

Liberal citizenship discourse is pervasive in education today. As an example, both the Oklahoma Academic Standards for Social Studies (Oklahoma State Department of Education 2019) and C3 framework (Swan et al. 2013) place a heavy emphasis on democracy and democratic participation. This is of course evident in sections of these policy documents that are concerned with civics standards and instruction, but we can also identify some of these liberal discourses in their discussions of geography and culture (and, to some extent, history). Phrases like "diverse, but unified" are used numerous times to diminish the multiple culturally situated experiences that pervade history and the present, demonstrating that students are being asked to uncritically accept the validity of democracy.

Neither conservative nor liberal citizenship models are reminiscent of anthropological principles, but they are both necessary to consider in this study when determining anthropological literacy in Oklahoma education. A prevalence of these two citizenship discourses in Oklahoma social studies curriculum would mean that the curriculum is not ideal for promoting anthropological literacy.

Critical Citizenship

The third citizenship discourse I have adapted from Abowitz and Harnish's (2006) classifications is critical discourse, which focuses on imbalances in power dynamics in society as they are mapped onto commonly used social distinctions like gender, race, class, etc. Critical citizenship discourse encourages students to confront power structures that perpetuate inequalities. Some origins of these ideas can be traced to Friere's (1982) critical pedagogy, which refers to a pedagogy that emancipates students from oppression through awakening their critical consciousness. To accomplish this, Friere called for an adoption of "problem-based learning," an educational model in which students are encouraged to think and actively solve problems that the teacher presents (rather than positioning the teacher as the arbiter of knowledge). Friere's groundbreaking ideas echo many of the central tenets of multicultural education, which similarly advocates an approach to learning based on equal representation of diverse student perspectives (Banks and Banks 2010).

Works by Epstein (2010) and Paris and Alim (2017) also exemplify applications of critical discourse. Epstein's work examines the roles that racial identities play in shaping perceptions about U.S. history, and she argues that social studies education should have a goal of promoting social justice by encouraging students to confront unequal power structures. Epstein's perspective is that teaching for social justice can be achieved through education that presents realities of not only history, but how it is written, by whom, and for whose benefit. This is, by definition, a critical approach. Paris and Alim (2017) similarly place their emphasis on race in their conception of culturally sustaining pedagogies. These scholars advocate for an approach to education that fosters true cultural pluralism in pursuit of social justice. Paris and Alim are not as explicit as Epstein in asking student to critically examine inequalities, but they are absolutely still adhering to a critical model of citizenship in advocating for curriculum and instruction that centers on the complex experiences of students of color.

The critical model of citizenship is clearly informed by anthropology and other social sciences. It focuses on unequal power dynamics, as well as efforts at culturally pluralistic teaching to provide a more thorough representation of past experiences. While the former is

clearly an aim of anthropology and larger social theory (especially in the works of theorists like Foucault and Bourdieu, as I will describe later in this chapter), anthropology has particularly focused on the latter. Post-colonial work in anthropology, as well as work focused on political economy, has worked toward a more culturally pluralistic retelling of history. To reduce this phenomenon to one key concept from anthropology: critical citizenship discourse be considered a manifestation of anthropological perspectives on power, dominance, and hegemony. I will build on these ideas in my discussion of Critical Race Theory later in this chapter.

Transnational Citizenship

Finally, there is transnational citizenship discourse (Abowitz and Harnish 2006). This type of discourse communicates citizenship to enable students to navigate their sense of belonging in local, state, national, and – most importantly – global communities. It helps students to form their global identities and understand where they fit into global systems (Levinson 2011). Transnational citizenship is the aim of the global education movement, which calls for education to be more globally-oriented and seeks to produce cosmopolitans. Because global education is a relatively new paradigm in social studies education, aspects of globalization are perhaps not as prevalent in curriculum as are aspects of multiculturalism, but this has been a research focus over the past decade (Gilbertson 2016; Myers 2006).

Recent educational research emphasis on transnational citizenship is quite comparable to recent anthropological research on globalization and global identity. Important anthropological concepts like global flows (Appadurai 1990) and rearticulations of citizenship (Ong 2005) are clearly compatible with the aims of transnational citizenship discourses. The anthropological work on negotiating identity in the era of globalization can be boiled down to the fundamental concept of cultural relativism. This work and transnational citizenship discourses both support an approach to global systems that promotes a culturally relativistic understanding of the variety of human experience. As is the case with multicultural education, I will build on these connections in the next section about Critical Race Theory. Indeed, the concepts of multicultural education, global education, critical citizenship, transnational citizenship, Critical Race Theory, and anthropology overlap in numerous ways in regards to their central tenets and goals.

Theory versus Practice in Citizenship Education

Clearly, the aims of anthropology and education are similar. However, we can see a gap between theory and practice where some citizenship discourses are concerned. Transnational discourse and global education pervade educational research, but can the same be said of instruction? After all, no matter what citizenship discourses (Abowitz and Harnish 2006) may be prevalent in educational research and policy, it is ultimately up to teachers themselves to engage in such discourses (Dilworth 2004). In light of this, we must revisit the multicultural education, global education, and the citizenship discourses we can find within them, as each demonstrate gaps between theory and practice in the curriculum.

Researchers in education have also understood this theory/practice gap and have thus engaged in numerous discussions of curriculum theory, seeking to define precisely what curriculum is and how to understand its different manifestations. Mitchell (2016) synthesized these decades of discussion and conceptualized eleven types of curriculum, each of which

describes a different aspect of curriculum theory and/or practice. Mitchell's eleven types of curriculum, based on decades of research by multiple education theorists, are 1. overt, explicit or written, 2. social curriculum or societal, 3. hidden, 4. phantom, 5. null, 6. rhetorical, 7. concomitant, 8. received, 9. curriculum in use, 10. Electronic, and 11. internal curriculum. For this research, and in the interest of exploring the theory-practice gap with respect to curriculum and citizenship discourses, I have chosen to focus on the overt/explicit/written curriculum (simplified here as written curriculum) – theory – and curriculum in use – practice.

Written curriculum refers to those aspects of curriculum that are part of formal schooling and instruction (Kumari and Srivastava 2005). According to Mitchell (2016), these can include standards and policy documents, lesson plans, and curriculum documents like textbooks. For this study, I focus on the latter two – textbooks and materials intended for students to learn from, as well as the corresponding teacher lesson plans. Curriculum in use, on the other hand, refers to what is actually taught and delivered to students by teachers (Mitchell 2016). This can differ from the written curriculum, hence the theory-practice gap. Among the three case studies I conducted, the amount of curriculum in use present was variable, due to the different constraints placed on each teacher as a result of COVID-19. In any case however, it is important to remember the potential for gaps between theory (written curriculum) and practice (curriculum in use) and how these relate to citizenship discourses.

Research and theory on multicultural education suggests that curriculum informed by multicultural education would communicate critical citizenship discourses, given that its central tenets are based on confronting educational inequity for students of color. However, based on numerous scholarly critiques of multicultural education, it appears that liberal citizenship is instead more prevalent – at least, in the implemented curriculum. Wills (1996) contends that although students of color are the primary target for multicultural education, white students are in greater need of it. Conducting observations of classroom instruction of multicultural curriculum, Willis notes that people of color throughout history are presented removed from their contemporary counterparts, fostering an attitude within white students that past oppression has no modern expressions. He attributes this to the curriculum in use rather than the written curriculum. Nieto (1994) has also criticized multicultural education for failing to move beyond mere tolerance of racial and cultural differences (in comparison to acceptance or critique). Like Wills, she attributes this issue to teachers' misinterpretation of multicultural education despite its aims being clearly articulated in educational research. Put simply, there is a clear gap between theory and practice in multicultural education.

Anthropologists have observed this gap. While these scholars were not specifically looking at multicultural education, Castagno (2008) and Shoshana (2017) have both conducted studies that demonstrate the ways that teachers promulgate liberal citizenship regardless of curriculum content. Both studies focus on notions of race and problematic colorblind ideology. Castagno (2008) examines the ways that silence about race in classrooms legitimized whiteness among two U.S. schools with differing degrees of racial and socioeconomic diversity among students. In both schools, regardless of how diverse the student bodies were, the predominantly white teacher workforce consistently silenced discussions of race. This led to a conflation of "race" with "culture," ultimately promoting a unity of difference, ignoring racial inequality, and perpetuating whiteness as the status quo. Shoshana (2017) demonstrates how this phenomenon transcends American education with her study of racial discourse in Israel. Focusing on a

particular lesson designed to teach about racism, Shoshana found that teachers actively prevented their minority ethnicity students from applying the lesson to their own experiences and instead forced them to apply the lesson only to its intended topic – the Holocaust. This was a product of the teachers' adherence to colorblindness ideology, ultimately oppressing minority students.

Some scholars have commented on the gap between written curriculum and curriculum in use for global education as well. Tye (2003) has noted that global education, especially in its early forms, risks becoming ethnocentric if not applied correctly in the curriculum in use. As I have discussed, the global education written curriculum is meant to promote transnational citizenship discourse, but scholars have suggested that the curriculum in use may instead be more consistent with liberal citizenship discourse. Bellino (2018) provides an example from Guatemala, where concerted efforts to foster "global citizens" and highlight local inequalities had the unintended effect of encouraging students to construct a neoliberal view of citizenship. That is, they came to interpret their roles as global citizens as an impetus to become globally competitive, ultimately reinforcing the oppressive power structures that the curriculum was meant to reject.

Overall, when we examine the various citizenship discourses that have pervaded social studies education and its major research paradigms, we can see that the past 20 to 30 years of research have clearly been informed by social science, including anthropology. Multicultural and global education models demonstrate obvious congruence with theoretical shifts in anthropological research. However, research from both anthropology and education reveals a gap between the written curriculum and curriculum in use where these citizenship models are concerned. This study aims to explore this gap and examine anthropological literacy as a potential solution.

Critical Race Theory

It is clear where social studies education research and ideas about "citizenship" intersect with anthropological ideas, given that social studies education and anthropology both share a foundation in broader social science. However, a particularly notable intersection between these fields is their relationship to Critical Race Theory, an often-discussed but rarely understood theoretical orientation that has multiple applications to education (including, recently, public discussions about education). What exactly is Critical Race Theory, how is it a useful framework for relating social studies education to anthropology, and how much of what we hear about it in public spaces is accurate? In this section, I first explain what Critical Race Theory is, discussing its origins and developments. Second, I provide an overview of the foundations of Critical Race Theory within the field of education. Last, I detail the points of congruence between Critical Race Theory in education anthropology with the goal of demonstrating that Critical Race Theory is in fact grounded in anthropological literacy, even when many anthropologists may not explicitly identify themselves as working within a Critical Race Theory framework.

Origins and Central Tenets

Critical Race Theory, or CRT, is a theoretical approach that calls for examining the ways that societies systematically oppress people of color (Delgado and Stefancic 2013). CRT in social science has expanded to explore the intersectionality of identities in non-racial

marginalized groups (i.e. women, LGBTQ communities) with race, which remains the focus of CRT. CRT's origins are within legal studies, and it began as a response to civil rights discourse of the 1950s and 1960s. Such discourse included concepts like "colorblindness and "equal opportunity," concepts that are still quite prolific today in public discourse about race and diversity. These discourses are similar to liberal discourses (Abowitz and Harnish 2006).

This 50s-60s era civil rights discourse promoted a view of racism as something that is committed by individuals – not systems – and that is anomalous in an otherwise just world (Gotanda 1995). In addressing the systemic nature of racism, CRT unpacks the ways in which these civil rights discourses were not actually about human rights (as most would say), but realistically about property rights (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). In essence, it addresses how societal and political conceptions of property ownership (i.e. who owns property, who is property, etc.) lead to inequalities, because property ownership grants more privilege and access to power in the American political system. We can see in American history the emergence of a system where only white people had access to property – a system that has created lasting inequalities (Bell 2013).

CRT places an emphasis on historical analysis to demonstrate the deep-seated nature of racist systems (Delgado and Stefancic 2013). One of the most prominent founding figures of CRT, Derrick Bell, has engaged in scholarship on resisting these ideologies and critiquing the inherent racism of the legal system in the post-Civil Rights Movement United States. Bell's work seeks to provide a more logical and accurate analysis of race and law, using both historical and contemporary approaches to best understand the development and proliferation of racist legal systems (Bell 1995). This type of approach, in Bell's work and others using CRT, reminds us that racism has manifested in a variety of ways over time. In short, it communicates that racism was not eradicated with the civil rights movement in the 1960s, and contemporary conversations about racism are still very much necessary in pursuit of its eradication.

Another important concept within CRT is storytelling and voice scholarship. The voices and stories of people are color are amplified in CRT, as scholars recognize that reality is situated according to different experiences and positions within systems of racial inequality (Delgado 2013). For example, white people may not see racism as real because it is not part of their situated reality, while racism is part of Black situated realities every day. Richard Delgado, another prominent CRT scholar, calls for focusing research on the experiences of people of color and highlighting their cumulative situated realities throughout history and today. As we can see with the work of both Bell and Delgado, CRT places an emphasis on historical analysis, because it demonstrates the deeply entrenched nature of racist systems and reminds us that racism is not a new phenomenon (Delgado 2013).

Foundations in Education

The field of education research began to use CRT in the 1990s. CRT was always used to uncover racism within legal systems, but education researchers saw an opportunity to apply it to a different type of system - education (Hawkman 2017; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; López 2003; Tate 1997). 1995 can be considered the point of origin for CRT in education, as this was when the landmark piece and call to apply CRT to education studies was published by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995). These scholars draw parallels between Bell's (1995) discussion of civil

rights discourses and the educational paradigm of multicultural education and multiculturalism. As previously discussed, multicultural education seeks to make social studies education more culturally relevant for students of color and provides a more holistic view of history and humanity (Banks and Banks 2010). This approach rejects Euro-centric models of teaching and affords more legitimacy to the situated cultural knowledges of diverse student bodies.

However, through the lens of CRT, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) provide a critique of multicultural education. They assert that it promotes ideologies like "colorblindness" and "equal opportunity" (Gotanda 1995) found within civil rights discourse (Bell 1995) and argue that multicultural education does not actually promote the critical thinking required to effect radical changes in racist systems. Since 1995, CRT has been seen in education circles as an excellent tool for uncovering racist systems and discourses within educational systems. It has scarcely been adopted outside the United States, however, and educational scholarship has started calling for this approach to be applied to non-U.S. contexts (Gillborn 2006).

Critical Race Theory and Anthropology

The previous section provides an overview of the history and aims of CRT, but what of specific examples and application of CRT to education? In this section, I describe such examples while also exploring how they intersect with core concepts from anthropology, despite anthropology and CRT developing quite separately. Scholars influential to multiple social science traditions, such as Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, have contributed ideas that are clearly applicable to both CRT and anthropology, but scholars that specifically conduct anthropological research have also posited concepts and approaches that accomplish the goals of CRT in education, even if the anthropologists themselves may not identify themselves as working within a CRT framework. In this section, I demonstrate the shared aims and concerns of anthropologists and researchers operating within CRT.

Power

When discussing foundational theory in social science, the umbrella for both anthropology and social studies education research, it is necessary to unpack notions of power. Indeed, as an approach that seeks to dismantle racist systems, Critical Race Theory (whether applied to education or anthropology) is all about imbalances of power – who has it, why they have it, and how to disrupt it. To discuss power, CRT, education, and anthropology, we can start with the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. These two theorists and their ideas provide an entry point for exploring the ways that CRT is a point of congruence for education research and anthropology.

Foucault's body of scholarly work shows a particular concern with power and its different expressions. Like CRT scholars, Foucualt was interested in examining power at the systemic level. Some of his best known work examines power within closed systems (always in Western colonizer contexts, notably). *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1977) is one such example, as Foucualt discusses power structures in a review of the history of the prison system. Notable here is that he focuses on the *history* of this system – just as CRT also emphasizes historical analyses of systems (Delgado and Stefancic 2013). Using the prison system as a microcosm, Foucault sees power as an instrument of social control.

He effectively demonstrates this idea through his famous discussion of panopticism (Foucault 1977). Originally theorized by Bentham, the panopticon is a structure within prisons that allows a warden to see every prison cell but prevents prisoners from seeing the warden. This type of prison structure forces prisoners to submit to authority regardless of whether or not a warden is actually present. Foucault sees the panopticon as a metaphor for hegemony (*sensu* Gramsci). Foucault then applies the panopticon metaphor to his idea of "docile bodies" (Foucault 1977), which refers to hegemonic control over the body. In short summary, he likens the prison system to the Western school system, where students are forced into docility or else they shall receive punishment. By understanding the ways that Foucault compares schools to prisons, we can also understand the ways that systemic power and dominance in the prison system are parallel to the ways that critical race theorists in education uncover racist systems of power within education.

Recall, as well, that Foucault's docile bodies relate to one of the six principles of anthropological literacy – hegemony. Beyond recognizing the existence of power dynamics within a society, hegemony refers to one's own consent (knowing or unknowing) to these power dynamics (Gramsci 1971). Foucault's was not the first to discuss how hegemony acts within schools. Friere's (1982) critical pedagogy also addresses hegemony. Friere calls for an education that enables students to learn about their own positions within hegemonic structures (achieving critical consciousness). Gaudelli (2017) has also critiqued a lack of critical self-reflection in global citizenship education – another form of enabling students to understand their positions within power structures, in this case on a global scale. Hegemony is a key part of understanding social power more broadly as it is discussed in fields like anthropology, education, or CRT scholarship.

Continuing to consider hegemony in our understanding of the theoretical foundations of power and systems, it is important to discuss the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu. Among Bourdieu's vast theoretical contributions, two are particularly relevant to CRT – his notions of symbolic power and cultural capital. First, symbolic power refers to the ways that subjects are unconsciously dominated (Bourdieu 1991) and the actions that actively harm those subjects. In other words, racism (as well as sexism, etc.) is a result of the exertion of symbolic power. Racism relies not only on the dominator's overt exertion of power, but also on hegemony, which enables the dominated to covertly accept their position in the power scheme. It is clear how this relates to CRT – one might even think of CRT as a way of studying symbolic power. CRT enables us to understand that systems, educational otherwise, have the symbolic power to silence the voices of the oppressed.

For example: in a CRT-based study, López (2003) argues that educational leadership education (i.e. education for principals and administrators) does not sufficiently equip school leaders to understand race relations. For instance, when discussing a historic race-related incident, consider whether the curriculum and instruction on that topic frames the event as a "race riot." According to López, when the curriculum and instruction does not label a historic incident as a "race riot," the curriculum and/or the instructor actively minimizes the significance of the event as evidence of a racist political system. This speaks to CRT's critiques of civil rights discourse (Crenshaw et al. 1995), that they reduce racism to individual and irrational acts rather than something that is enacted through systems. In López's example (2003), the race-related

historic incident in question is not properly framed as a culmination of violence based on generations of oppression. Rather, it is misleadingly presented as an isolated occurrence incited by a few angry Black people. López therefore demonstrates how symbolic power can be imbued into curriculum and reify white power and control over historical narratives about race.

Lopez's example is directly applicable to Oklahoma education. The 1921 event known as the Tulsa Race Massacre has received much attention in Oklahoma recently, as educators and politicians in the state have fought in recent years for the event to be taught in schools in a robust way. Their efforts were successful, but they also exposed the fact that the event had long been referred to colloquially as the "Tulsa Race Riot." The increased public discourse about this historical event and its inclusion in Oklahoma curriculum started a conversation – is "riot" the right term for what happened on that day? The label "massacre" in place of "riot" has become preferred, as it more accurately describes what happened to the Greenwood community in Tulsa. "Race riot" implies that violence was incited by the Black citizens of Tulsa, but "race massacre" implies (correctly) that the Black community in Tulsa's Greenwood District was purposefully targeted by white aggressors as a result of longstanding Black oppression. In short, CRT in education is the reason the much-needed change from "riot" to "massacre" took place, and anthropologists can understand this as a disruption of the symbolic power imbued within Oklahoma's educational system.

In addition to symbolic power, Bourdieu's (1987) concept of cultural capital is another that connects to CRT, especially its applications to education. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital refers to one's cultural knowledge and competency – in other words, how much an individual is valued within a particular cultural context. One's degree of cultural capital is therefore a determining factor in social status. Power systems determine what is or is not desirable in a person, and the more one fits into this mold, the more cultural capital they have (and, consequently, the higher their social standing).

CRT Scholar Yosso (2005) provides a thorough explanation of the ways that cultural capital intersects with race, and she critiques the harmful ways that the concept has been appropriated in education. She demonstrates that educational researchers have often interpreted cultural capital as a tool for explaining academic achievement gaps along the color line. In education circles, Yosso says, those in power have interpreted cultural capital as something that a person either "has" or "does not have." This creates a sense of value judgments based on one's cultural capital, presuming that there is a "correct" type of cultural capital versus an "incorrect" type, each of which have differential effects on students' academic achievement. Unsurprisingly, according to Yosso, the "correct" cultural capital for academic success is the cultural knowledge possessed by white people. This way of understanding cultural capital creates a system where white people "have" cultural capital and people of color do not, therefore explaining achievement gaps. This promotes systemic racism in education, because it clearly values one type of cultural knowledge and experience over all others and provides a justification for racial inequalities in education. Therefore, CRT scholars like Yosso call for a reconceptualization of cultural capital into "community cultural wealth," which regards all types of cultural knowledge as equally valid (Yosso 2005).

Colonialism

Foucault and Bourdieu offer important conceptions of power through which to understand just how similar the aims of CRT and anthropology are, but to that end, it is also useful to clearly articulate how power has been applied to colonial systems. For example, Said's (1978) Orientalism concept demonstrates how colonial power structures are formed by particular systems of thinking and representation – those that he calls "Orientalist." Orientalism is a clear division of Western cultures from all others, and this bifurcation results in the homogenization of all non-Western cultures. Said examines the fundamental power structures of colonialism and demonstrates how power, dominance, and hegemony are embedded into various systems (notably including academic studies of the "Orient.") Spivak (1988) builds on this criticism of "post-colonial" work in academia, arguing that the elevation of the white academic voice over the voices of the oppressed do nothing to resist colonial narratives. Instead, she argues, the "subaltern" should be given space to speak for themselves.

Said and Spivak's critiques of colonial power structures in academia and the resulting silencing of non-Western voices echoes CRT's aims to amplify the voices of the oppressed (Delgado 2013). The Orientalist view of culture in academia and other fields results in an erasure of the voices of dominated people of color in historical narrative and today. CRT is not an anthropological tradition, but there have been recent calls to incorporate ethnographic methods into it; CRT scholars contend that any ethnographies should be guided by the oppressed (Duncan 2005). This speaks directly to anthropological concerns in post-colonialism.

Political Economy

So far we have examined the congruence between CRT and anthropology by looking at ideas that are highly influential in anthropology – docile bodies, symbolic power, cultural capital, and Orientalism. However, there are also ideas from anthropology itself that further demonstrate how CRT serves as a connection between social studies education and anthropology. One very clear example is the work to emerge from the political economy school of thought in anthropology. Political economy refers to a movement within anthropology that uses historical approaches to analyzing global systems – inextricably tied with colonial systems – that have contributed to modern inequalities. It does so by focusing on intersections between culture, social status, and hegemony. It aims to retell histories of global systems as informed by knowledge of power structures created by colonial processes. Theorists in political economy do not specifically situate race at the forefront of their studies, but they engage with it indirectly by unpacking the complexities of colonialism, an inherently racist system resulting in the domination of people of color by white Europeans. Immediately, we can see the relevance of this theory to CRT, as both revolve around uncovering historical origins of inequalities.

To explore this connection, first consider the work of Eric Wolf. Wolf's (1982) *Europe and the People Without History* is a landmark work in political economy, wherein Wolf gives credence to Said's arguments by showing the ways through which unequal power dynamics shape unequal representation of history – and, furthermore, how this has influenced our understanding of global systems. Wolf's point is that history has long been attributed to the West only. In other words, the West has a history, but no one else does, because traditional views of history have focused solely on the European perspective. Wolf provides a more comprehensive history of global systems and, while not necessarily giving a platform for subalterns to speak on

their history in these systems (Spivak 1988), he is successful in widening historical perspectives of colonialism. It is clear how Wolf's work represents a major step in anthropology towards meeting CRT's goal of emphasizing the situated realities of people of color in historical narratives (Delgado 2013).

Sidney Mintz is another important anthropologist of political economy. His work on the history and global economy of sugar (Mintz 1986) is a prime example of the type of historical representation that Wolf (1982) calls for. To speak to CRT's concerns, Mintz shows how the situated realities (Delgado 2013) based around sugar speak to differences in social status. For example, white colonial rulers saw sugar as a critical factor in economic growth, while Black slaves saw sugar as a symbol of oppression. We see through Mintz' work how colonial power is manifested through the deep roots of systemic commoditization and capitalism.

Though not himself a political economist, anthropologist Paul Farmer has demonstrated a considerable amount of influence from Mintz's work, and it is through Farmer that we can further understand the relevance of Mintz' brand of political economy to CRT. Farmer's work revolves around the notion of structural violence, particularly regarding AIDS and tuberculosis afflictions in Haiti (Farmer 2004, 2009). He argues that these afflictions are embodiments of structural inequalities reaching back to the colonial era which have resulted in unequal access to medical diagnostics and treatment, and he cites Mintz's historical approach to political economy as a framework for understanding how to trace these structures back throughout the history of colonialism (Farmer 2004). This echoes the aims of CRT scholars to trace histories of inequality to explain its modern expressions (Crenshaw et al. 1995, Delgado and Stefancic 2013). Furthermore, Farmer's work intersects with the issue of storytelling and representation in CRT (Delgado 2013, Duncan 2005). Like Wolf and Mintz, he calls for the stories of those affected by structural violence to be properly represented and embedded in ethnography as part of a larger narrative about the global systems that enacted said violence.

Globalization

The works of Wolf, Mintz, and the political economy approach are similar to CRT's focus on historical analyses of unequal systems. However, CRT is also focused on how these historical foundations continue to have effects today; likewise, contemporary scholars in anthropology are wrestling with questions regarding the ways that past racist systems, and the Euro-centric recounting of their history, have had consequences today. Anthropologists have explored these consequences through studies of globalization.

One such anthropologist is Arjun Appadurai; some of his older, highly influential works are perhaps beginning to fall outside the scope of "contemporary," but they bear mentioning as they are important for understanding the more recent work of other anthropologists. Appadurai (1990) provides us with the important and influential concept of global flows and the ways they create disjuncture between global processes and cultural identity. Global flows refer to the ways that cultures around the world influence each other. Appadurai proposed five of these:

1. Ethnoscapes: movement of people across borders
2. Technoscapes: proliferation of technologies, particularly those that increase ethnoscapes
3. Financescapes: movement of money across borders
4. Mediascapes: spread of news and information across the globe

5.   Ideoscapes: spread of ideas, symbols, and narratives across the globe

In a world of imagined communities tied to the boundaries of nation states (Anderson 2006), global flows help us to understand the disruptions of these boundaries and deterritorialization of cultural groups.

These general ideas provide a backdrop for understanding the work of Anna Tsing and Aihwa Ong. In her work, Tsing (2011) develops the concept of "friction" as a metaphor for the differences that arise in global politics, economics, and social issues. Tsing outwardly professes Appadurai's (1990) heavy influence on her ideas, explaining the ways that friction arises in different types of global flows. Tsing's work is important for giving us a framework through which to understand contemporary global systems and the tensions that arise from globalization.

Ong is another prominent scholar of globalization, but in discussing anthropology's connections to CRT, it is useful to specifically consider her writings on citizenship (Ong 2005). She argues that globalization changes the way that citizenship is articulated, and it has resulted in a hegemonic global system where notions of citizenship are less tied to the nation-state and more to neoliberal principles that are seen as democratic – for example, character traits like entrepreneurialism, which idealistically assume equal rights and access to power. There are obvious similarities Ong's arguments and CRT's criticism of colorblind civil rights ideologies (Gotanda 1995). CRT scholars and anthropologists alike reject ideologies like colorblindness for reducing racism to the individual level and ignoring power structures. Education researchers discussing global education are also engaged in these conversations as they advocate for an education that helps students understand their role within global systems (Levinson 2011); we can see how CRT provides a point of intersection between anthropology and education research on the topic of globalization.

Cosmopolitanism

Finally, I shall discuss one more anthropological concept that represents the connection between anthropology and CRT: cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is a concept that exists in multiple fields of social theory, including anthropology, and it refers to the idea that all human beings belong to a single community. In essence, one rejects their local identity in favor of a global identity. Furthermore, cosmopolitanism is comparable to the aims of the global education paradigm in social studies, as previously described. Cosmopolitanism has the potential to serve as a force of resistance against the dangers of nationalism (Robbins 2012). However, if the concept of cosmopolitanism is misappropriated, it can result in the erasure of the voices of the oppressed by equating the white experience to that of people of color. Like Bourdieu's cultural capital, the concept itself does not perpetuate inequalities, but it does have the potential to reinforce ideologies about colorblindness (Gotanda 1995) if misapplied. Robbins (2012) argues that one should only consider themselves cosmopolitan if one is willing to turn a critical lens on their own society. For Robbins, cosmopolitanism requires a detachment from the local community, and this detachment must be all-encompassing; it cannot disappear when convenience calls for it.

To demonstrate this idea, Robbins discusses nationalistic identity during wartime in the United States. According to Robbins (2012), a U.S. citizen should not profess to be cosmopolitan if they are unwilling to detach themselves from their American identity during times of war that

they consider to be unjust, afraid of the repercussions that come from dissociating with American identity at a time when American men and women are being sent into harm's way. In this way, cosmopolitanism can be a powerful way of confronting power structures, but there does exist some potential to misappropriate the concept as an instrument of homogenization in the ways that Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) described. Cosmopolitanism is alive and well within social studies education research as well, taking the form of conversations about global education (Banks 2004; Gaudelli 2017; Myers 2006; Tye 2003) and sometimes even called cosmopolitan education. Again, CRT is a meeting point for this type of education research and anthropological research.

Undoubtedly, CRT and anthropology are far more similar than many scholars explicitly state. CRT is not an anthropological tradition, having its origins in law and proliferating to social science later. However, there are numerous points of intersection between the two traditions, and combining the two approaches in a critical study of social studies curriculum provides a unique approach to uncovering systemic racism and other power structures within the education system. I have demonstrated that there is much congruence between CRT and anthropology, and the two fields have much to offer one another. Because education research has been using CRT for some time, this means that we can by extension observe several commonalities between social studies education research and anthropology. In light of this information, I ask the reader to understand moving forward that CRT employs a culturally relativistic view of cultures and ways of knowing, past and present, with an understanding of the lived cultural consequences of human variation. In this way, it is grounded in anthropological literacy.

<div align="center">Critical Discourse Analysis</div>

The last concept pertinent to this research that requires explanation is Critical Discourse Analysis. Unlike CRT, Critical Discourse Analysis is a methodology – not a theoretical orientation. However, as with CRT, it is important to understand how Critical Discourse Analysis is congruent with anthropological principles and is therefore an appropriate method for examining anthropological literacy in social studies. The study of discourse spans multiple disciplines and theoretical traditions. In discourse analyses of educational contexts in particular, a popular method has been Critical Discourse Analysis, or CDA. CDA and linguistic anthropology share a common theoretical ancestry, but the two disciplines have largely developed separately while aiming to answer similar questions about power in society. However, this separation means that most researchers using CDA are not anthropologists, and therefore many CDA studies lack the valuable insights of the anthropological perspective. As a theoretical construct, it is easy to see how Critical Race Theory and anthropology intersect; but as CDA is a method, and not a theory, its intersections with anthropology are less obvious.

Regardless, I argue that CDA has great potential to be used as a powerful tool in anthropology, and I intend for my own study to demonstrate this. First, however, it is necessary to describe CDA's origins and applications. In this section, I first describe Critical Discourse Analysis, its foundations, its important scholars, and how it operates as a methodology. Then, I demonstrate how Critical Discourse Analysis has been applied to education. Finally, I outline the relationship between Critical Discourse Analysis and citizenship education research, CRT, and anthropology.

Discourse and Critical Discourse

To understand the similarities and differences between the traditions of CDA and anthropology, we must first investigate their common theoretical ancestor – discourse. Of particular interest here is the Foucauldian notion of discourse. Across his many works, Foucault expressed discourse as the intersection of epistemology and social practices that are subject to power relations. Discourses are ways of producing meaning, both consciously and unconsciously, and they are steeped in hegemonic power structures; they legitimate power, construct truths, and produce subjects. Although the notion of discourse has become particularly relevant to studies of language and language use, Foucault did not see discourse as a purely linguistic phenomenon – instead, he emphasized that discourse consists just as much of what is unsaid as it does of what is said in society, as he expertly demonstrates with his description of discourses about sex in the early 20th century (Foucault 1978). Foucault's notion of discourse underpins a significant portion of his entire corpus of work, and it has been highly influential in social science as a whole, of course including anthropology.

Discourse studies, then, are those that seek to understand how meaning is produced in society. Situated within this broader context, CDA is a method specifically looks for patterns of power and hegemony within textual and spoken discourse. The foundations of CDA can be traced to the work of Norman Fairclough, especially his landmark work *Language and Power* (Fairclough 1989). Here, Fairclough established CDA as a critical discipline that focuses on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of dominance, as well as challenges to dominance. Key scholars in CDA are primarily European and have had a distinct tendency to apply this methodology to study industrialized Western societies, especially those in Europe, where colonialism is a significant part of history.

Given this context, a main goal of CDA is to give a voice to the perspectives of those who are most oppressed by power structures and naturalizing discourses (van Dijk 1993). This is often explored in terms of equity in access to linguistic resources. In other words, CDA does not only examine the resources of the majority may be made accessible to the oppressed, but also of how resources of the oppressed can be made valuable to the majority (Kress 1996). CDA analysts are thus not only concerned with the discourses themselves – they are also seeking to understand how power determines who has access to discourse (van Dijk 1996), as well as who is actually being represented (or not) in discourse (van Leeuwen 1996). These concepts are merged in Fairclough's (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis,* which is widely regarded as a definitive introduction to the field and its methods and continues to serve as a guide to CDA today.

CDA examines primarily textual discourse, though some studies do analyze spoken discourses as well. An edited volume by Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996) provides a sampling of these various forms of study from several of the key scholars in CDA. Texts often include newspapers or other media (Caldas-Coulthard 1996; van Dijk 1996; van Leeuwen 1996; Wodak 1996), but they can also include seemingly more mundane texts like dictionaries (Hoey 1996; Krishnamurthy 1996). Analyses of spoken discourse are also present but perhaps less well-represented (Ribeiro 1996, as an example).

CDA in Education

CDA can be used to examine power in multiple different types of social contexts, and CDA of education is one such area which has produced a wide body of scholarship. (Rogers 2004b) provides a comprehensive introduction to CDA in education. Pieces in this volume, as well as studies that came after its publishing, include critical discourse analyses of various educational contexts including classroom-based discourse (Rogers 2004a), teacher meetings regarding course content planning and preparation (Lewis and Ketter 2004; Sarroub 2004), educational policy documents (Edling and Mooney Simmie 2018; Emery 2016; Lester, Lochmiller, and Gabriel 2016; Sigauke 2011), and curriculum (Svendsen and Svendsen 2017). Overall, CDA has been used to study power structures in a variety of contexts and from a variety of texts. These texts do include both written and spoken discourse, but written discourse is typically the more popular target of study.

For example, Edling and Mooney Simmie (2018) conducted CDA of policy documents in teacher education from Ireland and Sweden, concluding that analyses reveal paradigm shifts in the ways that teachers are expected to teach democratic principles. Sigauke (2011) analyzed a commission report regarding citizenship education in Zimbabwe, finding that the discourses uncovered through CDA suggested that there may have been underlying motives for policymakers in their desire to implement a new citizenship education program – to keep students from being critical of their country's politics. Svendsen and Svendsen (2017) conducted CDA of teacher education textbooks for physical education in Denmark, finding that even physical education, pre-service teachers are exposed to "antagonistic discourses" (Svendsen and Svendsen 2017, 492). These are just a few of the various ways that CDA has been applied to education research.

Combining CDA and Anthropology

As I previously stated, CDA has been met with some critique, due to a lack of grounding in principles that are central to fields like anthropology. Blommaert (2005) expertly weaves together the parallel traditions of linguistic anthropology and CDA, making a compelling case for the need to imbue CDA with anthropological theory and method. Blommaert's critiques can be reduced to two main points: 1. that CDA is too Western and too limited in scope, and 2. that CDA does not provide a thorough enough analysis or explanation of social and cultural context through which to understand its textual analyses.

To the first point – indeed, as an anthropologist, it has become glaringly clear to me that Blommaert is correct and that CDA is unapologetically European. This is not inherently a negative thing, but the issue is that it focuses far too much on a top-down approach to power, essentially studying the discourses of those in power to make inferences of those without power. Furthermore, Blommaert says that CDA tends to study these contexts in a vacuum and does not give enough consideration to global processes that are tied into the discourses it examines. Because CDA is so focused on written texts, it is not inclusive of illiterate societies. All of this is counterintuitive to CDA's goal of giving a voice to the oppressed and empowering the subject (van Dijk 1993). It is also opposed to the goals of CRT and anthropology to amplify the voices of the oppressed or subaltern, as I previously discussed.

Blommaert's second main point of critique is that CDA studies tend not to provide enough cultural context for the text being studied. While CDA professes to consist of studies of both text and context (Fairclough 1995), its attention to context is incredibly shallow when compared to how scholars accomplish this in the anthropological tradition. Again, CDA tends to study its texts and contexts in a vacuum, which limits understanding of the broader social processes that may be underpinning the discourse in question. Blommaert calls for CDA analysts to apply anthropological ethnographic methods and perspectives to their contexts to address this issue, and the present study was designed to accomplish this goal.

CDA analysts do at times use ethnographic methods (Rogers 2004b), but they often do not adequately explain their methods, merely providing a brief description of the context without explaining how they gained any knowledge of the context. In essence they ask the reader to take the information at face value (Wodak 1996, as an example). This turns the CDA analyst into the ultimate arbiter of meanings (Blommaert 2005). As we have seen in contemporary anthropology, anthropologists are actively working towards rejecting this researcher-centric approach, so as an anthropologist is easy to agree with Blommaert's calls to marry the traditions of anthropology and CDA. In the following section, I will explain which anthropological principles would edify the CDA approach to discourse, echoing Blommaert's sentiments that CDA would benefit greatly from dialoging with anthropology, and explaining my choice of this methodology for this study.

Language and Power in CDA and Anthropology

American anthropology has sought to disrupt power structures and properly represent multiple cultural perspectives – despite admittedly rocky beginnings steeped in colonial rhetoric. We can look all the way back to the "father of American anthropology" Franz Boas to understand the foundations of this idea. Cultural relativism is a hallmark of American anthropology coined by Boas, and we can attribute its initial application to language and discourse to him as well. Boas' Handbook of American Indian Languages (Boas 1938) was significant in that it expressed the importance of understanding culture holistically if one is to understand that culture's language. Sapir and Whorf eventually built on Boas' ideas and led to the concept of linguistic relativity, previously described, as a field with the potential to explore power.

Bronislaw Malinowski is also notable among early anthropologists for his contributions to examining language and power. One of Malinowski's main legacies has been his contribution to the ethnographic method. Malinowski established ethnography as we know it, with its emphasis on participant observation. He is also a founding figure in the field of pragmatics within linguistic anthropology, which studies the ways that cultural context contributes to meaning expressed in language. Malinowski himself did not necessarily consider himself a linguist, nor did he coin the term "pragmatics," but his approaches to discussing culture and language represent some of the first times that anthropology drew connections between context and meaning (Senft 2007).

As linguistic anthropology began to take on a life of its own within the broader anthropological tradition, the field of sociolinguistics emerged. This field is important to understanding the relevance of linguistic anthropology to critical discourse studies. The most

prominent figures in sociolinguistics, and the eventual development of the field of ethnography of communication within it, are Dell Hymes and John Gumperz. Dell Hymes' work established the field of ethnography of communication and expressed how language is a social action (Hymes 1962, 1964). Gumperz's work provides us with some important concepts that emerged from within the ethnography of communication, such as verbal repertoires (Gumperz 1964). He explains that verbal repertoires are the ranges of linguistic resources available to a person, and differential access to these repertoires can foster inequality. Gumperz's work is also important for understanding the application of discourse to the ethnography of communication. In *Discourse Strategies* (Gumperz 1982), he establishes the idea of contextualizing communication in order to infer unsaid meanings. Hymes and Gumperz were highly influential in moving linguistic anthropology towards a tradition of critically analyzing discourse.

Joel Sherzer was the first to produce a monograph that takes the ethnography of communication approach to linguistics and ethnography (Sherzer 1983). Building on ideas expressed by Sapir, Whorf, Hymes, and Gumperz, Sherzer made an important contribution to reconceptualizing the notion of linguistic relativity, which in turn affected notions of discourse. Sherzer sees discourse as the nexus of language-culture relationships (Sherzer 1987). In his view, language does not necessarily shape culture in the ways that Whorf described; rather, language provides a thicker description of culture (*sensu* Geertz 1973). Sherzer's work is therefore highly influential when considering contemporary understandings of discourse in linguistic anthropology – those which understand discourse as the intersection of language and culture and which regards all genres of discourse as equally valuable and relevant to understanding the cultural contexts of languages (Sherzer 1983).

The last thread of linguistic anthropology that I see as highly relevant to critical discourse studies is the body of work that has been done on language ideologies, or thoughts, feelings, attitudes etc. about language. Though language ideologies are a somewhat recent focus in linguistic anthropology, foundations of this concept can be traced back to Bourdieu's concept of legitimate language (Bourdieu 1991). Legitimate languages (or language varieties) are those that are valued within a particular power structure, assigning privilege to those who speak them and perpetuating inequalities. Put simply, it is a way of applying Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital (discussed previously) to language. Bauman and Briggs (2003) provide another clear example of the ways that language ideologies reveal power structures. Their work concerns the notion of "modernity" in language – or, the ways that scientific, precise language came to be valued in the era of Modernism. Bauman and Briggs explain that as a consequence of modernity being favored, any other language or language variety was dismissed as antiquated or premodern. This served to divide Western cultures and all others, as the legitimate language of modernity in this case was inextricably tied to Western, white, male society.

A culmination of anthropological approaches to power and discourse can be found in Hanks' (2010) work on Yucatec Maya. Studying both contemporary Mayan people and historic records, Hanks explores the complex processes of colonialism and resistance that has shaped the Mayan language and culture. This variety of the Maya language developed from pressures to find ways to communicate with colonial Spanish forces, but once the language became self-replicating, it became a marker of Maya identity and served as an instrument of resistance against those forces. Hanks weaves together linguistic relativity, sociolinguistics, and language

ideologies in his work in a way that fantastically demonstrates how anthropology is in fact a critical discipline capable of unpacking power structures in discourse.

For this reason, we should not hesitate to apply anthropology to CDA, and likewise anthropology does not need to shy away from CDA. Anthropology has the capability to address the weaknesses in CDA that Blommaert (2005) critiques. CDA does use anthropological concepts in small ways – for example, Fairclough (1989) hints at language ideologies of British Standard English without using this specific terminology – but the connections to anthropological work are not explicit. Put simply, the two traditions are exploring many of the same concepts, but they are doing so in different ways. A major difference here is the importance given to context in the study of discourse, and it is here that anthropology can make a major contribution.

Ethnography and CDA

Critical discourse analysts do at times refer to ethnographic methods in their work. The Rogers (2004b) volume on CDA in education includes several studies that incorporate ethnography. Rogers (2004c) states that a major aim of the volume was to incorporate ethnography into the authors' understandings of their respective CDA contexts, emphasizing that this is important for education given that language is a mediational tool through which learning occurs. And indeed, this volume does contain exceptions to Blommaert's (2005) critique that CDA analysts do not explain their methods in detail. Still, some of these ethnographies seem to be quite limited in scope compared to anthropological ethnography, and it bears questioning whether understandings of this method are truly the same between the two fields. For example, Krzyżanowski (2011), in trying to advocate for ethnographic methods in CDA, expresses that ethnography is "no longer" just participant observation but also encompasses methods like non-participant observation, interviews, recordings, etc. This is curious to an anthropologist – have we not long included these as part of the ethnographic method?

Kryzyanowski's statements indicate that perhaps CDA researchers have had a rather limited view of ethnography as consisting of only participant observation, and it bears questioning whether there are other limits to CDA analysts' understanding of the ethnographic method. Furthermore, the Rogers volume does not seem to have had a far-reaching effect in this regard; many, perhaps most, CDA studies still give very limited context to their analyses and make no mention of ethnographic methods. This is the case for studies much more recent than those reported in the Rogers volume (Edling and Mooney Simmie 2018; Emery 2016; Lester, Lochmiller, and Gabriel 2016; Mariia et al. 2016; Sigauke 2011; Svendsen and Svendsen 2017). Regardless of whether some CDA scholars have engaged in ethnography, it is clearly not typical for CDA, and the field could greatly benefit from a combination of CDA and ethnographic methods. It is for this reason that I contend that CDA is an appropriate tool for my anthropological study of social studies curriculum – each can greatly edify the other.

Anthropology, though broad in its approaches, has critical applications and is an obvious partner to CDA. The two traditions have developed separately, but both can trace their academic ancestries back to Foucauldian roots, and both have ways of addressing power structures in discourse. What anthropology offers – and what I intend to offer in this study of social studies education – is a far more nuanced approach to social and cultural context in CDA. The meeting

of these disciplines can provide a more holistic, culturally relative, and globally situated perspective of critical discourse. I seek to use CDA to reach an understanding of power structures that might be embedded into social studies curriculum and perpetuate hegemonic discourses, but the multiple contexts of these curricula are just as important to uncovering these discourses as the curriculum itself.

III. CASE STUDY – PROJECT ARCHAEOLOGY: INVESTIGATING SHELTER

The most unique case study I present in this dissertation is that of the written curriculum and curriculum in use of *Project Archaeology: Investigating Shelter* (Letts and Moe 2009). Because I wanted to learn the extent to which social studies curriculum in Oklahoma is consistent with anthropological literacy, *Project Archaeology: Investigating Shelter* seemed like an ideal candidate – one of the four fields of archaeology is right there in the title. I was also familiar with Project Archaeology and their products before, having learned about it through my experiences in public archaeology. I also knew Laura, the Ford Elementary teacher whose teaching I observed for this case study, prior to the undertaking of this research for the same reason. My prior knowledge made me curious to know how *Investigating Shelter* might compare to the more widespread state-adopted social studies curricula that comprise the other two case studies.

As it turned out, the teaching of *Investigating Shelter* I observed during 2020 turned out to be quite different from the mode of instruction I had learned at that workshop. This was because Ford Elementary moved entirely to virtual instruction for the majority of the Fall 2020 semester, when Laura teaches the unit. Knowing that Laura would not be able to conduct the typical hands-on lessons and discussions I was so familiar with, I had a unique opportunity to consider whether virtual learning could be an effective way of imbuing anthropological principles into the curriculum in comparison to traditional in-person learning.

In this chapter, I first describe the context and components of *Investigating Shelter* case study. Because of the unique nature of the curriculum's disbursement compared to the other case studies, there were more areas of content and discourse to examine for anthropological principles beyond just the written curriculum (the *Investigating Shelter* curriculum guide). After explaining each of these components, I will share the results of my analyses. These include an assessment of the presence of overt anthropology content as well as the results of Critical Discourse Analysis to uncover covert citizenship discourses – conservative, liberal, critical, and transnational – that are less or more consistent with anthropological values. Finally, I offer a brief discussion to summarize the overall trends we can learn from these results.

Study Design

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, Project Archaeology relies on building a network of professional development instructors called "Master Teachers" to spread word about their products, so there were more components to this case study compared to those involving state-adopted curriculum. The majority of CDA I conducted pertains to the *Investigating Shelter* book as the main unit of written curriculum for this case study, but due to the nature of Project Archaeology's model of dissemination, there exist a number of potential gaps in interpretation of the curriculum (written versus in use). In other words: how do the instructors at the Project Archaeology Leadership Academy interpret the curriculum and teach it to the Master Teachers? How do Master Teachers interpret and teach it to their local community teachers? And finally, how do teachers interpret and teach it to their students? Because each of these phases represent different facets of the written curriculum and curriculum in use that ultimately make their way to elementary classrooms, it was necessary to study every step.

Investigating Shelter

The overall structure of Investigating Shelter is based on teaching children about the ways that archaeologists study past cultures, and it uses the basic human need of "shelter" as the object of study. Shelters have taken different forms across cultures both in the past and today, and because it is a ubiquitous feature of human culture, it is one that all students can relate to in some way. This is the reason for its use as the object of study in the curriculum. Beyond simply learning how to archaeologically investigate a shelter, students learn about a specific past culture and shelter type, and this is where the Oklahoma history connection comes into play. Project Archaeology has written numerous different regional inserts for this curriculum that enable teachers to make the curriculum more relevant to their own state's history – northern Plains tipis or slave cabins from Southern plantations, for example. Oklahoma does not yet have its own regional insert, so Laura uses the shelter study included in the base curriculum: a Pawnee earthlodge. Pawnees are not indigenous to Oklahoma, but removals by the U.S. government forced them into Indian Territory. Today, their headquarters are in the town of Pawnee, Oklahoma. This is why Laura chooses to use the Pawnee earthlodge shelter investigation in her teaching.

Investigating Shelter's educational goals and pedagogical approach are based on the model of Understanding by Design (Wiggins and McTighe 2005), a curriculum design framework that focuses on building lessons around "enduring understandings" – the main educational goals and concepts that teachers want their students to take away from the lessons. Investigating Shelter's six enduring understandings (Letts and Moe 2009, 5) are:

1. All people need shelter, but shelters are different from one another.
2. We can learn about people by exploring how they build and use their shelter.
3. Everyone has a culture and our lives are shaped by culture in ways that we may not even see.
4. Using the tools of scientific and historical inquiry, archaeologists study shelters and learn how people lived in them.
5. Studying a shelter can help us understand people and cultures.
6. Stewardship of archaeological sites is everyone's responsibility.

Each lesson in the curriculum (Table 1) is constructed based on these enduring understandings. So, while the content is focused on teaching students archaeology and scientific inquiry through the shelter investigation, the main goals as expressed in these enduring understandings are for students to develop an understanding of the importance of culture and learning about other ways of life.

Table 1. Descriptions of each lesson of *Project Archaeology: Investigating Shelter.*

Lesson Number or Name	Lesson Title	Lesson Synopsis
Warm-Up Lesson	Thinking Like an Archaeologist	Archaeology introduction
Lesson One	Knowing Shelter – Knowing People	Different types of shelter
Lesson Two	By Our Houses You Will Know Us	Apply shelter concept to students' experiences
Lesson Three	Culture Everywhere	Culture and adaptation
Lesson Four	Observation, Inference, and Evidence	Observation, inference, and evidence in archaeology
Lesson Five	Classification	Developing classification methods
Lesson Six	Context	Importance of context in archaeological investigations

Lesson Seven	Every Picture Tells a Story	Observation and inference of historic photographs
Lesson Eight	Being an Archaeologist	Archaeological and historical investigation of Pawnee earthlodge
Lesson Nine	Stewardship is Everyone's Responsibility	Stewardship, laws, guidelines
Final Performance of Understanding	Archaeology Under Your Feet	Role play a multi-perspective debate on an archaeology issue

To briefly summarize the lessons: in the Warm-Up Lesson, students first learn what archaeology is and what archaeologists do. They must describe what they think an archaeologist looks like and what they do, and teachers correct any misconceptions on these topics. Lessons One and Two introduce students to the concept of shelter as a common cultural feature that all humans share, and students are to understand that by studying a shelter, we can come to understand the people who used that shelter. Lesson Three is devoted to teaching the concept of culture and explaining how objects in the material world, including shelters, are influenced by culture. Lessons Four, Five, Six, and Seven teach important concepts for archaeological and historical inquiry – observation, inference, evidence, classification, and context. Lesson Eight can be thought of as "the shelter investigation." This is where students put all of this scaffolded information to the test and learn about an earthlodge from a real archaeological site, digesting information derived from both archaeological study and historical narrative as told by a contemporary Pawnee person. Lesson Nine teaches the ethical and legal importance of archaeological stewardship. Last, the Final Performance of Understanding tests all of the students' knowledge acquired throughout the unit through a mock debate regarding the treatment of a fictional archaeological site.

Project Archaeology Leadership Academy

The Leadership Academy in which I took part took place from June 24-28, 2019. Upon my arrival to the Montana State University campus in Bozeman, Montana, I was greeted by Project Archaeology staff and other Leadership Academy participants. Brittany, another participant and a colleague from home, was a much-appreciated familiar face among the others who traveled from elsewhere in the United States. Leading the Academy were Erika Malo (then Director of Project Archaeology) and Project Archaeology staffer Nichole Tramel. I also conversed with Jeanne Moe, retired Project Lead for Project Archaeology at the BLM and co-creator of Project Archaeology and *Investigating Shelter*.

Fourteen participants attended the Leadership Academy including myself. We all stayed in the MSU dorms during the week, shared meals in the cafeteria together, and even spent time in the common rooms chatting or watching the Democratic debates for the 2020 presidential election. I was surprised to find that among all the participants, just four were presently working as K-12 teachers. The rest were first and foremost archaeologists, but all with a particular interest in education and outreach (and, in some cases, prior experience in K-12 teaching). This meant that most of the participants at the Academy were attending with the goal of using Project Archaeology's curricula as a tool for public archaeology education outreach conducted by museums and the like – not as a way of systematically embedding archaeology into K-12 classrooms, which I always understood as Project Archaeology's goal and their reason for using the Master Teacher professional development workshop model. Given that these participants were chosen through a competitive application process, I do not know if K-12 teachers were rejected in favor of these folks with more archaeology-centric careers, or if the applicant pool

was simply dominated by archaeologists in 2019. Regardless, it was a surprise to me. One thing that everyone had in common, though, was an enthusiasm for learning how to use archaeology as a tool for teaching the next generation.

Over the course of the week, we attended lessons where Erika and Nichole modeled the entire *Investigating Shelter* curriculum and provided space for us to discuss its operation in the classroom. We also took two field trips – one to Madison Buffalo Jump State Park (a famous archaeological site), and another to the Museum of the Rockies. The purpose of visiting each was to learn some techniques for engaging students and asking them questions about their observations at these locations in ways that are consistent with Project Archaeology's educational goals.

The instructors provided us with a variety of materials for the week (we provided our own copies of *Investigating Shelter*). These included general information about Project Archaeology and the operation of the Leadership Academy, a Workshop Facilitator Handbook (Moe et al. 2017), guidelines for the proper use and dissemination of Project Archaeology products, and a number of articles that participants were to read as part of the workshop. These included readings about Understanding by Design, the educational framework on which Project Archaeology's curricula are based (Wiggins and McTighe 2005), and an interview with James A. Banks about multicultural education (Banks 1998) among other readings pertaining to Project Archaeology, the discipline of archaeology, and education. I analyzed discourses present in all these materials provided to Leadership Academy participants, but I also took field notes as I participated in all aspects of the Academy, and I also turn to these to examine the spoken discourse that took place at the Academy. These include Erika and Nichole's teachings as well as conversations among the Academy participants, both in and out of our workshop times. This enabled me to compare the workshop's written curriculum (*Investigating Shelter* itself and the provided resources and readings) with the curriculum in use (Erika and Nichole's instruction and participant engagement).

Garfield Schools Workshop

In February of 2020, before the first reported cases on COVID-19 in Oklahoma, Garfield Schools hosted a short Project Archaeology workshop as part of one of their monthly meetings. As a Master Teacher, Laura had been interested in hosting one for some time and had not led one since 2016, but a variety of factors made it difficult to conduct a full, typical one or two-day professional development workshop for *Investigating Shelter*. She did however manage to arrange for a short lesson to take place during the meeting to drum up interest in the curriculum. Laura herself did not lead the workshop. Instead, Jessica – a friend and colleague– conducted it, and I offered some assistance in exchange for my chance to observe. Jessica is a Project Archaeology Master Teacher. She did all of the instruction at the workshop, but as a qualified Master Teacher myself after my time in Bozeman, I helped lead a group during a small break-out session. While both Jessica and Laura are Master Teachers, neither participated in the same Leadership Academy as me – both had attended in prior years but were exposed to the same written curriculum as me.

The whole workshop lasted just a couple of hours. To maximize her time, Jessica prepared a succinct PowerPoint presentation to introduce the *Investigating Shelter* curriculum, but she also modeled the warm-up lesson, engaged the audience with the answers from that lesson's worksheet, and answered any questions they had about archaeology in general. We then broke out into smaller groups to model a condensed version of Lessons 4-5-6, and each group

shared their experience afterwards. For this short workshop, my materials for analysis include Jessica's Powerpoint presentation and my own field notes from my participant observation as the workshop's curriculum in use (to *Investigating Shelter's* written curriculum).

School Instruction

Finally, in October of 2020, Laura taught *Investigating Shelter* to her class of 4th Grade gifted and talented students in a virtual format. Laura is experienced in teaching this curriculum in person, but like countless other teachers, 2020 was the first time she ever had to adapt it to an online experience. Laura taught her class is an asynchronous format, using a combination of worksheets from the curriculum, PowerPoints, some recorded narration, and links to supplementary online resources for students to explore as part of their lesson. Given extraordinary circumstances of education in Fall of 2020, I consider all of these components to be part of the curriculum in use rather than the written curriculum, with the exception of the worksheets directly copied from *Investigating Shelter*. Everything else represents the way that Laura chose to deliver the curriculum in lieu of traditional in-person instruction.

Methods

This study incorporated both ethnography and CDA. The ethnographic component includes my in-person participant observation of the Leadership Academy and the Garfield teacher workshop. The CDA portion includes analysis of both the written curriculum and curriculum in use, seeking both overt anthropology content and covert messages about power contained in citizenship discourses, which then can be related to anthropology principles. I analyzed content and discourse in *Investigating Shelter*, materials handed out at the Leadership Academy and Garfield workshop, my fieldnotes from the Leadership Academy and Garfield workshop, and the materials Laura used in her online instruction of *Investigating Shelter* in the 2020-2021 academic year. I specifically sought out conservative, liberal, critical, and transnational citizenship discourses (Abowitz and Harnish 2006). The remainder of this chapter will explain which anthropological concepts are overtly expressed in the *Investigating Shelter* curriculum as well as what types citizenship discourses, uncovered through CDA, exist in the curriculum (and how they covertly communicate anthropology concepts).

Note that I will only discuss overt content for *Investigating Shelter* and not for the Leadership Academy, Garfield workshop, or Laura's instruction. All of these are based on *Investigating Shelter*, so there is no major difference in the overt anthropology content being communicated. Any differences in factors contributing to anthropological literacy arose through the covert messages contained within discourse. Therefore, I will discuss both overt and covert content for *Investigating Shelter,* but only covert content for the ethnographic aspects of this study.

Overt Anthropological Content

Investigating Shelter is full of content that is specific to anthropology, especially the subfield of archaeology, and this is no surprise given the purpose and aims of the curriculum. It is, above all, a curriculum about archaeology teaching archaeological principles. Students learn exactly what an archaeologist is and what they do, and teachers receive even more details on these matters through the lesson plan materials. Because the curriculum is so anthropologically rooted, I had expected the curriculum to explicitly and/or implicitly communicate the

anthropological concepts of culture and hegemony (as overarching four-field concepts) and heritage preservation (as a concept from archaeology) at minimum.

The written curriculum does not however discuss the anthropological principle of hegemony directly or indirectly. Teachers are at times asked to consider differences in power through inequalities in race, status, and opportunity, but nothing about *Investigating Shelter* causes students to confront their own positions within power structures – hegemony. This is a core component of anthropological literacy, applicable to all fields including archaeology. However, the curriculum's recognition of inequality does not quite approach a recognition of hegemonic power.

The curriculum also does not contain any content or discourse related to the anthropological principles of linguistic relativity and human variation. This is less surprising than the absence of hegemony. *Investigating Shelter* is about archaeology – just as the field of archaeology exists separately from the fields of linguistic and biological anthropology, so do these concepts from an archaeology curriculum. These concepts are simply not the focus of the curriculum's content. That said, the curriculum does contain plenty of overt content pertaining to heritage preservation, culture, and cultural relativism.

Heritage Preservation

Heritage preservation is clearly the anthropological principle with the most overt presence in *Investigating Shelter*, which comes as no surprise given the curriculum's purpose. One of the Enduring Understandings that students are to have as a result of learning from the curriculum is "stewardship of archaeological sites and artifacts is everyone's responsibility" (Letts and Moe 2009, 5). All of the lessons build up to this Enduring Understanding. Lesson 8, the shelter investigation, presents students with the word "preserve" for their word banks and defining it as "to maintain intact, to protect from injury or harm" (Letts and Moe 2009, 101). The lesson plan guides teachers to ask students why it is important to preserve earthlodge sites – both from an archaeological perspective and from a Pawnee perspective. This is important, as it encourages students to understand multiple perspectives of the past and of heritage preservation.

These values regarding preservation are followed up in Lesson Nine, "Stewardship is Everyone's Responsibility." This lesson is devoted to the Enduring Understanding described above. Students learn about laws that protect archaeological resources as well as general guidelines for respecting archaeological sites. Students are challenged in this lesson to think about how they can have an active role in preserving the past by being good stewards of cultural heritage.

Culture

Culture is another explicit point of content in *Investigating Shelter*. One of the curriculum's Enduring Understandings is "everyone has a culture and our lives are shaped by our culture in ways we may not even see." Lesson Three, "Culture Everywhere," is entirely devoted to enabling students to reach this Enduring Understanding and understand exactly what culture is. The lesson provides an explicit definition of culture as part of a word bank of terms students learn as part of the curriculum. The definition provided is that culture is "the customs, beliefs, laws, ways of living, and all other results of human work and thought that people of the same society share: (Letts and Moe 2009, 37). These are clearly consistent with the anthropological concept of culture.

Cultural Relativism

Cultural relativism is also expressed in *Investigating Shelter*, though in a more implicit way than culture or heritage preservation. Relativism is not explicitly defined, but Lesson Three does communicate the idea in the lesson plan for teachers. It states, "when scientifically studying other cultures, it is necessary to suspend judgment. One culture is neither better nor worse than another, just different" (Letts and Moe 2009, 36). This statement communicates the sentiment of cultural relativism, and its inclusion in the lesson plan shows that the authors intended for this to be a guiding principle in teachers' instruction.

Culture and heritage preservation are undoubtedly embedded into the curriculum. The authors ex these concepts, and in particular, they include multiple activities and tools to teach students the importance of preserving the past in service of modern communities' heritage. Furthermore, they apply some aspects of the cultural anthropology principle of cultural relativism. The curriculum does not provide an explicit definition or explanation of the concept, but it does repeatedly ask teachers to tell students that no culture is better worse than another, and it also includes a major activity (Lesson Nine) that forces students to understand and identify with multiple different perspectives of a heritage-related problem.

Covert Citizenship Discourses

Investigating Shelter is a short curriculum compared to the other case studies presented in this dissertation, as it a single unit meant to be carried out over a matter rather than a full semester or full year curriculum. Because of this, there are simply not many inclusions of citizenship discourse to speak of. However, where they exist, they vary between conservative, liberal, and critical discourse. This curriculum does not communicate transnational citizenship discourses. As I have previously described, transnational citizenship discourses encourage students to understand and explore their individual positions as part of larger global systems. In the case of *Investigating Shelter*, students are not learning about modern-day systems that cross global boundaries. By studying Pawnees of the past and present, students do have to face the historical roots and consequences of the global system of Western colonization. Students repeatedly confront both similarities and differences between themselves and contemporary Pawnees, or themselves and past peoples in the United States, and both comparisons require students to be at least latently aware of European colonization. However, they are not being asked to position themselves as global citizens or understand their own roles in global systems, so the study of Pawnee people does not quite reach transnational discourse.

Conservative, liberal, and critical discourses do all exist within *Investigating Shelter*. Conservative discourse however is almost entirely absent. Liberal discourse is the most prevalent, though there is a notable amount of critical discourse present as well. In the following sections, I describe examples of conservative, liberal, and critical citizenship discourse in *Investigating Shelter.*

Conservative Citizenship

Investigating Shelter is almost completely devoid of conservative citizenship discourses, with one notable exception. At the beginning of Lesson 8, the curriculum includes background reading for teachers about the archaeology and construction of Pawnee earthlodges. One of these short background sections, titled "Four Bands of the Pawnee" (Letts and Moe 2009, 80), discusses the decimation of the Pawnee population throughout history. This section includes

instances of conservative discourse via the use of passive voice, which eliminates the agency of European settlers for their role in this decimation. Consider the following passage:

> Estimated at about 10,000 in A.D. 1700, the Pawnee were one of the largest native groups in the Central Plains. In the 19th century, however, the population was decimated. Smallpox and other epidemics killed thousands of people. The location of Pawnee lands along the overland trails increasingly traveled by Euro-Americans compounded problems. Increased pressure from Sioux, Cheyenne, and other Plains tribes who raided the Pawnee frequently, also took a heavy toll in lives and in corn. The South Bands eventually drew together with the Skidi through an agreement with the United States Government into large villages near Genoa, Nebraska, for mutual protection in 1859. In that year the population was 3,400. By 1879, three years after removal to Indian Territory (Oklahoma), the total was 1,440. By 1910 the population was 633. Today the population is increasing once again. More Pawnee live in and near the town of Pawnee, Oklahoma than anywhere else. (Letts and Moe 2009, 80)

In this passage, the authors tend to give agency to Native American people but not to Euro-Americans in telling the story of the Pawnees' oppression and loss of people. Lines such as "the population was decimated" and "after removal to Indian Territory" do not name Euro-Americans as the agent of decimation and removal. Conversely, the line "Increased pressure from Sioux, Cheyenne, and other Plains tribes who raided the Pawnee frequently…" directly names the Pawnees' neighboring Indigenous tribes as contributors to their decrease in population. Furthermore, consider this sentence: "The location of Pawnee lands along the overland trails increasingly traveled by Euro-Americans compounded problems." Here, the Pawnee themselves are named as agents – the fact that *they* happened to settle where Euro-Americans built trails is presented as the problem, rather than Euro-Americans establishing trails through Pawnee lands.

This small section is the only one in the entire *Investigating Shelter* curriculum where I detected conservative discourse, and it is notable that it is within a section that is for teachers only. The background readings about Pawnee people provided to students do not share this discourse, but then again, they do not acknowledge European decimation of Pawnees or forced removals to Indian Territory in anyway, leaving no opportunity for liberal, critical, nor transnational discourses on this subject either. Still, it is important to consider the ways that conservative citizenship discourses in the written curriculum's presentation of Pawnee history to teachers may have the potential to inform the curriculum in use.

Liberal Citizenship

Liberal citizenship discourses are the most common of the four citizenship discourses I sought out in *Investigating Shelter*, and they are primarily present in the teacher-facing portions of the curriculum rather than those that are student-facing. The introductory chapter of the curriculum, which provides information about the discipline of archaeology and the aims of the curriculum, discusses the importance of teaching children to see similarities between themselves and people of the past – for example, "…students [will] realize that people are far more similar than they are different" (Letts and Moe 2009, 4). Indeed, much of the curriculum encourages

students to recognize these similarities, no doubt with the intention of reducing ethnocentric attitudes among them.

However, at times, these similarities can suggest a false equivalency of experience between different types of students. For example, the introduction states that "archaeology… can help us see our own ancestors in a very human light (Letts and Moe 2009, 4). While this statement is not untrue, who exactly are "our own ancestors?" American archaeology, such as the archaeology of Pawnee earthlodges, does not concern everyone's ancestors, so statements like these create false equivalencies of experience and promote a unity of difference between Native Americans and their responses to archaeology compared to those of other Americans, including those of European descent. Another example of such false equivalencies occurs in Lesson Nine, which teaches archaeological stewardship. Consider the following passage from Lesson Nine's background section for teachers:

> Illegal collecting or digging damages the context of artifacts and makes it difficult for archaeologists to learn much about the people who lived at a particular site. Additionally, vandalism or desecration of archaeological sites may be offensive to the descendants of the people who lived at those places. For example, Native Americans deplore vandalism of their ancestors' graves or home sites. Similarly, Japanese Americans might be offended if the internment camps where their ancestors lived during World War II were looted. (Letts and Moe 2009,132)

In this selection, the authors present the desecration of sites as equally problematic for archaeologists as it is for descendant communities, contributing to colorblindness ideology despite a recognition of the different communities involved. While archaeologists do indeed strive to protect and preserve cultural heritage, the importance of sites to Western science is presented as the primary issue, while descendant communities' sentiments are treated secondarily (through use of the word "additionally"). Equating archaeological and Indigenous perspectives of American archaeological sites also diminishes the uniquely important notions of place and landscape for Indigenous people in comparison to many other Americans – notions that are clearly communicated in the background information for Lesson 2 of the curriculum (Letts and Moe 2009, 27).

The introduction to *Investigating Shelter* also emphasizes the importance of heritage preservation and describes that teaching this concept is one of the curriculum's aims. Phrases like "the archaeological record… is in need of protection so that everyone may benefit from it (Letts and Moe 1009, 1)" and describing museum collections as something to protect "for all to learn from and enjoy" (Letts and Moe 2009, 5) are well-intentioned statements. However, there is again a risk of creating false equivalency between those students who can "enjoy" the archaeological record versus those in descendant communities, who would often rather their cultural heritage be left alone or repatriated. The authors of the curriculum know this, as they ask students to adopt this position during Lesson Nine, so their presentation of archaeological collections being "for all" seems counterintuitive.

Aside from the creation of false equivalencies of experience, some liberal citizenship discourses in *Investigating Shelter* privilege the modern Western scientific perspective over Indigenous knowledge, erasing the differences that define us and contributing to colorblind ideology. Note that this is generally not the message of the curriculum in its entirety, but it does

manifest in certain sections. In the teacher instructions for Lesson Eight, the Pawnee earthlodge investigation, we see the following passage:

> Remind students that they are now studying people who lived 200 years ago, when life was very different from our lives now. Sometimes life in earlier times may seem primitive, but people must use what is available to them and often find creative solutions to challenging problems. Using the background information from Lesson Three: "Culture Everywhere," remind them that no culture or time in history is better than another. (Letts and Moe 2009, 87)

This passage is complex and communicates mixed messages. On the one hand, the authors encourage teachers to continue fostering a sense of cultural relativism among students by emphasizing that cultures cannot be judged against one another. Further, they push against the curriculum's prevalent "unity of difference" narrative between past and present peoples, stating that students must recognize how different things are today compared to how they were for people of the past. However, in emphasizing the technological limitations of past Pawnees, the second sentence in this passage presents them as having to find creative solutions to problems rather than presenting them as innovators of their time who possessed an intimate knowledge the land, resources, and the best adaptations for thriving in their environment. Calling Indigenous knowledge "creativity" erases Indigenous identity and contributes to colorblindness, as students are asked to consider past Pawnees as struggling to adapt to challenges in the same ways that modern American people might under similar conditions. As with other instances of liberal discourse in *Investigating Shelter*, the authors are aware and explicit about this knowledge, explaining to teachers that "[past] people often have unequaled understanding, knowledge, and adaptability to the environments in which they live" (Letts and Moe 2009, 36). It is therefore surprising that the same writers tacitly reduce Indigenous knowledge to "creativity" in Lesson Eight.

A similar instance of privileging the Western scientific perspective appears in the background information for Lesson Six, about archaeological context. In describing the importance of context to teachers, the passage states that if the context of a painted ceramic bowl is lost, then "it has become only a thing, and cannot tell us very much about the people who made or used it" (Letts and Moe 2009, 51). It is true that a loss of archaeological context diminishes what information archaeologists can learn, and Lesson Six does overall communicate this idea. However, there is colorblind ideology and privileging of Western perspectives in stating that the loss of context reduces the artifact to "only a thing." To whom is it only a thing? Certainly not to descendant communities, who are more likely to see the artifact as a significant connection to their heritage, even if archaeological context is lost.

Liberal citizenship discourses are present throughout the curriculum, sometimes in places where they are placed side-by-side with anthropological principles, which seems counterintuitive. However, this does not mean that liberal discourse dominates the curriculum – most of the curriculum does not communicate anything about citizenship, instead focusing on teaching facts removed from any messages regarding social power that would be uncovered through CDA. Still, the liberal discourse is noticeable in some places. Fortunately, as I will describe in the following sections, there are also critical and transnational citizenship discourses within *Investigating Shelter*.

Critical Citizenship

Despite the presence of liberal discourse in the curriculum, there are also notable instances of critical discourse. At times, this is embedded within the teaching of cultural relativism and the emphasis placed on exposing students to cultural differences across time and space (making it all the more jarring when liberal discourse is presented alongside these ideas). I have described one such example above, where teachers are asked to remind students of the principles of Lesson Three. Indeed, Lesson Three is all about teaching the concept of culture, and the authors instruct teachers to emphasize that "one culture is neither better nor worse than another, just different" (Letts and Moe 2009, 36) – an anthropological value that rejects ethnocentrism and encourages the adoption of a relativistic perspective of culture.

Lesson Three also includes an instance of critical discourse that requires teachers to confront racial and/or socioeconomic inequality among their student body and the ways that this should affect their teaching. The lesson plan for Lesson Three includes a teacher note that reads as follows:

> Do not single out or make an example of students in your classroom who are from visually different ethnic groups. The attention might be embarrassing or hurtful and misleading. For example, a dark-skinned person from Los Angeles, California, may not know much about Mexican culture. However, welcome what all students might freely offer to the discussion of other cultures. (Letts and Moe 2009, 37)

Critical citizenship discourses are those that confront social inequality, and in the case of these instructions, teachers must recognize inequalities on the basis of race, place, and knowledge. Perhaps one may argue that the command not to single out students of different ethnic groups is based on colorblind archaeology and erases racial and cultural differences among students; however, in this case, not making an example of minority students is an act of respect and recognition of their differences, not a homogenization of their unique experiences compared to those of white students.

Teachers are again asked to recognize inequality in Lesson Six, in the answer key for an activity called "Old Ghost Town Dilemma." The activity asks students to consider how they would respond if they were to see someone harming the archaeological record, and they are provided with a number of different responses to choose from. If students respond that they would politely ask the perpetrators if they had read the sign instructing them not to touch the site, then the answer key tells teachers to remind their students that not everyone in the United States may be able to read English. Not only does this force the teacher to consider inequalities in race and education, it also encourages students to confront the fact that perhaps not everyone around them is literate in English. This opens up opportunities for students to question why this might be the case, therefore learning about and facing educational inequalities in U.S. society.

Leadership Academy Discourse

The majority of supplemental materials provided at the Leadership Academy included no citizenship discourses. Instead, these discourses were mostly present in our conversations. Furthermore, because the purpose of the Leadership Academy was to discuss the content of *Investigating Shelter* in detail, messages about power were communicated openly and overtly. Often where discourse is concerned, we have to read between the lines and understand the

messages about power that underlie the curricular content. This should be evident from the above discussion of *Investigating Shelter.* At the Leadership Academy, however, we openly discussed any issues regarding power and inequality that came up in our exploration of the curriculum. This led to critical discourse being the most prevalent at the leadership academy, as well as an overall absence of conservative discourse. Liberal and transnational discourses also appeared, but it is clear that ideas communicating critical citizenship were at the forefront of participants' experiences in Bozeman.

Liberal Citizenship

Most of the discourse in question comes from our spoken conversations, with the exception of one of the supplemental readings we were provided – an excerpt from an interview with James A. Banks, the main scholar of multicultural education, about the dimensions of multiculturalism (Banks 1998). This piece is a significant source of critical discourses that we were all exposed to as part of the Leadership Academy. The interview is mostly characterized by critical discourse, but I did notice hints of liberal discourse throughout. One standout example is Banks' response when the interviewer comments on the need for us to consider why history is often viewed from only one perspective. While Banks does not deny that this is the case, he also supports responding to that problem by teaching "unity that recognizes diversity" – this seems to communicate the value of unity of difference. Banks says, "What makes an American – ideally at least – is our commitment to a set of ideals and not what we look like. And that's what students have to understand." This statement promotes colorblind ideology, which is notable given that Banks is certainly aware of the importance of race and diversity.

Critical Citizenship

The Banks interview, despite its inclusion of liberal discourses, mostly communicates critical discourses. Consistent with what I have already described about multicultural education, Banks repeatedly expresses the importance of equitable education for students of different races, ethnicities, and other dimensions of identity that deviate from what society sees as standard. This sentiment alone is rooted in critical discourse, as Banks knows very well the power structures that exist within American culture and society to contribute to this need for equitable education.

Aside from this printed interview, citizenship discourses were communicated at the Leadership Academy during our discussions of the *Investigating Shelter* curriculum. As I have previously stated, most of us were archaeologists more than we were teachers, and the anthropological education in the room was very evident in these discussions. Those with archaeology foci tended to dominate the conversation because, as I can attest from personal experience, archaeologists really enjoy theorizing and picking everything apart. That held true for the curriculum. It did, however, result in several situations where the archaeological voice was quite literally louder than the voices of the teachers in the room. This communicated a power imbalance and privileging of the archaeological perspective among participants. Erika and Nichole did their best to rein in some of the most energetic participants in these situations, no doubt realizing the same thing I did.

Despite this power imbalance, the actual spoken discourses among archaeologists and teachers alike tended heavily toward critical discourse, as we were all deliberately taking a critical eye to everything we learned. Some of the points that came up among participants were thoughts and strategies that could potentially be used to interject more critical thinking into the curriculum in use. For example: in Lesson 4, students are provided with a photograph of a

fictional homestead so that they may practice observation and inference about the lives of its inhabitants (in preparation for examining an archaeological site). One of the objects in the photo is an outhouse. Brittany, an archaeology graduate student with a teaching background, pointed out that we only know that the structure in question is an outhouse because of the moon symbol on its door, and we have specific cultural knowledge of this symbol as Americans. This was a great example of a way to potentially introduce critical discourse in the teaching of Lesson 4.

Other points of critical discourse came about during and after our field trip to the Madison Buffalo Jump site. At the site, we broke into groups to do an activity as an example of ways that teachers can make their field trips more effective. My group consisted of myself, an archaeologist, and a teacher. In casual discussion about the site, the archaeologist brought up the connotations of the words "prehistoric" and "pre-Contact" when referring to American archaeological sites that predate historical records written by Europeans. The teacher was not aware of this distinction, so the archaeologist and I both explained it to her – essentially, that "prehistoric" implies that those who lived in what is now the Americas before Europeans ever set foot on its soil somehow did not have a history. This was an interesting example where critical discourse arose during casual conversation and not through one of our formal lessons at the Academy.

At Madison Buffalo Jump, Erika had planned for us to hear about the site from a representative of Crow Nation, so that we could hear an Indigenous perspective of the site. Due to circumstances beyond control, he was unable to attend at the last minute, and we heard from a (white) archaeologist instead. While the archaeology lecture was certainly not without merit, Erika was highly regretful that we missed the opportunity to hear the Indigenous perspective firsthand, and she stressed how important it is to elevate Indigenous voices in teaching archaeology. This sentiment lends itself to critical discourse, as Erika recognized and felt it was important to mitigate the authority of the archaeological voice in teaching *Investigating Shelter* or anything about archaeology.

A majority of the critical discourse at the Leadership Academy came about when we covered Lesson Eight, the shelter investigation. Instead of the Pawnee earthlodge investigation, we reviewed one of Project Archaeology's regional inserts, *Investigating a Wintu Roundhouse*. This investigation was not yet published at the time, and Nichole asked us to provide feedback on it after we finished modeling the lesson. Because of this, we all took a particularly critical eye to the material, and it led to quite a bit of critical discourse. For example, part of the lesson asks students to analyze a historic photograph of a Wintu settlement. Joe, a teacher, stated that Euro-American settlers often used to take photographs of Native American settlements as a way of "proving" that white Americans had a much better way of life and better infrastructure than Native people. This, Joe said, served as an excuse to colonize Native American communities and "improve" their lives.

Also during the Wintu roundhouse lesson, teacher Mary expressed admiration for the Wintu people's knowledge of construction and physics principles that would enable them to create such impressive and sturdy shelters without access to modern technology. This statement may not be critical discourse on its own, as Mary was not necessarily acknowledging power and inequality. However, I see her statement as a stark contrast to Project Archaeology's own description of past Native American shelter construction as "creative" solutions to the problem of limited resources (Letts and Moe 2009, 87), as I described previously. In this context, I see Mary's statement as a form of critical discourse, even if this was unintentional.

During the Wintu roundhouse lesson, several participants asked questions in pursuit of more details about house construction and the role of Wintu belief systems in shelter design. They wanted more detail in the curriculum. Erika responded that the content of the curriculum is based on what Wintu descendant communities want to share about their culture. This is critical discourse – in making this statement, Erika's latent sentiment was that we, a room full of primarily European-descended scientists and educators, are not entitled to Indigenous knowledge. Erika's simple reminder that the curriculum content was determined by Wintu people served to confront the problem of the white, scientific perspective holding dominance in educational spaces.

Transnational Citizenship

Critical citizenship discourses were most common at the Leadership Academy, and I expected this, but I was somewhat surprised to find that transnational discourses were so uncommon in comparison. Participants were very aware and thoughtful of how the Project Archaeology lessons could confront power structures, but generally they were not as mindful of the ways that it could serve to help students understand their place in a global society. I suspect this is because the content of *Investigating Shelter* pertains to American archaeology for American students, and the curriculum itself does not engage in discussions of global systems aside from some tacit recognition of colonialism (as I have previously discussed). There is however one standout example that not only represents transnational discourse at the Leadership Academy but also demonstrates a way that the use of *Investigating Shelter* could lead to transnational citizenship discourses in the curriculum in use.

The example in question took place when we modeled Lesson 3, which teaches the concept of culture. In Lesson 3, students must compare cultural aspects of modern Americans, past settlers, and one other community of choice. We did this lesson in pairs, and I worked with Kara (archaeologist and teacher). Kara suggested that our third category be students from migrant families as a way of incorporating students that might fit that category, introducing a non-Western perspective, and helping students learn more about experiences outside of the United States. If used as part of the curriculum in use, this could absolutely introduce transnational discourses into classrooms using the *Investigating Shelter* written curriculum. Additionally, however, Erika reminded us that while our category of choice could serve this purpose, it is important to make sure that teachers do not single out any students in their class that may belong to that category and instead allow them to share what they want. This echoes Erika's sentiments about the information included in the Wintu roundhouse study, as well as a similar statement contained within the *Project Archaeology* written curriculum for Lesson Three (Letts and Moe 2009, 37), as I have described.

<div align="center">Garfield Workshop Discourse</div>

Because the Garfield teacher workshop was relatively short, there was little data to analyze for citizenship discourses. The instructor, Jessica, was also quite limited in her ability to add or change discourses due to these time constraints. Still, we can see where she did introduce aspects of critical and transnational discourses into her workshop. This speaks to the effectiveness of instructors in producing citizenship discourses, even in short amounts of time.

Critical discourse manifested in part through Jessica's approach to teaching the workshop. Jessica is an archaeologist and graduate student, not a classroom teacher, and she was cognizant of the differences between her and her audience. In discussing the aims and principles

of *Investigating Shelter,* Jessica repeatedly told teachers, "you are the experts." She was careful to acknowledge that her position as an archaeologist means that she has plenty of archaeological knowledge, but this does not give her authority over teachers in regards to the educational and pedagogical aspects of *Investigating Shelter*. In other words, Jessica took care to create a space where the archaeological voice would not be privileged over the educator's voice, despite Jessica (the archaeologist) being in the position of power as the workshop instructor.

Beyond providing instruction over *Investigating Shelter,* Jessica also accepted questions from the audience about archaeology. One participant asked if she works with Native American tribes in her work. Jessica replied that she does and that this is actually a requirement for archaeological projects. Beyond simply providing this answer though, Jessica explained that it takes time to build meaningful collaborative relationships between tribal nations and non-Indigenous archaeologists, implying that these relationships are in need of repair due to past mishandling. With this simple addition to her answer, Jessica introduced critical discourse into the workshop.

Finally, there was one notable instance where Jessica communicated transnational discourse. As part of the workshop, Jessica modeled the Warm-Up Lesson for participants, wherein students are to draw or describe what they think of when they hear about archaeology or archaeologists. The purpose of the activity is for the teacher to understand prior knowledge among the group. While modeling the activity, a participant asked Jessica if the activity pertained only to the United States. Jessica took the opportunity to explain that archaeology exists everywhere that people exist, all over the world. She mentioned that even the moon landing site could be considered archaeological now, highlighting that the archaeology we may be familiar with in our home communities represents just a small portion of the human material culture we can find across the globe.

School Instruction Discourse

Laura was faced with the challenge of teaching *Investigating Shelter* in a virtual format in response to restrictions presented by COVID-19. The curriculum is usually highly reliant upon hands-on activities and interactions, and Laura did her best to provide virtual experiences to compensate for this loss. Her instruction combined PowerPoint slides to present the curriculum's worksheets, some recorded narration, and links to videos. In doing so, she provided additional content to supplement what is included in *Investigating Shelter*.

As an example of her contributions, we can look to the notable additions she made to providing cultural background on the Pawnee. As I mentioned above, the curriculum provides students with descriptions of Pawnee traditions and practices as told by a Pawnee community member. In a similar manner, students read sections authored by archaeologists with specialized knowledge in the region. This provides them with both an Indigenous/insider perspective and a scientific/outsider perspective of the archaeological record. Laura supplemented this with a narrated walkthrough of cultural information contained on the Pawnee Nation's website. Her narration accomplished two major things: 1) she inserted more multivocality into the curriculum by using resources authored by the descendant community themselves, and 2) she brought more attention to the current existence of Pawnee people by highlighting their modern tribal government, as well as their contributions to American wars to present. Although Laura did not cover every page of the website in her instruction, she encouraged students to visit it and read more.

As we see in this example of providing additional cultural information through the Pawnee Nation website, Laura was able to contribute new discourses to the curriculum in use beyond the liberal discourses inherent within the written curriculum. Laura highlighted the existence of a separate Pawnee tribal government as well as the Pawnees' contributions to American wars, including our most recent wars as well as past wars that students would learn about in their 3rd Grade history education. This demonstrates an interconnectedness between Pawnees and other Americans, but rather than promoting false equivalencies of experience (liberal discourse seen in the written curriculum), it encourages students to understand that their American experience is intertwined with that of a wholly separate cultural entity. This is transnational discourse – it communicates that students are global citizens who live among many cultures. This contrasts with the written curriculum's presentation of Pawnees, which focuses on their past culture to contextualize the archaeological discussions of earthlodges.

Laura also opened up an opportunity for critical discourse. The Pawnee Nation website includes some examples of critical discourse – for example, the site's "Pawnee History" page includes the phrase "encroachment by white settlers," which forces the reader to confront the unequal power dynamic between white people and Pawnees in shaping the past. Laura did not explicitly highlight this page or this phrase, but she encouraged students to explore the site on their own, opening up the opportunity for them to engage with critical discourse.

Laura was limited in her ability to have deep and engaging discussions with her class as she would usually be able to do in her instruction of *Investigating Shelter*. The 2020-2021 academic year gives us only a taste of the various ways that she adapts and communicates the curriculum in an anthropologically literate way. That she was able to do this to any degree without face-to-face engagement and given the stressful conditions is astounding, and I am eager to know someday how Laura transforms the curriculum's discourses under normal, post-pandemic circumstances.

Discussion

The results of this case study are that *Investigating Shelter* communicates primarily liberal discourse, which is not consistent with anthropological principles. However, classroom teachers like Laura or professional development leaders like Erika and Jessica have the ability to introduce and emphasize more anthropologically grounded discourse (critical and transnational). Because the written curriculum did not incorporate the principle of hegemony, it is no surprise that critical discourse was also not the most common type of discourse present, as both hegemony and critical discourse are related to the same overarching concept of unequal power dynamics within society. The liberal discourse abundant in the curriculum potentially counteracts the notion of hegemony, as it encourages students to create false equivalencies of experience between Euro-American descendants and the descendant communities whose pasts the *Investigating Shelter* regional inserts examine. This is counterintuitive to the anthropological literacy principles that *Investigating Shelter* presents so clearly in its overt content.

Laura was able to fill this gap between less and more anthropological discourses through her instruction, even with the limitations she had due to COVID-19. Laura created opportunities for critical and transnational discourses in the curriculum in use. Where critical discourses are present, the hegemony gap in anthropological literacy is more likely to be filled, meaning that *Investigating Shelter* has the potential to be even more consistent with anthropological values when transformed by a capable teacher. Similarly, transnational discourses can be successful in communicating the "culture" aspect of anthropological literacy by highlighting the fluid nature

of culture (i.e. that Pawnees have their own cultural traditions and practices, but they also have long participated in modern American culture), and teachers can also introduce more of this discourse into the curriculum in use.

       This case study of *Project Archaeology: Investigating Shelter* represents a "best-case scenario" in terms of anthropological literacy. The curriculum writers are well-versed in anthropology, and anthropological content is explicit in the curriculum. Even the classroom teacher is more anthropologically literate than others may be, due to her personal vested interest and knowledge of archaeology. However, the written curriculum contains a notable amount of liberal citizenship discourse, which is less consistent with contemporary anthropological values than critical or transnational discourses. This demonstrates how anthropological literacy is not only about overt content – rather, it is a lens through which a person can understand other people, and it is communicated covertly. *Project Archaeology* represents a case where anthropologically literate instructors are necessary for transforming the liberal discourses in the written curriculum (theory) into critical and transnational discourses in the curriculum in use (practice).

IV. CASE STUDY – OKLAHOMA STUDIES WEEKLY: OUR STATE

Investigating Shelter is a unique case study in many ways. By comparison, the 3rd Grade case study was extremely straightforward. The 3rd Grade social studies curriculum is *Studies Weekly: Our State* (Oklahoma Studies Weekly: Our State 2019)*.* In this case study, there are not multiple components to discuss. There were no professional development trainings, in-class periods, or any additional content to contribute to the *Studies Weekly* curriculum. More than the other case studies I present in this dissertation, this study represents the purest study of written curriculum without any teacher intervention. Through the *Studies Weekly* example, we can learn exactly what our state's teachers and students are working with.

This chapter begins with an explanation of the study design, wherein I summarize the content of the curriculum and the methods I used in the study. Then, in the bulk of the chapter, I provide the results of the analysis of *Studies Weekly*, including the presence of overt anthropology concepts as well as covert citizenship discourse I learned of through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis. I conclude the chapter with a brief discussion of the potential implications of the study, which I elaborate on in Chapter 6.

Study Design

As with the Project Archaeology case study, I analyzed the written curriculum for *Studies Weekly,* seeking both overt content communicating anthropological concepts and covert citizenship discourses which could then be translated into anthropological principles. Critical Discourse Analysis was the tool I used for uncovering citizenship discourses. Different from the Project Archaeology case study, however, the only object of study was the written curriculum – *Studies Weekly* itself. There was no curriculum in use to analyze for this study.

Curriculum

In 3rd Grade in Oklahoma, the standards (Oklahoma State Department of Education 2019) require instruction on social studies with an emphasis on Oklahoma history and geography. *Studies Weekly* reflects this, as several of its chapters pertain to geography, geology, climate, and natural resources. These chapters generally did not contain citizenship discourses, as they focused on impartial facts. The remainder of the curriculum is organized as a chronological telling of Oklahoma history (Table 2). Rather than being organized into chapters, the lessons are grouped into weeks of material covering an entire academic year (32 weeks).

Table 2. Descriptions of each lesson of *Oklahoma Studies Weekly: Our State.*

Lesson Number	Lesson Title	Lesson Synopsis
Week 1	Oklahoma: Our State	Oklahoma's name origin, flag, state symbols
Week 2	Geography of Oklahoma	Landmarks, navigation, place names
Week 3	Oklahoma: City and Country	Maps, natural features, major cities
Week 4	Oklahoma Landforms	Physiographic regions, bodies of water
Week 5	Oklahoma's Climate, Vegetation and Natural Resources	Climate, ecoregions, natural resources, conservation
Week 6	Oklahoma's Neighbors	Relations with Oklahoma's six bordering states
Week 7	Oklahoma Celebrates	National holidays, Native American celebrations, good citizenship

Week 8	American Indian Cultures of Oklahoma	Language endangerment, archaeological cultures, Comanche and Kiowa cultures
Week 9	Early American Indians in Oklahoma	Early subsistence patterns, trade routes, using primary sources
Week 10	Freedom Week and Veteran's Day	Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution, honoring veterans
Week 11	Early Exploration in Oklahoma	George Catlin, La Salle, Coronado
Week 12	Tribal Nations in Oklahoma	Indigenous tribes of Oklahoma, the Five Tribes, Osage Nation, treaties
Week 13	American Indian Removal	Trail of Tears, Indian Removal Act, reasons people migrate
Week 14	Natural Resources	Bison hunting, farming, fur trade
Week 15	The Five Tribes	Five Tribes' cultures and history, State of Sequoyah constitution
Week 16	Tribal Governments in Oklahoma	Tribal sovereignty, how tribal governments operate
Week 17	Chisholm Trail	Cowboy and ranching in the economy
Week 18	Pioneers Adapt to Oklahoma	Life and culture of white settlers in Oklahoma Territory
Week 19	Unassigned Lands: Point of View	Land Run, Comanche culture, Treaty of Camp Holmes
Week 20	Oklahoma's Government	Structure of local and state government, notable leaders
Week 21	Oklahoma Statehood	Early statehood, oil boom
Week 22	Civic Virtues	Civic responsibilities, community engagement
Week 23	Environmental Impacts on our Economy	Dust Bowl
Week 24	Changes in Oklahoma's Environments	Tornadoes, irrigation, environmental agencies
Week 25	Primary Sources from Oklahoma's Past	Historic preservation
Week 26	The Census Makes Sense of US	Census and demographics
Week 27	Remembering and Learning from the Past	Tulsa Race Massacre
Week 28	Oklahoma's Military Personnel	Military branches, Buffalo Soldiers, Code Talkers, 45th Infantry Division
Week 29	Trading Goods and Services	Economic principles, trade-based economy
Week 30	Oklahoma's Economy	Modern natural resources and businesses in Oklahoma
Week 31	The "Oklahoma Standard"	Oklahoma City bombing, Oklahoma tradition of helping others in tragedy
Week 32	Oklahomans in the News: Past and Present	Notable Oklahomans

Studies Weekly has an online version as an alternative to the print version. To teach the curriculum, Hannah needed only to assign her students to its various lessons, which they were allowed access to though school servers. The curriculum's online optimization meant that there was no curriculum in use, and students were purely working with the written curriculum. According to the scheduling set by the entire 3rd Grade teaching team at Ford Elementary, students worked on social studies every Wednesday throughout the 2020-2021 academic year.

Methods

Because the written curriculum was the only pertinent object of study, methods for this case were straightforward. Hannah granted me access to the online version of Studies Weekly,

and I simply analyzed what I observed there. Working lesson by lesson, I looked for the presence of overt anthropology content (explicit or implicit), then I took a CDA approach to uncovering any citizenship discourses present. The following sections discuss my results.

Overt Anthropological Content

Studies Weekly does not contain any explicitly anthropological content, but it does communicate principles that are congruent with those in anthropology. Among the six tenets of anthropological literacy outlined in the introduction of this dissertation, I posit that culture, cultural relativism, heritage preservation, and hegemony are all present to at least some extent. As was the case with *Investigating Shelter*, the lack of content concerning linguistic relativity or human variation is expected. The following sections discuss specific examples of culture, cultural relativism, heritage preservation, and hegemony as they are present as overt anthropology content expressed in explicit and implicit ways.

Culture

The idea of culture, while distinctly anthropological, is not limited to those with anthropological expertise. Most people seem to have an idea of what culture is, though they may conceive of it in the more colloquial sense (where one has more/less culture than another) rather than the anthropological definition. The curriculum never provides any sort of specific definition for the concept of culture, but its usage in these lessons is consistent with the anthropological meaning. The term "culture" is applied frequently to discussions of contemporary Native Americans and their ancestors as students learn about Cherokee culture, Kiowa culture, or the archaeological Mississippian material culture.

While the content of *Studies Weekly* does apply the anthropological definition of culture, it is important to note that it exclusively applies the notion of "culture" to non-Western groups, and almost always to Native Americans. The curriculum describes what life was like for white settlers in Oklahoma, thus divulging their culture, but it does not attribute the idea of "culture" to white settlers in doing so. This presents a risk of perpetuating the notion that people of color are the only ones with culture – in other words, that whiteness is the standard, and everyone else has this extra, exotic property of "culture" that makes them different. Applying the anthropological concept of culture to non-Westerners and people of color exclusively can create a slippery slope towards fostering an ethnocentric perspective of Westerners and whiteness.

Cultural Relativism

Although the curriculum's tying of culture to non-Western people may pose this risk, it does contain explicit content encouraging students to understand and adopt non-Western perspectives of the past and present. This is a foundation for fostering a culturally relativistic worldview in students. Like culture, relativism is never defined in *Studies Weekly* for teachers nor students, but the overall principle of understanding human experiences on their own terms is clearly a mission of the curriculum. We need look no further than the several places where students are asked to think about what it would have been like to experience historical events from different perspectives (as I described above in my discussion of critical citizenship discourses in the curriculum). The curriculum already specifically asks this of students, and I

imagine that this would open the door for even more in-depth explorations of relativistic perspectives in the curriculum in use, under normal circumstances where teachers can actively dialog with their pupils.

Heritage Preservation

Unlike culture and cultural relativism, the anthropological principle of heritage preservation is actually quite explicit in parts of *Studies Weekly.* This includes the preservation of material culture – the focus of archaeology – but also of cultural practices more broadly, including endangered languages. Week 8 and Week 25 are highlights for heritage preservation in the curriculum. Not only do these selections impress upon students the importance of preserving cultural heritage, but it also poses questions to them to encourage critical thought. Why is it important to preserve the past? Why is cultural heritage at risk? How can you help?

Hegemony

Finally, while it is tenuous, we can find hints of explorations of hegemony in *Studies Weekly.* I was incredibly surprised to find this, and I can say with certainty that I did not learn hegemony as a 3rd Grader in the Oklahoma public education system. The curriculum does not define hegemony, which is no surprise, but it does have content with the potential to get students to recognize the powers acting upon them.

For example, the content of Week 20 tells students that "citizens who follow state and federal laws, and who know how to ask for change when it's needed are good citizens indeed!" The latter part of this statement is critical discourse. Students learn that you should follow the law, but you also have the agency to question the law and the power to change it. By presenting good citizenship in this way, the curriculum teaches that laws are not always fair, and this encourages students to take a critical eye to what the law requires of them.

This principle is present in the curriculum during Week 13. Here, students learn about the Indian Removal Act and Congressman Davy Crockett's opposition to it. In describing Crockett's viewpoint, the curriculum asks (from Crockett's perspective), "why should a few people in power have the ability to tell a large number of people what to do?" This is blatant critical discourse. Students are not only posed with this question, but they are also led to sympathize with Crockett's perspective, resulting in a lesson where the potential for students to question power is significant.

<div align="center">Covert Citizenship Discourses</div>

Throughout *Studies Weekly,* we can see a variety of different citizenship discourses. Not all of the content of the curriculum contains any of these as not all of it pertains to citizenship – for example, the lessons on geography and climate, or lessons that function to simply deliver facts about history. Citizenship discourses are overall prevalent however, and there seem to be roughly equal amounts of conservative, liberal, and critical discourse throughout the curriculum. Transnational discourse is almost entirely absent aside from one notable instance. In the following sections, I will describe in detail how these different citizenship discourses manifest throughout *Studies Weekly*.

Conservative Citizenship

Instances of conservative citizenship discourse exist in *Studies Weekly*. I do not feel that the overall message of the curriculum leans conservative, but such discourse does manifest in a few situations. In general, these seem to promote a sense of patriotism by providing less specific information about the "ugly" parts of Oklahoma and American history. Sometimes this occurs by eliminating the agency of colonizing forces on Native Americans. Other times, the curriculum includes statements or questions about historical events that may encourage students to sympathize with colonizers.

This first point, elimination of agency, is most common in sections that discuss the Indian Removal Act and Trail of Tears. In Week 1, the introductory lesson for *Studies Weekly,* Indian Territory is defined in the student glossary as "the land Americans were forced to move to," without stating who forced them. In Week 12, "Tribal Nations in Oklahoma," a passage on the Cherokee states that they "lost a great deal of their population on the long, forced walk to Oklahoma on the Trail of Tears." While this sentence does indicate that Cherokees were forced to move from their homes, it also shifts agency to the Cherokee rather than the U.S. government in the loss of their population on the Trail of Tears.

We see another instance of passiveness in Week 27 "Remembering and Learning from the Past." Here, students are told that "in the Tulsa race riot, the Greenwood district was destroyed." This phrasing does not state who destroyed the Greenwood district, and furthermore, it uses the name "Tulsa race riot" as opposed to "Tulsa Race Massacre," which has become the more popular phrasing in recent times. This is because "race riot" risks implying that the African-American citizens in the Greenwood District were for some reason rioting as a product of their race, while "race massacre" is better at describing the event for what it was – a massacre of a Black community on the basis of their race. Beyond the sentence quoted above, the entire Week 27 lesson is rather vague about who exactly committed the massacre of the Greenwood district, opting instead to use passive voice and discuss how the community "was destroyed."

Despite these examples, I want to emphasize that most of the discourse regarding the Indian Removal Act and Trail of Tears is actually quite clear in assigning agency to the United States Government in enacting these atrocities, and I was admittedly surprised at this. Week 8, "American Indian Cultures of Oklahoma," and Week 13, "American Indian Removal," are particularly good examples where the curriculum is clear about the United States government's perpetration of oppression of Native Americans in Oklahoma. Thus, the instances of passiveness I have described here are all the more are notable given that they are not indicative of larger patterns.

Not all conservative discourse within *Studies Weekly* is due to passivity. There are occasions where the curriculum discusses perspectives of parties that were oppressive to others – in this case, white people and the United States Government – without recognizing the issues and inequality that came with these perspectives. For example, in the first lesson, students are asked to think about the challenges met by the first white settlers of Oklahoma as they began life in a new land. This would not be an issue if students were also encouraged to consider other perspectives of this time in history, especially of Native Americans, but as it is, it encourages students to sympathize with only the white settlers at the Land Run. It is worth noting that later on in the curriculum, when it covers the Land Run in full, students actually are asked to consider

the event from multiple perspectives (I will discuss this later in this chapter). Still, the white-centric perspective is notable for being presented in the first chapter and serving as an introduction to the material.

There are similar instances where the curriculum is perhaps overly sympathetic to the U.S. government in regards to their role in oppressing Native Americans. In Week 13, "American Indian Removal," the forced removals of tribes by the U.S. government from their homelands to Indian Territory is for the most part handled well, as the curriculum makes it clear that the government was responsible for these atrocities. However, in discussing the Indian Removal Act, the curriculum states that Andrew Jackson and Congress passed the Act because Jackson "promised to solve the problems between the white settlers and American Indians." This is grossly misleading in regards to Jackson's (and Congress') intentions behind the Act. The curriculum does not shy away from telling students how difficult the removals were for Native people, but this statement undermines just how much those difficulties were driven by racism and the desire to conquer the lands in which Native people lived.

Liberal Citizenship

Liberal citizenship discourses are present in *Studies Weekly* in two major ways: first, creating false equivalencies of experience between white people and Native American people, and second, presenting citizenship as pursuing a harmonious unity of these cultures (and others) as one people. The former contributes to the latter, and the latter can lead to the classic colorblindness ideology.

Studies Weekly at times encourages students to identify similarities between people of European descent and Native Americans in Oklahoma. For example: in Week 7, "Oklahoma Celebrates," students learn about the Cherokee National Holiday and describes it as an occasion where Cherokees celebrate the signing of the Cherokee constitution and the Act of Union (which united Cherokees that had been separated during forced removals). In the lesson plan pertaining to the Cherokee National Holiday, teachers are instructed to ask students if they can think of any other holidays that celebrate unification, and the suggested answer in the lesson plan is American Independence Day. No doubt this question was designed to help students relate something familiar to something new in order to develop an understanding, but in doing so, they are asked to equate the experiences of American Revolution-era colonists with those of post-removal Cherokees. One holiday celebrates independence from Britain and the formation of the United States – the other, a reclamation of identity in the wake of catastrophic loss at the hands of the very same United States.

A similar sentiment comes from Week 13, "American Indian Removal." One lesson from this week teaches students about the different reasons that leave their homelands – immigrants, refugees, persecution, and weather – and to ask them which best describes Native American removals and the Trail of Tears. The lesson is intended to teach students that the removals of Native Americans from their homelands falls under the category of "persecution" and that this is significantly different from other reasons why people may leave their homes. Interestingly however, the example for "persecution," with which students must relate Native American removals, is the Pilgrims. The curriculum describes the Pilgrims as fleeing religious persecution in England. While this is true, there are risks to asking students to equate the Pilgrim experience

to those of Native Americans. The Pilgrims did emigrate due to persecution, but ultimately their emigration was voluntary. This is a stark contrast to the Native people who were forced against their will onto the Trail of Tears, losing people, cultures, and languages on a scale that dwarfs any losses that the Pilgrims may have experienced.

These examples show instances where liberal discourses encourage students to create false equivalencies of experience. More common in the liberal discourse, however, are areas where *Studies Weekly* promotes an image of Oklahomans as having a unity of difference – one community of blended cultures. Again, while Oklahoma is indeed home to numerous cultures, the liberal discourse here can downplay cultural differences and experiences in favor of a colorblind idea of who "Oklahomans" are.

We can see this from the beginning of the curriculum. In Week 1, "Oklahoma: Our State," students learn about the symbolism on the Oklahoma state flag. The students' reading states:

> "[The flag] shows the importance of both the American Indian and settler's cultures in Oklahoma. Both the American Indians and settlers would probably have agreed with the song when it says 'the land we belong to is grand.'"

Week 1 also tells students that the peace pipe and olive branch depicted in the state flag "show how important it was in Oklahoma's history that American Indians and settlers learned to live in peace with one another." In both of these quotes, students are encouraged to see the relationship between Native Americans and others living in Oklahoma (predominantly white people) as wholly harmonious and peaceful. While there is some truth to this – white Oklahomans and Native American Oklahomans have not waged war against one another – it can mislead students into believing that both parties have always been equally represented and respected in the state's history.

This sentiment is reinforced later in Week 17, "Chisholm Trail," where the idea of harmony between white people and Native Americans is presented as important to good citizenship. This lesson tells students about Jesse Chisholm, presenting him as someone that students should look up to – in other words, an example of a good citizen. Chisholm was half white and half Cherokee, and students learn how he was instrumental in negotiating peace agreements between these two communities along the Chisholm Trail. His non-violent, peacemaking ways are explicitly presented to students as a prime example of how good citizens should be. There is nothing wrong with using Jesse Chisholm as an example to teach children how to live peacefully with others and strive for understanding, and these are admirable qualities. However, it does promote the "unity of difference" narrative so common in liberal discourse. It tells students that we can all get along if we all follow Chisholm's example – a nice sentiment, but one that ignores the tensions that require us to seek peaceful resolution in the first place.

Thinking about these tensions, we can look to Week 10, "Freedom Week and Veteran's Day." This lesson contains a section discussing the Declaration of Independence. Students are told that the document communicates that "it should be plain to see that all men (meaning all people) are equal to one another." The Declaration of Independence indeed says this, but even a cursory knowledge of American history reveals that the writers of the document did not actually consider all humans to be equal – many were slave owners, for example. By taking this section

of the Declaration of Independence at face value, the curriculum glosses over past inequalities and promotes an incomplete picture of what equality means today. It is notable however that the curriculum clarifies for students that the Declaration of Independence does not discuss equality for all men – meaning males – but for all people.

To summarize liberal discourse in *Studies Weekly,* we can look to Week 22 of the curriculum, "Civic Virtues." Here, the curriculum is explicit in discussing what is expected of a good citizen, and here we can find clear messages to students indicating that the liberal citizenship model is what they should strive for. The overall message of this section is that good citizens are active members of their communities who work towards unity. The lesson states that "by showing that diversity (our differences) does not divide us, we keep alive one of the most basic parts of our democracy – our freedoms." This is liberal citizenship ideology through and through. I want to stress, striving for unity and is not a negative thing. Indeed, the presence of diversity should not result in divisions. However, statements such as these downplay the fact that diversity *has* divided us in the past, and that we still face those consequences today. Stating that diversity does not divide us promotes colorblind ideology and unity of difference.

Critical Citizenship

The above sections have shown that conservative and liberal citizenship discourses are present throughout the curriculum. However, this does not mean that it is devoid of critical citizenship discourses. In fact, some critical citizenship discourses are present that can counteract some of the conservative and liberal discourses present, making their presence somewhat puzzling and demonstrating a lack of consistency in messaging. Still, I had not expected a 3rd Grade level curriculum to encourage students to question power structures, and I was pleasantly surprised to see that this actually is the case in several areas.

One of the first instances of this that I noticed comes from Week 7. Here, there is a section on the origins of Martin Luther King Jr. Day. Noting that the establishment of this holiday was met with some resistance in Congress due to cost concerns, the lesson shares the remarks of Senator Bob Dole in response: "I suggest they hurry back to their pocket calculators and estimate the cost of 300 years of slavery, followed by a century or more of economic, political and social exclusion and discrimination!" The lesson plan instructs teachers to help students understand this statement. Exposing students to Dole's statement about racial discrimination can enable them to think about historical inequality and its present-day effects.

Other parts of the curriculum are just as direct in asking students to confront inequality. In Week 17, students learn about Bill Pickett, a famous 20th century rodeo star descended from formerly enslaved Black and Cherokee parents. Rather than approaching Pickett's life with colorblindness, the curriculum outright states that he was banned from some rodeo competitions because of his race (specifically his Black ancestry). Students learn that he could have achieved even more impressive records had he been allowed to compete freely. By learning about Bill Pickett, students must confront the issue of racism in 20th century Oklahoma and think about how this led to differential opportunities for people based on their race.

Week 20 also directly references the topic of equal rights and even presents students with the idea that the government may not always do things in pursuit of these equal rights. Students learn about George Napier Perkins, Black publisher of the *Oklahoma Guide* newspaper who used

his position to advocate for equal rights for Black Oklahomans in the early 20th century. Students learn how Perkins encouraged his community and readership to advocate for civil rights through writing legislators and filing lawsuits. Students are then asked how Perkins is a good citizen. This clearly communicates critical citizenship values – good citizens are those who confront inequality and advocate for change by informing their communities of the injustices that exist.

These examples have been quite direct and outright examples of critical citizenship discourse in *Studies Weekly,* but the curriculum also expresses critical discourse in a more indirect way – by encouraging students to adopt the perspectives of marginalized groups in history and in the present. Week 8 asks students to think about what life is like for Native American tribes in Oklahoma today given their traumatic history and massive population losses on the Trail of Tears. Similarly, in Week 19, the curriculum gives equal attention to two perspectives of the 1889 Land Run – those of the (predominantly white) settlers, and those of Native Americans living in what is now Oklahoma. Students are repeatedly asked to reflect on each perspective, including giving them a writing prompt to do so. The Native American perspective of this event is not treated as lesser than the Euro-centric perspective, and the lesson challenges students to critically reflect on what each party might have felt and experienced at this moment in time. Students are again asked to consider multiple perspectives for a different historic event – Oklahoma's statehood, discussed in Week 21 – though the lesson requires less engagement with these questions compared to the Week 19 lesson.

In addition to considering multiple perspectives of past events, students are also encouraged to reflect on the effects of these events on the present, specifically for modern-day tribal nations in Oklahoma. In Week 8, "American Indian Cultures of Oklahoma," students read about the Kiowa and Comanche tribes and the fact that they have lost over 90% of their original land due to white settlement. Importantly, the curriculum asks students to consider what life is like for the Kiowa and Comanche in light of this historical information. This provides a good opportunity for students to think about the long-standing effects of colonialism. Similarly, when students are tasked with learning about tribal sovereignty in Week 16, the readings teach students the importance of sovereignty to cultural preservation. The discussion of tribal governments on the whole is effective at presenting these governments as equally important to any other type of government – local, state, or federal – and I will admit I was surprised to see it represented so fairly.

Transnational Citizenship

Transnational discourses are almost entirely absent from *Studies Weekly.* As the previous sections have described, the curriculum focuses more on helping understand their students' identities as part of a culturally diverse Oklahoma rather than citizens within larger global systems. Global education simply does not seem to be the paradigm driving *Studies Weekly,* resulting in a dearth of transnational citizenship discourses.

There is however one exception found in Week 17. One of the lessons contained in this week's material shows students how many terms associated with cowboy culture have Spanish origins, due to the prevalence of Mexican settlers among U.S. cattle ranchers in places like Oklahoma. Examples include "lasso," "buckaroo," and "stampede". In this lesson, students can

understand global influences (here, migration) on cowboy culture – something that students may have otherwise understood as quintessentially "American" rather than Mexican.

Discussion

Because of the complications brought forth by COVID-19, I have been unable to assess ways in which a teacher may insert anthropological literacy into the curriculum in use, so in the case of 3rd Grade Oklahoma history, we can only explore the degree to which anthropological principles are reflected in the written curriculum. Furthermore, we must remember that just because a curriculum is assigned does not mean that students will digest the entire curriculum and all content. In this case, due to constraints placed on the school by COVID-19 and virtual instruction, Hannah could not teach all of the content. We should consider that this can always be the case, regardless of the mode of instruction.

The written curriculum for 3rd Grade Oklahoma History shows some promise for promoting anthropological literacy given the content on culture, relativism, heritage preservation, and hegemony, and I believe that there is potential for instructors to develop these in the curriculum in use. However, there are still a noticeable amount of conservative and liberal citizenship discourses in the curriculum, and these are counterintuitive to anthropological principles. I do hold the opinion that the curriculum is largely grounded in anthropological principles, but its contribution to literacy may be undermined by conservative and liberal discourse. I hypothesize that the curriculum in use can counteract these discourses and result in a more anthropologically literate teaching of the material. Therefore, I believe that a post-pandemic examination of the curriculum in use would be well worth the effort to provide a more complete picture of where anthropological literacy fits within education on Oklahoma's past.

V. CASE STUDY – OKLAHOMA: LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

To conclude our examination of written curriculum in Oklahoma social studies education, I present the case study *Oklahoma: Land of Opportunity* (McDonald 2013). This is the state curriculum for Oklahoma History, taught in 9th Grade. This case study is somewhere in between the other two in terms of what was available to study. There were no professional development workshops to speak of, but there was plenty of curriculum in use created by teacher Alan for his online instruction of the curriculum. I also found myself lucky enough to be allowed to observe one in-person class during the 2020-2021 academic year.

In this chapter, I first divulge the content of the curriculum and describe how I conducted the study. The majority of the chapter reports the results of analysis of both overt anthropology concepts and covert citizenship discourses. To conclude, I reflect on the potential implications of this case study in preparation for further exploration in Chapter 6.

Study Design

I have described in Chapter 1 how I have conducted research for the whole of this dissertation: by assessing anthropological literacy in three different case studies of three different curricula. 9th Grade Oklahoma History is the final case study, and my methods were the same as with the others – I looked for overt and covert curriculum content pertaining to the six anthropological principles and anthropology in general. I used Critical Discourse Analysis to seek out the covert content as it is communicated through messages about social power. The analysis methods are the same as the other case studies, but the differences are in the content of the curriculum, the means through which 9th Grade Oklahoma History teacher Alan delivered the content, and the data I was able to gather for analysis.

Curriculum

The curriculum for 9th Grade Oklahoma History is called *Oklahoma: Land of Opportunity*. In nineteen chapters, it teaches Oklahoma history in a chronological order after providing an introduction to Oklahoma's geography and climate (Table 3). Unlike with Project Archaeology, for example, there is little else to say about the textbook. The copy I was allowed access to for this study was a student copy, so I did not have any teacher-facing curricular materials to read and gain insight into any learning objectives or philosophies that the curriculum writer might have had. I only had the Oklahoma Academic Standards for Social Studies Oklahoma History standards to refer to in terms of learning goals (Oklahoma State Department of Education 2019).

Table 3. Descriptions of each chapter and section of *Oklahoma: Land of Opportunity.*

Chapter	Section	Lesson Title	Lesson Synopsis
Chapter 1	Section 1	What is Geography?	Maps, longitude and latitude
	Section 2	Geographic Regions	10 main geographic regions in Oklahoma
	Section 3	Oklahoma's Natural Resources	Soils, vegetation, minerals and fossil fuels, waterways
	Section 4	Oklahoma's Climate	Temperature, precipitation, tornadoes
Chapter 2	Section 1	The Earliest People	Archaeologically informed culture history

	Section 2	Historic Native American Cultures	Cultural aspects of Indigenous Oklahoma tribes first encountered by Europeans
Chapter 3	Section 1	Early European Explorers	Columbus, Spanish and French explorers
	Section 2	European-Indian Contact	Trade and disease
Chapter 4	Section 1	Colonial America	Colonialism and encroachment, French and Indian War, Manifest Destiny
	Section 2	The Louisiana Purchase	Louisiana Purchase and explorations
Chapter 5	Section 1	Treaties	Forced and voluntary migrations of Native Americans into/around Oklahoma
	Section 2	Trail of Tears	Indian Removal Act, removals of the Five Tribes, establishment of Indian Territory
Chapter 6	Section 1	Forts	Forts established for peacekeeping and control of removed tribes
	Section 2	Adapting to Indian Territory	Changes for Five Tribes post-removal
Chapter 7	Section 1	Westward Movement	Manifest Destiny
	Section 2	Crossing the Territory	Migratory trails and their effects
Chapter 8	Section 1	Divided Loyalties	Civil War origins
	Section 2	Indian Territory Joins the Confederacy	Role of Indian Territory in Civil War, Confederate guardianship, battles
Chapter 9	Section 1	From Destruction to Reconstruction	Post-war tribal treaties
	Section 2	War on the Plains	Battles between US and tribes
Chapter 10	Section 1	The Five Nations Start Over	War aftermath for Five Tribes, Indian boarding schools and missions
	Section 2	Rebuilding the Economy	Cattle drives, railroads, coal and oil
	Section 3	Law and Disorder	Tensions between cattlemen and tribes
Chapter 11	Section 1	Dissolving a Way of Life	Dawes Act, Land Run of 1889
	Section 2	Oklahoma Territory	More white settlement, tribal allotments
Chapter 12	Section 1	Growth in the Territories	Economic expansion, population growth
	Section 2	Statehood	Sequoyah, Oklahoma constitution
Chapter 13	Section 1	Politics	Early legislature, movement of capital
	Section 2	Industry and Progress	Oil boom, paved road construction
	Section 3	World War I	Oklahoma's involvement, 1918 pandemic
Chapter 14	Section 1	The Roaring Twenties	Tulsa Race Riot, growth in oil and aviation
	Section 2	The Great Depression	Market crash, New Deal, Dust Bowl
Chapter 15	Section 1	World War II	Causes, effects in Oklahoma, 45th Infantry Division, Code Talkers
	Section 2	Social Change	GI Bill, suburban growth, anti-segregation efforts
	Section 3	The Postwar Period	Cold War, space age
Chapter 16	Section 1	War and Politics	Civil Rights, desegregation, Vietnam War
	Section 2	State Affairs in the 1970s	Oil and gas, establishment of vo-tech
Chapter 17	Section 1	The 1980s	Politics, economy, Main Street program
	Section 2	The 1990s	Education reform, MAPS, Oklahoma City Bombing, May 3, 1999
	Section 3	Contemporary Oklahoma	War on Terror, 9/11, modern economy
	Section 4	Oklahoma's People	Famous Oklahomans today
Chapter 18	Section 1	Kaleidoscope of Events	Cultural experiences and celebrations
	Section 2	Museums and Historic Sites	Notable heritage facilities in Oklahoma
Chapter 19	Section 1	Ethnic Groups	Contemporary cultures in Oklahoma
	Section 2	State Government	Branches, budgeting, and laws
	Section 3	Local Government	County and municipal governments

In 9th Grade, Oklahoma History instruction takes place over the course of one semester rather than the entire academic year. During the 2020-2021 academic year, I observed Alan's teaching of the course during Fall 2020. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, all of Alan's instruction took place online using Google Classroom, aside from a few in-person meetings over the course of a two-week period where Carter had attempted to hold socially distanced classes on staggered schedules. I was able to conduct an in-person observation of one of these in-person classes, and it happened to be a day where Alan was conducting a review of class material for an upcoming exam by going over a study guide that the students had been provided online.

Of course, Alan was only able to conduct a handful of in-person classes during the semester, and all other instruction was virtual. In Google Classroom, Alan assigned readings from the textbook and provided PowerPoint presentations (no narration) to highlight important questions and central pieces of information from these readings. He also assigned short answer assignments to assess students' comprehension of the material, vocabulary quizzes based on the curriculum's word banks, and exams. Alan was available to meet with students through Google Classroom video conferences to provide help and answer questions, but this was not mandatory and not every student chose to take the opportunity. Student engagement in the course, beyond completing the assignments, varied according to each individual student.

Methods

Alan was greatly limited in his ability to interact with students due to COVID-19, but his class materials incorporated some of his own spirit rather than just copying the textbook. With this in mind, I examined the *Land of Opportunity* textbook, Alan's class materials, and my field notes from my observation of Alan's in-person class to assess anthropological literacy in the 9th Grade Oklahoma History curriculum. I will first describe overt material that directly relates to anthropological principles. Then I will discuss the results of Critical Discourse Analysis to uncover covert messages about social power in conservative, liberal, critical, and transnational citizenship discourses, which translate to the aims of concerns of anthropology. Note that as I discuss both overt and covert anthropological principles, I will frequently reference chapters. Each chapter of the book consists of multiple sections (Table 1). If the content is pertinent to the entire chapter, I reference the chapter (i.e. Chapter 5, Chapter 9). If the content is pertinent to just a section, then I refer to it using the chapter number followed by a decimal point and the section number. For example, I will refer to Chapter 13, Section 3 (titled World War I) as Chapter 13.3.

Overt Anthropological Content

The curriculum is by and large devoid of content that explicitly discusses anthropology, save for a few instances. Other explicit content pertinent to anthropology principles is indirect, not specifically referencing anthropology but addressing the anthropological literacy principles in other ways. The principles of culture and cultural relativism, and to a lesser extent, heritage preservation and linguistic relativity, are all represented in the curriculum. As I have said, I did not expect to see any explicit content pertaining to human variation in the Oklahoma History curriculum – I see this concept as being part of a more holistic anthropologically informed education. I was however somewhat surprised that I was unable to identify any hints of hegemony within the content, beyond anything that may be gleaned from the implicit content

(discussed later in Chapter 6). For the remaining concepts, we can turn to a few specific examples.

Culture

In Chapter 18.1, the text succinctly defines "culture" as "the way of life of a group of people" (p. McDonald 2013, 467). This is less nuanced than how anthropologists tend to define culture, but it shares the same sentiment. Further, there are a couple of other points in the text that develop this definition in a way that expands it to its more anthropological meaning. In Chapter 18.3, for example students learn about ethnic groups, which the text define as "people who share common traditions, beliefs, and patterns of living that can include language, religion, customs, characteristics, history, and food (McDonald 2013, 483). The book's definitions of culture and ethnic groups connect – culture is something that groups of people have, and groups of people (here, ethnic groups) share patterns of behavior and belief. These descriptions are quite consistent with the anthropological concept of culture and its shared nature. They do not lead students to the common misconceptions that people are cultures, and that instead, culture is part of the human experience.

These definitions point to the shared nature of culture, but elsewhere the curriculum does also highlight the learned aspect of culture. Chapter 2.1 (on Oklahoma "prehistory") contains information on anthropology and archaeology, including specific definitions of each, to help students learn how it is that we come to learn about past people in the absence of written documents. The text states:

> Prehistoric people are identified by cultural periods. No two cultures were exactly alike. People learned from those who lived before them, discovered new things, and taught what they knew to their children – much as we do today. (McDonald 2013, 43)

Here, the curriculum again applies the principle of culture in a way that is consistent with anthropological uses. It tells students that culture is passed down to subsequent generations. Importantly, it also shows that "culture" is not something that belongs only to people of the past or to people that are different from the average Oklahoma student. Rather, this selection tells students that although we may use the idea of cultural periods to talk about the past, culture and its perpetuation are processes that we all engage in today.

Interestingly, the terms "culture" and "ethnic group" are not explicitly until near the end of the textbook, even though the above selection clearly shows that students are exposed to the concept of culture early on. Chapter 2.1 marks the beginning of the chronological telling of Oklahoma's past, starting with cultures that are known primarily through the archaeological record, and the text specifically uses the word "culture" – again, long before this term is explicitly defined in Chapter 18. In his teaching of the curriculum however, Alan chose to teach Chapter 18 before Chapter 2, determining that introducing students to the contemporary cultures of Oklahoma was better placed as a companion to Chapter 1 in introducing the State of Oklahoma before diving into its history. So, despite the written curriculum's organization,

Alan's intervention resulted in students learning the book's definitions of culture and ethnicity before tackling the notion of archaeological cultures.

Cultural Relativism

Unlike culture, relativism is not given any sort of explicit definition or explanation in *Land of Opportunity*. This does not mean that there is no spirit of relativism in the curriculum, however. The end-of-chapter sections containing critical thinking questions and skill application contain numerous instances instructing students to put themselves in others' shoes, so to speak. The Applying Your Skills section for Chapter 9 asks students to imagine they are a Native American living in Indian Territory in the aftermath of the Civil War, then write a letter describing how they experienced the effects of post-war Reconstruction treaties that affected their tribe (McDonald 2013, 235). This is essentially asking students to adopt a culturally relativistic perspective of treaties, encouraging them to understand Native peoples' historical responses to and experiences of treaties rather than only learning the narrative of the colonizers about treaties.

Many other such examples exist in the curriculum. Four more that appear in the Applying Your Skills sections are in Chapters 13, 16, and 18. The Chapter 16 example is similar to Chapter 9's in that it asks students to position themselves as someone else in order to better understand their experience of history. In this case, they must choose one of the groups fighting for equal rights in the Civil Rights era – African Americans, women, and Native Americans in particular (McDonald 2013, 431). In Chapter 13, students are asked to do much of the same, but from the perspective of a German immigrant in Oklahoma during World War I (McDonald 2013, 347). Here, students must think about the ways that fear of all things German among many Oklahomans due to the war would have had significant effects on German immigrants totally unaffiliated with the war.

Examples from Chapters 13 and 18's Applying Your Skills sections take a different approach. Instead of asking students to imagine themselves as someone else, they are instructed to interview people to learn about their experiences (practicing anthropology, one may argue). Chapter 13's example is an interview of a community member who remembers when Jim Crow laws were still in effect in Oklahoma, asking them what life was like for them during that time. Notably, it does not instruct students to specifically interview a Black person who was alive during that time, but anyone. This could potentially lead to multiple perspectives of the past being represented among one classroom, leading to a culturally relativistic approach to past events (though the opposite is also possible). Students are again asked to conduct interviews in Chapter 18 – this time, three people from three ethnic groups in Oklahoma (McDonald 2013, 489). The goal is to learn about contemporary groups and how their experiences differ from the students' own. Unlike the Chapter 13 example, this approach guarantees that multiple perspectives will be represented, therefore opening up opportunities for students to adopt more culturally relativistic understandings of their fellow Oklahomans today.

It is interesting that the cultural relativism content of *Land of Opportunity* is relegated to the end-of-chapter concept application sections, and that it is not an explicit part of assigned readings. Furthermore, it is important to remember that while the curriculum contains these exercises, they can only have the desired effects if students actually engage in them. Alan did not

assign these to his class, and it is unlikely that any student would have done these activities of their own accord. We must also remember the limitations that the COVID-19 pandemic on Alan's instruction, and that exercises such as interviews were not as feasible or safe as they otherwise might have been pre-pandemic.

Additionally, although Alan did not assign these activities, that does not mean that his virtual instruction was devoid of any sense of cultural relativism. For example, he did not assign the Applying Your Skills exercise from Chapter 9 that I described above. However, in his Chapter 9 PowerPoint presentation that he created for online instruction, his "essential question" for Chapter 9.1 was "how did Reconstruction affect life in the Indian Territory?" This question is Alan's own creation and is not derived from the book. By presenting this as the essential question that students need to be able to answer about Chapter 9.1, Alan elevated the culturally relativistic approach to learning about Reconstruction over the book's simple presentation of events. He makes it clear that students are to learn how Reconstruction affected people – not just the facts of the various laws and treaties of the era.

Heritage Preservation

The importance of heritage preservation is expressed in small ways in *Land of Opportunity*, though to a far lesser extent than culture or cultural relativism. In Chapter 2.1, students learn about the Spiro Mounds archaeological site, and the book laments the loss of archaeological data from the site due to its desecration by treasure hunting (McDonald 2013, 54). This is an indirect way of acknowledging the importance of preserving heritage – if the loss of cultural heritage due to treasure hunting were insignificant to the author, then there would be no need to mention its detrimental effects to Spiro Mounds.

Heritage preservation in anthropology usually refers to the preservation of material culture and archaeology, as in the Spiro example, but "heritage" is broader than archaeology. Chapter 18.3 makes mention of the importance of preserving Native American heritage in Oklahoma not only through museum preservation, but also through the tribes' practices. In overviewing the diverse ethnic groups living in Oklahoma today, the chapter states that "festivals, museums, and cultural centers help the Indian nations pass along their proud heritage to younger generations" (McDonald 2013, 483).

Linguistic Relativity

Linguistic relativity is not explicitly defined in *Land of Opportunity,* and I did not expect it to be. However, there is one point in the curriculum that does acknowledge the broader idea of linguistic relativity – that language and culture are intertwined. This example comes from Chapter 13.3. Here, as I mentioned when discussing examples of cultural relativism in the curriculum, the book discusses World War I and its relationship to xenophobia of Germans living in Oklahoma during the war:

> Fearful of anything associated with Germany, Oklahoma and other states banned the speaking and teaching of the German language, and German-language newspapers were forced out of business. The names of three Oklahoma towns

> settled by Germans were changed – from Kiel to Loyal, Bismarck to Wright, and Korn to Corn. (McDonald 2013, 343)

This is a brief point within a larger discussion of World War I, but the curriculum's acknowledgement of xenophobia is certainly notable, especially for its inclusion of language. By learning that fear of Germans extended to fear of German language, students can see the inextricable connection between language and culture and the way that this can affect our experience (the changing of town names, for example). This passage does not define linguistic relativity, nor does it elaborate on the ways that the language one speaks is intertwined with their way of experiencing the world, which is the core concept of linguistic relativity. Still, this example bears mentioning, as the language-culture connection made here seems to be at least informed by a latent understanding of linguistic relativity. It also has some potential for opening up further discussions in the curriculum in use regarding the link between language and cultural experience.

Overall, there is a relatively low amount of overt content that engages with anthropology concepts either directly or indirectly in *Land of Opportunity*. However, it is there. We see explicit definitions and discussions of anthropology, archaeology, culture, and ethnicity. We also see the presence of questions and activities that imply anthropological principles, and these could potentially be expanded in the curriculum in use.

<div align="center">Covert Citizenship Discourses</div>

While overt anthropology content is somewhat minimal, there are an abundance of covert messages relating to social power and uncovered through CDA. My analyses show that transnational citizenship discourses are not present in *Land of Opportunity*, demonstrating that helping students understand their roles as global citizens was likely not one of the writer's goals – the global education paradigm perhaps was not as widespread in curriculum development at the time of *Land of Opportunity*'s publishing in 2013. In any case, transnational citizenship is not a focus of this curriculum. Liberal citizenship discourses are also largely absent. Conservative and critical discourses are by far the most prevalent in *Land of Opportunity*, and the following sections will provide detailed examples.

Conservative Citizenship

Conservative citizenship, again, is the idea that good citizens are those who are patriotic and proud to be an American. The pursuit of creating such citizens results in the production of conservative citizenship discourses that favor a patriotic teaching of the past, which can mean de-emphasizing some of the harmful ways that those with power in the United States have oppressed those with less power (Abowitz and Harnish 2006). *Land of Opportunity* is interesting in that it does present the facts about Oklahoma history, especially oppression of Native Americans in Indian Territory, yet the curriculum is full of word choices that seem to reduce the severity of these historical periods. Past inequalities and oppression are not censored or stricken from the historical record, but those who were on the benefitting side of unequal power dynamics are frequently presented as neutral at best or as sympathetic characters at worst.

This manifestation of conservative citizenship discourses is concentrated especially to Chapters 3, and 5, which are the chapters that cover colonization, the Trail of Tears, and treaties with Native Americans which had catastrophic effects to the tribes. These chapters give attention to Native American perspectives and experiences of these events rather than presenting only the white narrative, but even so, it often downplays just how much these experiences were based on the exertion of power by the latter. This is done frequently through either the omission of information or the use of positive and flattering language to describe oppressive forces.

To understand how this looks, we can first turn to Chapter 3.1. Discussions of European exploration of the areas of now known as the United States and Oklahoma treat these colonizing forces with an air of either neutrality or sympathy. Explorers are generally presented as just that – explorers – and not as colonizers. The introduction to Christopher Columbus is relegated to just the facts about his expedition and voyage to the New World (McDonald 2013, 70). There is nothing wrong with this telling of history in terms of accuracy, but discussing Columbus in such a neutral light could be seen as conservative discourse. Discussions of Columbus' wrongdoings and conversations about the insensitivity of the Columbus Day holiday to Indigenous people have pervaded public discourse for some time in arenas like social media, so the book's omission of information related to Columbus' oppression of Indigenous people is very noticeable.

Other times, the curriculum presents European explorers more positively. Hernán Cortes is a "daring conquistador," for example (McDonald 2013, 73). Francisco Vásquez de Coronodo's expeditions in search of gold are similarly presented as adventurous, and he and his crew are treated sympathetically for their hardships and for not finding the riches they sought. The book describes Coronodo's "exhausted men" (McDonald 2013, 74) and "worn out troops" (McDonald 2013, 75) in search of Quivira. Throughout Chapter 3.1, as we read about the stories of the various Spanish, French, and British explorers, we generally do not see words that demonstrate colonization, aggression, domination, or violence against Indigenous people. Instead we see "established," "explored," or "encountered." "Conquered" is sometimes used, and the text does note particular occasions where European explorers killed an Indigenous person or people, but these are noticeably fewer in comparison to the more neutral terms like "encountered." Similarly, to close out Chapter 3.1, the book states that "European influence soon affected many aspects of the Indians' way of life" (McDonald 2013, 81). This is a very neutral way of describing colonialism, and therefore can contribute to conservative citizenship.

We can find much of the same in Chapter 5's discussion of the Indian Removal Act, Trail of Tears, and treaties. The degree to which Native American tribes were forced to give up their land, and the trauma they experienced, is significantly downplayed through word choice. Throughout both sections of the chapter, the text describes tribes as "agreeing" to cede their homelands in exchange for land in Indian Territory. The curriculum also presents Thomas Jefferson's perspective of Native American removals, telling students that he "hoped to use treaties to slowly encourage Indians to adopt the European way of life, shifting from hunting to farming" (McDonald 2013, 119). This implies that U.S. government forces were simply encouraging the tribes to move, rather than that they were forcing them. Furthermore, the presence of missionaries trying to "civilize" Five Tribes of the southeast is presented as more of a nuisance than a harm, as the book states that "some tribes accepted the missionaries and their work more than others" (McDonald 2013, 127). Like the above examples, this statement is not

untrue, but it severely understates the role that missionization had on the ethnocide of Indigenous people.

On the topic of treaties, the book not only says that Western Cherokees "agreed" to move from their land in Arkansas as part of an 1828 treaty, it also highlights the compensation that the government offered the Eastern Cherokees:

> The treaty also laid the groundwork for relocating the Eastern Cherokee to Indian Territory, offering each family a good rifle, blankets, a kettle, five pounds of tobacco, land compensation, cost of migration, and subsistence for a year… only a few Eastern Cherokee took the offer and relocated west. (McDonald 2013, 125)

The way that the book presents the 1828 treaty with the Cherokees is more sympathetic to the U.S. government than to the Cherokees. It shows all the concessions that the government would make for the Cherokees in exchange for their land, but it does not carry any implication that the government may have been in the wrong for moving the Cherokees, nor does it give the Cherokee perspective of these events. We see all the concessions that the government was supposedly making, but we do not see why Cherokees did not take them up on their supposed generosity and why they were so resistant to move.

To round out Chapter 5, the book presents students with a critical thinking question: "How did the Indians make an effort to assimilate into the white man's society?" (McDonald 2013, 141). This question sums up the conservative citizenship themes of Chapter 5. The onus of change is placed upon the Native Americans. They made efforts to assimilate. They agreed to give up their land. Shifting agency to Native Americans in their own oppression is a way of enacting conservative discourse. It provides students with a narrative of their own government as more passive in the "ugly" parts of history than it realistically was, which can make it easier for them to be patriotic and proud of the U.S. government – i.e. adopt conservative citizenship values.

The curriculum's handling of missions and boarding schools for Native American assimilation serves this same goal. Missions overall are presented as having helped Native people prosper, and a critical thinking question for Chapter 6 asks students to explain how missionaries influenced the day-to-day life of Native people (McDonald 2013, 167). As with the above, it is indeed true that missionaries influenced the lives of Native Americans, but the choice of the word "influenced" certainly downplays the negative effects of missionization on Native American people and cultures.

Missionaries are also presented as sympathetic figures at times, as exemplified where the text states that the missionaries "worked tirelessly" to convert Native Americans to Christianity (McDonald 2013, 245). Furthermore, the book's handling of Native American boarding schools can be summed up in the following quote from Chapter 10.1: "The U.S. government established Indian schools in the 1800s to help the Plains Indians and others assimilate (blend) into the American melting pot" (McDonald 2013, 245). These statements present the government and missionaries as doing their part to help Indigenous people assimilate into American culture though education and conversion, but it does not acknowledge or explore Indigenous perspectives of assimilation and the loss of their cultures. This is conservative discourse.

Critical Citizenship

  Land of Opportunity has many sections that exhibit conservative discourse, but we can also find plenty of instances of critical discourse. This is interesting, as critical discourses – which acknowledge the existence of social power – are in many ways the antithesis to those conservative discourses which leave out the ugly details of history. It surprised me that both conservative and critical discourses existed in *Land of Opportunity* to such a degree.

  For example: I have described above that the U.S. government's oppression of Native Americans tends to be downplayed in the curriculum through conservative discourse, yet the book does clearly state that "[Mississippi] state laws overwhelmingly favored whites [over Choctaws], and the federal government would not overrule the state" (McDonald 2013, 130). Unlike what we see with conservative discourses about Native American removals, where Native people are positioned as the agents, here the book is quite clear that government forces were the cause of the unequal treatment of Mississippi's Indigenous people, *and* that this inequality was based on race. This sentiment is echoed in Chapter 9.1:

> The war had taken away almost a quarter of the population of the Five Tribes, and the U.S. government, as before, took away much of their land. Once again, the Indians began the slow process of rebuilding their lives. (McDonald 2013, 217)

Here too, we see that the U.S. government is named as the agent of oppression and that it took Native peoples' lands from them – counterintuitive to the conservative discourses that describe Native Americans as having agreed to ceding their lands.

  We can also see an instance of critical discourse in Chapter 4.1, where again the curriculum is clear about the existence of racism during the era of European exploration despite the conservative discourses surrounding this topic. The book acknowledges the ideologies of Spanish explorers about Native Americans – that they had no value other than as slaves, or that they would only be "useful" if converted to Christianity (McDonald 2013, 93).

  Chapter 7, which covers westward expansion, is mostly devoid of any citizenship discourses that I could detect through CDA. For the most part, it simply teaches the facts and historical sequence of events as Americans sought routes to the west. However, the chapter's Critical Thinking section presents a question that contributes to critical citizenship discourse: "do you believe Americans had the right to settle western lands? What assumptions did the idea of manifest destiny make about the rights of Indians and others to this land?" (McDonald 2013, 186). This elevates the curriculum's coverage of Manifest Destiny from a telling of events to an exercise that encourages students to think about the ways that the U.S. government exerted power and oppressed Native Americans through their desire to expand westward.

  Another common theme of conservative discourse in *Land of Opportunity* is the lack of representation for non-Euro-centric experiences of historical events, as described above, and interestingly we can see some examples of critical discourse that juxtapose this pattern. In Chapter 12.2, about Oklahoma's statehood, the curriculum presents a quote by Mary L. Herrod, Muscogee (Creek), to demonstrate one Indigenous perspective of statehood. The quote expresses Herrod's lamentation over the loss of the last Native American-only territory after decades of

removals and treaties. Her expression that "the Indian does not count anymore even in his own territory" (McDonald 2013, 316) opens the statehood narrative to critical discourse, as students must face that the establishment of the state of Oklahoma was part of the process of oppressing Native Americans.

The nature of Oklahoma history means that students generally learn more about Native Americans than they do any other non-white race or ethnic group, but *Land of Opportunity* does also address Black people in Oklahoma history, and these mentions are at times accompanied by critical discourse. We can turn to Chapter 12 for some examples. A passage in Chapter 12.1 discusses segregation in Oklahoma Territory schools and outwardly states that this led to educational inequity for Black students, some of whom had no opportunity to attend school past 8th Grade due to segregation (McDonald 2013, 306). This is a clear example of critical discourse, as it helps students to understand the effects of systemic racism in Oklahoma's history. Later, in Chapter 12.2, the curriculum is also clear about the fact that none of the delegates for Oklahoma's constitutional convention were Black despite nominations being open to all men over the age of twenty-one (McDonald 2013, 310). This helps students see that not only was this clearly a result of racial prejudice, it also meant that there was no Black representation or voice in the formation of the Oklahoma state constitution. Again, this helps students see how racism can become systemic, and it is a form of critical discourse.

On the same note, we can see another instance of critical discourse that exposes systemic racism in Chapter 13.1. The curriculum describes how racism became systematized through *de facto* segregation during Oklahoma's first legislature:

> African Americans also suffered under *de facto* (actual, if not legal) segregation. In Oklahoma City, for example, blacks made up about 10 percent of the population, and most lived in segregated neighborhoods in generally undesirable areas. Some blacks prospered and began to buy houses in all-white neighborhoods. The Oklahoma City Board of Commissioners enacted an ordinance (a local law) making it illegal for a person to move into a block on which 75 percent of the buildings were occupied by people of a different race. The ordinance effectively prevented blacks from moving into white neighborhoods and segregated everything from churches to dance halls (McDonald 2013, 327).

This is a clear example of historic racism as it was enacted and systematized through legal means. Students can learn from this short paragraph that the government historically prevented Black people from achieving upward social mobility through the use of laws and ordinances. In doing so they created a system, based on race, that served to reinforce a social hierarchy which kept Black people at a disadvantage. By exposing students to systemic inequality, this passage promotes critical citizenship through discourse.

Finally, although I was only able to observe one of Alan's in-person classes to catch a glimpse of the curriculum in use, I noticed that he introduced critical discourse into the curriculum's discussion of Native American boarding schools. The curriculum is full of conservative discourse on this topic, as I have described above, but Alan made a point to provide

a perspective of boarding schools that was more sympathetic to Native people. He told his students that being placed into these schools was very sad for these children, and that they were "thrown" into the academies for the purpose of learning the white way of life and becoming "civilized" (making sure to explain that the notion of "civilization" implies that other ways of life are inferior). Alan also made sure to impress upon his students that these events took place only about 100 years ago – in other words, that this is recent and not too far removed from their own lives. In a few short sentences, Alan introduced critical discourse into the curriculum in use and counteracted much of the conservative discourse embedded within the written curriculum in regards to boarding schools. I am hopeful that we can learn more about discourses of the curriculum in use in the future – if this one example is any indication, then we may find that teachers regularly participate in transforming the discourses of the written curriculum.

Summary

The Oklahoma History curriculum for 9th Grade expresses some degree of anthropological literacy, but the CDA results beg the question of whether this content is undercut by conservative discourse. Without the intervention of a teacher and a more standard curriculum in use, would more anthropologically rooted messages be received?

In any case, it is clear that the curriculum is imbued with concepts like culture and cultural relativism, if not always in such an explicit manner. But what of hegemony? The critical citizenship discourses present in the curriculum certainly highlight the nature of structural inequality and exclusions based on race, fitting within a CRT framework, but they do not quite approach hegemony as anthropologists and other social scientists conceive of it – not just the recognition of social inequality, but of one's own *consent* to it. For example, the textbook successfully explains structural racism in Oklahoma's history as enacted through legal means, but this is oppression of the "other" and temporally removed from students. It is unclear whether students could learn such realities about inequality throughout history while also coming to understand how even modern Americans are complicit in these unequal systems – bearing in mind that these inequalities are not just limited to race, but also to other social constructs.

In sum, the 9th Grade Oklahoma History curriculum is steeped in some aspects of anthropological literacy, but not all, based on the Fall 2020 semester where students were exposed primarily to the written curriculum rather than the curriculum in use. There is a distinct possibility that teacher intervention is necessary for creating a more anthropologically grounded teaching of 9th Grade Oklahoma history, and this possibility is worth exploring through future research.

VI. DISCUSSION: TOWARD AN ANTRHOPOLOGICALLY LITERATE OKLAHOMA

In the previous chapters, I described anthropological principles within *Investigating Shelter, Studies Weekly,* and *Land of Opportunity.* Each of these curricula is different in its presentation of overt anthropology principles and covert messages about social power. However, we can also see some common themes among these three different cases of social studies curriculum and instruction. In this chapter, I will explore these similarities and differences. More importantly, I reflect on this data as I revisit the sentiment I expressed in Chapter 1: that anthropology could be a useful tool for education. These case studies suggest that this is indeed true.

When assessing the degree to which anthropological concepts already exist in the curriculum, interpreting overt content was straightforward – I simply looked to see which of the six anthropological literacy principles were expressed either directly or indirectly. When it comes to covert content uncovered through CDA, I sought four different types of citizenship discourses pertaining to power relations: conservative, liberal, critical, and transnational. Harkening back to Chapter 2, I remind the reader that critical and transnational discourses are congruent with anthropological values, while conservative and liberal discourses generally are not. Where we see critical and transnational discourses, we see indirect communications of anthropological principles – particularly hegemony, or at the very least, a recognition of social inequality that anthropologists thoroughly understand.

It is important to remember that these are just that: case studies. They are not representative of Oklahoma social studies education in its entirety. Each case represents a different curriculum, different teaching methods, and different sets of circumstances, all within the constraints of the COVID-19 pandemic. From these cases and because of the diverse factors among them, we can gain a sense of the anthropological grounding of different types of curriculum and understand where more facets of anthropology can be added. In the first part of this chapter, I will describe the similarities and differences between the three case studies and discuss their implications for the current state of anthropological literacy in Oklahoma education.

Of course, this still leaves us with the question of why it is worth discussing anthropology in Oklahoma education, and the second half of this chapter will address this. I believe that we can benefit from a more anthropologically literate society, but I have also learned through conducting this research that promoting an anthropological mindset is consistent with what these teachers want to achieve with their instruction. We also cannot ignore the recent debates regarding Critical Race Theory in education. Attitudes differ on this topic, and it has become politically charged. Shifting to a focus on anthropology is one way that we can reorient our mindset and move forward in our discussions about education. And, to best know how to accomplish this, anthropologists themselves must put their skills to practice – collaborate with educators to understand our communities' attitudes towards education, and do the work to show our communities the benefits of our field in the pursuit of common ground.

In this chapter, I will first discuss the implications of the three case studies outlined in this dissertation on anthropological literacy in the written curriculum. I then discuss the curriculum in use, incorporating the perspectives and opinions of teachers and the unique hindrances to the curriculum in use in the 2020-2021 school year. I will describe how these

support the findings of my study of the written curriculum where anthropological literacy is concerned. Last, I will explore the thoughts and opinions of teachers, as well as the implications of the study, on broader social dialogues pertaining to education (including debates about Critical Race Theory). Ultimately, I engage in this discussion to demonstrate the promise of anthropological literacy shows as a guiding principle for education in the future.

Anthropological Literacy of the Written curriculum

Despite its challenges, the 2020-2021 academic year provided a unique opportunity to see the effects of an emphasis on written curriculum on education, since the teachers were limited in their ability to produce curriculum in use. This emphasis on the written curriculum also allows for a clearer assessment of just what our teachers have to work with and how anthropologically grounded it is. Each of the case studies – *Investigating Shelter, Studies Weekly,* and *Land of Opportunity* – differ in many ways, yet we can observe some common themes among them. The content and aims of each curriculum are of course different. The Project Archaeology curriculum is a particular outlier, as it is not a state-adopted curriculum, nor is it specifically an Oklahoma history or social studies curriculum. Furthermore, it is a curriculum for just one unit, usually taking place over a matter of weeks instead of representing a full course. *Investigating Shelter* is flexible in that it can be used as a supplement to social studies curriculum in Grades 3-5. However, in this case study, only a group of 4th Grade gifted and talented students was exposed to the curriculum. This differs from the audiences for the 3rd and 9th Grade curricula, which were for all 3rd and 9th Grade students.

Although the 3rd and 9th Grade curricula are very different from *Investigating Shelter*, there are differences between them as well. Each of course is for a different grade level, and the content within is written accordingly. *Studies Weekly* is organized like a newspaper with a variety of short articles comprising each lesson, and *Land of Opportunity* is a traditional textbook. Both curricula cover Oklahoma history, but *Studies Weekly* also covers geography to a significant extent. This is because both curricula are tailored to the Oklahoma Academic Standards for Social Studies. The standards categories are 3rd Grade Social Studies and Oklahoma History (which is taught in 9th Grade). In short, the 3rd Grade standards and curriculum are meant to be a broader view of social studies pertaining to Oklahoma, while the Oklahoma History standards and curriculum are specifically for teaching Oklahoma History in 9th Grade. We can summarize the anthropological literacy of these three written curricula as follows:

1. *Investigating Shelter* contains the most overt anthropological content of the three curricula, and it consists primarily of liberal and critical discourse, with liberal discourse being more common. Conservative discourse is present but less prevalent.
2. *Studies Weekly* has some overt anthropological content, especially cultural relativism, and it has roughly equal proportions of conservative, liberal, and critical discourses.
3. *Land of Opportunity* contains some breadth (and not depth) of overt anthropological content, and it consists of primarily of conservative and critical

discourse, with conservative discourse being more common. Liberal discourse is almost entirely absent.

4. All curricula contained critical discourse, but never as the majority.
5. None of the curricula exhibited a significant degree of transnational discourse.
6. All curricula expressed principles of culture, cultural relativism, and heritage preservation explicitly and/or implicitly.
7. None of the curricula expressed the principle of human variation.

In this section, I will discuss these seven points in greater detail, beginning with a discussion of overt anthropology content, then explaining the covert anthropological principles embedded within citizenship discourses. After describing anthropological literacy of the written curriculum, I will discuss the role of the curriculum in use and its potential for transforming citizenship discourses in social studies instruction.

Overt Anthropology

The content differences between the three written curricula are mostly obvious, but they are also important for understanding the differences in anthropologically grounded content between them. With overt anthropology content, it is easy to guess that *Investigating Shelter* contains much more compared to the other curricula, as it is a curriculum *about* anthropology (because archaeology is a subfield of anthropology). Students learn exactly what archaeology is and some of its major principles, but they also learn about some of the six anthropological literacy principles in a direct way. The curriculum explicitly defines culture and cultural relativism, and one of the six Enduring Understandings of the curriculum (one of the major lessons students are supposed to learn) is the anthropological and archaeological principle of heritage preservation.

The 3rd and 9th Grade curricula are not anthropology or archaeology focused like *Investigating Shelter*, so of course they do not have as much overt anthropology content, but they do contain some expressions of anthropological literacy principles. In its overt content, *Studies Weekly* implicitly communicates the concepts of culture and cultural relativism and explicitly discusses heritage preservation. Its covert citizenship discourses also communicate hegemony. *Land of Opportunity* on the other hand does not communicate hegemony either overtly or covertly, but its overt content does provide a more explicit description of culture, implicitly communicates cultural relativism, and contains just a handful of examples which imply heritage preservation and even linguistic relativity.

Both curricula implicitly communicate cultural relativism, which means that this principle is not explicitly defined, but its meaning is communicated through asking students to position themselves in others' shoes to understand different perspectives of the past (and present). Although both curricula do this, *Studies Weekly* contains far more of this. It places the content more front-and-center compared to *Land of Opportunity*, where cultural relativism messages are largely relegated to end-of-chapter summative critical thinking and application questions that students may never read the questions are not specifically assigned to them (as was the case with Alan's class). Overall, *Studies Weekly* gives much more attention to multiple perspectives of the past through its telling of history in addition to questions directed at students,

while *Land of Opportunity* only presents the questions and generally does not imbue its historical narratives with the same variance in perspectives. Both curricula communicate cultural relativism, but *Studies Weekly* does it more successfully.

None of the curricula cover the anthropological principle of human variation, which is associated with biological anthropology and helps us to understand that race is a cultural category that humans use to explain biological variation. I am not surprised that this principle is absent from social studies and history curriculum, as it would likely be more appropriate in science curriculum. Anthropology is broad in its approach to studying humans, so not all of its principles pertain to the subjects covered by social studies education. An education based on promoting anthropological literacy should therefore encompass any and all subjects that pertain to studying humans in any capacity, beyond social studies.

That said, the principles of human variation are among those that are central to anthropological literacy. Scholars from the field of biological anthropology have enabled us to understand that while race is a cultural category that humans use to explain biological variation, there are no biological markers that produce discrete categories of "races" (Livingstone). I do suspect that the concept of race as it relates to the anthropological literacy principle of human variation is more likely to appear in biology curriculum than social studies curriculum; however, this suggests that those involved in curriculum creation likely think of race as biological before thinking of it as cultural, and this is counterintuitive to an anthropologically informed understanding of race[1].

Indeed, the lack of the human variation principle in the social studies curriculum is unsurprising, but it is also symptomatic of a larger societal preoccupation with the biological aspects of race. It suggests a fundamental misunderstanding of race among members of society at large. The human variation principle is just as important as any other principle of anthropological literacy within social studies education, but if we are to see this reflected in the curriculum, then biology curriculum may serve as an entry point into such a venture.

Covert Anthropology

The trends in covert anthropological content as communicated through citizenship discourses among the three curricula share some interesting similarities and differences. Going into my analysis, I thought that the CDA might reveal that each curriculum was either less anthropological (having more conservative and liberal discourse) or more anthropological (having more critical and transnational discourse). As it turned out, each curriculum contained a mixture of these. *Investigating Shelter* did not contain many citizenship discourses at all, but of those present, I observed a combination of liberal and critical discourse. *Studies Weekly* had a combination of conservative, liberal, and critical discourse, and *Land of Opportunity* had almost no liberal discourse but a combination of conservative and critical discourse. None of these curricula contained much, if any, transnational discourse.

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[1] The preoccupation with biological aspects of race has resulted in the use of science to justify racial inequalities. 19th and 20th century researchers used craniometrics and IQ studies to present a biased and skewed intelligence hierarchy of racial categories (Gould, Lieberman, Blanton). Basing intelligence on false notions of race has affected education and placed students of color at a disadvantage (Lewontin).

The absence of transnational discourse was a surprise to me, as social studies education research trends over the past 20-30 years have increasingly advocated for a global education approach to social studies (Banks 2004; Tye 2003). (Osler 2011) has called for education to address cosmopolitan citizenship and use it to help students navigate their affinities to local, national, and global communities. More recently, Gaudelli (2017) has scrutinized the need for global education to constantly engage in introspection so as to remain relevant to students' changing experiences in a globalized world. The 3rd and 9th Grade Oklahoma History curricula I examined for this research did emphasize the roles of students as citizens of Oklahoma and position them as part of a larger community of culturally diverse Oklahomans and Americans, meeting some of the goals expressed by those who advocate for global education. However, neither curriculum extended these sentiments to the global scale and did not focus on global systems or transnational identity, which is the focus of transnational discourse as conceived of by Abowitz and Harnish (2006).

Perhaps the curriculum writers did not feel that a global education approach was necessary or appropriate for teaching state history, or perhaps they were simply not engaged in the global education paradigm when they wrote these texts. I am not supposing that the lack of transnational discourse in these curricula is a negative thing. However, given the research directions of anthropologists and social studies education researchers today, I believe that incorporating more transnational discourse in history curriculum would bring about a more anthropologically literate teaching of history and meet the wants and needs of those social studies educators and researchers who subscribe to the global education paradigm.

Transnational discourse aside, each written curriculum contained a combination of more anthropological and less anthropological discourses. All three contained critical discourses which are more consistent with anthropological values and perspectives. Concerning the less anthropological citizenship discourses, *Investigating Shelter* trended more towards liberal discourse, *Land of Opportunity* trended more towards conservative discourse, and *Studies Weekly* contained several examples of both. *Studies Weekly* also has the strongest showing of critical discourse despite its inclusion of less anthropological discourses.

Does the presence of mixed citizenship discourses make each curriculum more or less anthropologically grounded? One interpretation of these results may be that conservative and/or liberal discourses undermine the anthropologically sound messages communicated through critical discourse in the three curricula studied. However, we should also consider an alternative interpretation – that the critical discourse counteracts messages contained within the conservative/liberal discourse that are inconsistent with anthropological principles. In curricula where all three discourses are present, is conservative/liberal discourse hindering anthropological literacy, or is critical discourse promoting anthropological literacy? Is the glass half full or empty, or is the answer much more complex? These questions bear further study. In any case, one thing did become clear – that no matter which types of discourse are present, the teacher seems to have major role in bolstering or weakening different citizenship discourses through the curriculum in use, meaning they may be the key to a more anthropologically literate education system.

Anthropological Literacy and Curriculum In Use

Every teacher faced different circumstances brought on by the shift to online learning due to COVID-19, and this resulted in each case study incorporating a different amount of curriculum in use. We must remember that the observations I have just described are based on the textbooks themselves, without intervention from teachers to make the content any more or less anthropological in nature. The curriculum in use is traditionally the way that the written curriculum is taught in person, but because there was so little of this in the 2020-2021 academic year, the curriculum in use in this case also includes the materials that the teachers developed for teaching the curriculum online.

Laura created plenty of online content to teach *Investigating Shelter*, only using the provided worksheets and activities that could be done virtually and creating new activities to offset the loss of others. Alan also created his own online content, but his was more heavily based on the original curriculum and took the form of quizzes and worksheets as opposed to Laura's more interactive activities. This is no doubt due to the nature of the content – *Investigating Shelter* is full of interactive lesson plans, and *Land of Opportunity* is a textbook. Laura and Alan both created their own PowerPoint presentations for their lessons. Hannah on the other hand did not need to create any content, as *Studies Weekly* was already formatted and optimized for a virtual experience. This means there was no curriculum in use to speak of for the 3rd Grade case study. Recall as well that the Project Archaeology case study transcends the *Investigating Shelter* curriculum unit and Laura's teaching. It also includes the Leadership Academy and the workshop for Garfield teachers. Each of those scenarios represent curriculum delivered to teachers, which can in turn inform how teachers deliver the curriculum to students.

Each form of curriculum in use was merely a shadow of what the teachers normally would have done. COVID-19 and the resulting closures of schools and movement to online learning undeniably had effects on these case studies taking place in 2020 and 2021. Reflecting on the year, the teachers shared with me what sorts of challenges they faced and how this affected their typical instruction (curriculum in use). The results of analyses of *Investigating Shelter, Studies Weekly,* and *Land of Opportunity* suggest that teachers are key to producing a more anthropologically grounded teaching of social studies; the teachers themselves already know this, having seen firsthand just how much a lack of curriculum in use affected students' learning. In this section, I will provide an overview of the challenges that Laura, Hannah, and Alan faced during the 2020-2021 school year as a result of the pandemic, specifically focusing on their perspectives of the curriculum in use. Then, I will discuss the implications of the lack of curriculum in use as they relate to the written curriculum and anthropological literacy.

COVID-19 Challenges

Regardless of the content and nature of curriculum in use contained within the online courses for each case study, all of the teachers felt that students' education was hindered by the lack of in-person engagement with their classes. Each teacher faced unique challenges in teaching and handling the loss of curriculum in use during the 2020-2021 academic year as they took on the task of teaching their classes fully online. Every teacher and every class had a different set of circumstances. Laura and Hannah teach at the same school, but they had two completely different challenges; Laura had to completely adapt her *Project Archaeology* lessons

from scratch and learn how to present them in the Seesaw education platform, while Hannah did not have to do anything to adapt *Studies Weekly* and could simply direct students to the website. Being a 3rd Grade teacher, however, Hannah does not only teach social studies, and she had to adapt her other curricula (for math, reading, etc.) to varying degrees. Laura, too, had other curricula and other gifted and talented grade levels requiring different degrees of preparation and adaptation. Alan did not use Seesaw like Laura or a built-in online platform for his curriculum like Hannah. He used Google Classroom and posted all of his materials there as downloadable files. All three teachers made themselves available for video conferences to help students, and all three found that not all students took these opportunities.

The teachers expressed that the differences in student engagement were tied to stressors that the pandemic placed on students and their families. Hannah noticed a significant disparity in student engagement based on parental engagement:

> I think that there are cases where we had really high parental involvement, and in those instances, you really have parents who are committed to making the virtual experience work… as it happened, I only had about a quarter of my students…. who were really heavily participating and that I felt really took something from the virtual experience… and again I, think that's a parent commitment, and I think it's a parent ability to schedule and make that work, so for those students… it was certainly workable. For the other students who were maybe on a more asynchronous schedule or who didn't have the parental support at home, last year was not an experience that I would want to repeat for them.

Alan and Laura both shared this sentiment, saying that their students engaged at different levels. Like Meagan, Laura felt that parental engagement was a significant factor for student success. Alan said that at Carter, teachers were to be available via Google Meet according to their regular class schedule in case students wanted to drop in to ask questions. In reality, he said, most students "are not going to get up at 8 AM to go to class," instead opting to work asynchronously.

Each teacher conveyed a feeling that the students at their schools during the 2020-2021 academic year universally suffered from the constraints presented by COVID, significantly delaying their academic progress. As Alan put it, "we tried as hard as we could, but I think we stepped a year back." It is hard for me to disagree after observing Alan's in-person class, where he conducted a review for an exam. The exam was going to include questions about the Civil War in Oklahoma, and before Alan reviewed them, he asked his students about their level of knowledge of the Civil War (they would have learned about the Civil War the prior year in 8th Grade U.S. History). As it turned out, the students reported that they "didn't get to it." This was a byproduct of COVID – lockdown measures as a response to the pandemic started in March 2020, halfway through the Spring 2020 semester. The unexpected closure of schools across the state presented a problem, as no one was prepared to immediately move to online instruction. In the shuffle, Alan's 9th Grade students evidently had not received adequate (if any) instruction on the Civil War to feel confident about discussing its expressions in Oklahoma History. Learning about this issue, Alan provided perhaps the fastest overview of the Civil War in a feat that I can

only describe as impressive, doing his best to provide some context to his students before helping them review the exam material in more detail.

Even with Alan's efforts, there was no guarantee that students were truly learning anything from the curriculum he presented. He was cognizant of the fact that students could easily cheat on their assignments and exams when left to their own devices to submit their work online and at their own pace. On the day I observed his class, he told his students, "You are going to get the education you want. If you want to learn, you will make the effort." He felt it was important to emphasize that the students have a role in their own education. If they did not really want to learn, he could not stop them from cheating – but if they really wanted to earn their education, they would take the necessary steps. This moment stuck with me after I left, and I even repeated the sentiment to the students in my own online course – you are going to get the education you want. Even with Alan's efforts to teach the students integrity, his inability to have face-to-face instruction as part of the curriculum in use clearly affected his students, their drive, and their success.

Hannah also found that it was harder to guarantee student success in the online format – in part due to different levels of parent engagement, as quoted above, but also because of limitations to the curriculum. Even though *Studies Weekly* is optimized for an online experience, and even though she overall approves of the curriculum's content, Hannah feels that the lack of in-person engagement with her students opens a gap of understanding. Concepts like the Trail of Tears, she says, are very abstract for 3rd Graders, and she takes on the role of making those ideas more tangible:

> Throughout my years of teaching, [content] has been relatively static, but again I have to look at what my team and I have done to supplement instruction and to bring some very abstract, very heady concepts down to the level of an 8 or 9-year-old. Really, I feel like we've pulled a lot of what we feel like is the essential stuff out of whatever curriculum we've had, so while I feel like factually [the content has] been the same… when you teach events like the Trail of Tears, that's something that is a very abstract concept to 9-year-olds.

Hannah described for me how she would normally help students understand the abstract concept of the Trail of Tears through in-class activities that simulate the students being forced out of their homes, as an example. Clearly. Hannah sees the curriculum in use as necessary for making the curriculum more accessible to her young students. She did comment that *Studies Weekly* is a move in the right direction for more accessible content, but past curricula had required much intervention on her part. Hannah's experience in the 2020-2021 academic year left her feeling hopeful because of the higher quality of the curriculum compared to past years, but the lack of curriculum in use still presented a challenge.

In fact, the lack of teacher intervention in the curriculum actually resulted in Hannah, as well as all 3rd Grade teachers across Garfield Schools, having to omit some of the content in *Studies Weekly* from their lessons. Hannah shared that because some of the concepts in the curriculum are difficult for 3rd Graders without help, the district requested that the teachers doing virtual teaching not assign or discuss certain topics. She specifically mentioned the Oklahoma

City bombing, which is featured prominently in one of *Studies Weekly's* lessons. This decision was not made out of a desire to censor information, but to prevent students from harm over content they are not developmentally capable of handling alone. Hannah said, "we do have students working independently, and that is not really the kind of topic that you want a kiddo to read on their own without guidance."

This concern over students' emotional wellbeing is not unfounded. Laura shared with me how so many of the students in her classes are struggling with the many stressors placed upon them as a product of the pandemic and the major life changes it has caused them to endure:

> The anxiety and the stress and the sleeplessness that continues with these kids is not good. We deal with it now. I have added social/emotional activities within my classroom now because I need to… I had conferences with parents last week, and I would say half – I had 28, 30 conferences – half are asking social/emotional questions of their children. "This is what I'm observing at home, what are you observing here?" "This is what's happened within my family, can you help me? Can you give me resources?"

Laura also felt that some concepts may have been lost on her students without in-person interaction. Being a teacher for the gifted and talented program, she was not under the same curriculum constraints as Alan or Hannah, nor did she have the district requesting that she refrain from teaching certain material. "The sky is the limit," she told me, because she is not a regular classroom teacher. Given this freedom, Laura is able to teach the concepts that she finds important and interesting. Fueled by her love of archaeology, *Investigating Shelter* is one topic she wanted to make sure she covered with her students regardless of the constraints brought forth by online learning. Still, she was met with challenges, as she could not conduct some of the unit's most hands-on activities and have the important class discussions that drive home the curriculum's Enduring Understandings.

Each of these three teachers felt that some aspect of their students' education was lost as a result of the move to virtual instruction. It is clear from talking to and observing them that they see the curriculum in use as vitally important. The 2020-2021 academic year put it into perspective for everyone – that due to a variety of social factors, not all students are able to learn as effectively when they are learning only from the written curriculum or from the written curriculum plus limited curriculum in use. Even where some curriculum in use was present, not all students realistically had access to all of it due to social and emotional constraints that abound during the time of COVID. All three teachers empathized with these students for whom they care so much, fearing that their educational development has been stunted for the long term.

Implications for the Study

The above statements represent the opinions of just three teachers. These three people do not and cannot represent all educators. However, the results of the three case studies outlined in this dissertation provide data-based support to these teachers' concerns – that the curriculum in use is vital for helping students understand the written curriculum. The role of the teacher is irreplaceable. My own studies show, through observation of limited amounts of curriculum in

use, how teachers actively engage in the transformation of discourses embedded within the written curriculum. We saw this in the ways that Laura, Erika, Jessica, and the Leadership Academy participants introduced critical and transnational discourses into the instruction of *Investigating Shelter* – a curriculum dominated by liberal discourse. We also saw in one single class period how Alan used critical discourse to teach a topic that was significantly steeped in conservative discourse in *Land of Opportunity*. These are but glimpses of the possibilities for teachers to transform citizenship discourses. Talking to the teachers, it is clear that they would have engaged in much more of this transformation had they been able, and that they have done so in the pre-pandemic past.

This is important to the discussion of anthropological literacy in Oklahoma education. Based on these case studies, social studies curriculum in Oklahoma may overtly communicate some anthropological concepts, but most sentiments communicating anthropological principles are covert, taking the form of citizenship discourses. Conservative and liberal discourses are not consistent with contemporary anthropological ideals, but critical and transnational discourses are. In the cases where I observed differences between written curriculum and curriculum in use, teachers introduced critical and transnational discourse – never conservative or liberal discourse – meaning that teachers contributed to a greater anthropological grounding of the curriculum.

Furthermore, it is evident that these teachers care about their students learning big concepts rather than specific facts. This shares the spirit of anthropological literacy – that a person can be anthropologically literate if they have an implicit understanding of anthropological principles, even if they lack the specific knowledge to express those principles in anthropological terms. Laura, for one, articulated what some of the *Project Archaeology* lessons teach that is truly important:

> [Archaeology] is a tool. It allows those conversations [about cultural differences] to take place. Without [the aid of the Project Archaeology curriculum], it wouldn't be happening. It would be something that Laura's putting together, a little bit here, a little bit there… not a true picture of what archaeology is… it's much deeper, and it's critical thinking, and that's what we're *really* about.

Like Laura, Alan wants to see his students adopt big-picture understandings of their social worlds. Seeing firsthand experiences as vitally important to education, he lamented not being able to take field trips or direct students to places where they could gain broader understandings and perspectives of other ways of life:

> A lot of kids don't know [the world] outside of their neighborhood. They've never been downtown. They don't have real life experiences. I can't wait for field trips, because that's real-life education that you get to see.

Hannah expressed her desire for students to learn big concepts as well. In preparation for her first time to discuss the Indian Removal Act using *Studies Weekly,* she shared what she hopes the curriculum will accomplish:

> We're going to be talking about the Indian Removal Act and Trail of Tears that impacted the Indigenous people of Oklahoma… I'm interested to see how they handle it [in *Studies Weekly*], because our previous social studies curriculum – I felt like it did a good job of hitting the facts, but it didn't really give a perspective of just what the Native people went through, and that's always something that I try to supplement and work in with very hands on very concrete examples of what this looked like in our history. So I'm hopeful that *Studies Weekly* will address that from that Native perspective, so that we really get a feel for what those people went through, because I think ultimately that's the lesson from the history that the kids need to be grasping.

Here, Hannah was again referring to the importance of the curriculum in use, but she was also communicating that the real lesson from the Trail of Tears is empathy for the historical oppression of Indigenous people, not a series of facts that are disconnected from her students' reality.

None of these teachers said that they are trying to teach anthropology (Laura's archaeology content is an exception because it is overt in the written curriculum). However, all of them communicated that they want their students to take away larger concepts from their education that transcend facts. All of these larger concepts fit under the umbrella of anthropological literacy. Laura talked about critical thinking, which translates to critical discourse. Alan and Hannah talked about understanding other perspectives, which translates to cultural relativism. Ultimately, though we use different terminology, these teachers and anthropologists want the same thing – to produce anthropologically literate citizens.

Broader Applications of Anthropological Literacy

As a result of this research, we can see that capable teachers and a robust curriculum in use are vitally important in the production of anthropologically literate students. But what does this matter? In the opening chapter of this dissertation, I expressed my belief that anthropology literacy underlies a heightened ability to understand others. In a society that has so frequently been characterized by divisions as of late, I believe we can all benefit from thinking like an anthropologist. Given the ways that Laura, Hannah, and Alan transformed citizenship discourses in the curriculum and expressed their desire to give their students an education that will help them understand the world, I continue to contend that we can all have an anthropologically literate society without having a society of anthropologists, and teachers like these three are contributing to that.

This study of online instruction in the era of COVID-19 exposed just how important teachers are to furthering anthropological literacy through the curriculum in use, but it also demonstrates that the written curriculum can vary greatly in its communication of anthropological principles. Laura, Hannah, and Alan are not representative of all teachers. Perhaps not all teachers share their philosophies or are as anthropologically literate. Perhaps there will be other cases where teachers will need to move to online instruction. No matter what factors may play a role in the curriculum in use, there is merit in producing a written curriculum that places greater emphasis on anthropological principles, even if they are covert. This could be

accomplished by approaching curriculum production with a consciousness of citizenship discourses – favoring those more anthropological discourses over those that are less so. We cannot guarantee consistency of the curriculum in use, but we CAN guarantee it for the written curriculum.

To imagine such a future, however, we must confront the reality that conversations about education – among educators, education researchers, parents, and the public – are not simple. The current debates surrounding Critical Race Theory in Oklahoma education (and in other states) is a testament to the politically charged nature of educational policy. Oklahoma House Bill 1775 has caused a stir, as different parties express their different opinions either in support of or opposition to a Critical Race Theory-oriented education. The legislation Section 1 B.1 states:

> No teacher, administrator or other employee of a school district, charter school or virtual charter school shall require or make part of a course the following concepts:
> a. one race or sex is inherently superior to another race or sex,
> b. an individual, by virtue of his or her race or sex, is inherently racist, sexist or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously,
> c. an individual should be discriminated against or receive adverse treatment solely or partly because of his or her race or sex,
> d. members of one race or sex cannot and should not attempt to treat others without respect to race or sex,
> e. an individual's moral character is necessarily determined by his or her race or sex,
> f. an individual, by virtue of his or her race or sex, bears responsibility for actions committed in the past by other members of the same race or sex,
> g. any individual should feel discomfort, guilt, anguish or any other form of psychological distress on account of his or her race or sex, or
> h. meritocracy or traits such as a hard work ethic are racist or sexist or were created by members of a particular race to oppress members of another race. (HB 1775 p 3)

I mentioned previously that I had not chosen an orientation in CRT for this study in response to House Bill 1775. I began this project years before the bill was written. Now in 2021, having conducted this research within a CRT framework, I am surprised to find that the above statements have been associated with CRT. Note that the legislation does not name Critical Race Theory as the source of the above concepts, but legislators have named it in public interviews about the bill. In my research, CRT has been a theoretical framework through which to understand systemic oppression, both currently and historically. Indeed, systems are its focus, while the concepts outlined in HB 1775 are far more relevant to individual prejudices. These are two very different ways of discussing racial discrimination.

I suspect that misunderstandings abound about CRT. Regardless, it has become a politically charged concept met with trepidation. The teachers I worked with for this research were understandably hesitant to comment on their opinions of CRT or the debates surrounding it. Alan replied that he was not sure what to think about it, though he did express that he finds it

important to teach the past in a way that incorporates multiple perspectives of history (which is actually a tenet of CRT, as I discussed in Chapter 2). Laura did not comment on CRT either, feeling that she does not know enough about it to discuss it properly. Like Alan however, Laura did share with me her recent endeavor into learning about Culturally Responsive Teaching (Hammond 2014).

The teachers' reluctance to weigh in on CRT is understandable, and it speaks to the fact that CRT is seemingly becoming taboo as a result of the recent dialogues surrounding it. Having used CRT as the theoretical orientation of this dissertation, I do not see any benefit in abandoning the concept altogether, and it is still an appropriate topic of discussion in higher education. However, when it comes to conversations about public school education, it makes more sense to focus instead on instructional practice and method which directly impacts students. We are nearing a point where CRT is so sensitive a topic, and so theoretical, that it may no longer be useful. Those who are invested in Oklahoma education will continue to question how the education system can confront issues of racial division and racism in our society, but it is time to approach this problem in a novel way. I propose moving forward into a focus on anthropological literacy as a guiding principle for citizenship education that will produce a generation more prepared to navigate a diverse world.

Anthropology is a productive basis for cross-cultural understanding. While anthropology is consistent with values of CRT, such as understanding systemic racism, it is also much broader than race. Anthropologists study culture, a more holistic concept pertaining to the varieties of human experience (of which race is a part). When we shift focus from race to culture, we have the potential to learn much more about other people and their experiences. This does not diminish the importance of race as part of one's cultural identity – it acknowledges its importance and its interaction with other cultural factors. Anthropologists use this approach to understand humans – anthropological literacy can help our next generation to understand one another as well.

If we are to move away from educational debates that are no longer productive and into discussions of anthropologically literate education, then anthropologists must take an active role in communicating the importance of our field. If we want to encourage the education system to produce anthropologically literate citizens, we must practice what we preach: be ethnographers, collaborate with educators, and develop a more intimate, insider understanding of the complexities of the Oklahoma education system. Those who do anthropology know the value of the anthropological perspective. If we want others to share this perspective, the impetus is on us to become public figures and advocate for an anthropologically literate Oklahoma.

VII. CONCLUSION

The seeds of this research were planted in a pre-pandemic world. I had been interested in assessing anthropological literacy in both the written curriculum and curriculum in use, wondering if any gaps existed. I was set to conduct in-depth ethnographic study of the curriculum in use when COVID-19 arrived in Oklahoma, and as a result, my study changed to what you now see. I certainly cannot say I am grateful for the pandemic, but it did create a unique situation enabling me to explore the written curriculum in depth. Because schools moved to online instruction, the written curriculum was suddenly thrust into the spotlight, and curriculum in use was relegated to a supporting role.

Education during COVID-19 requires us to reconsider just what the written curriculum is accomplishing without the intervention of a teacher. Teachers and curriculum in use are clearly important enough that topics such as the Oklahoma City bombing were omitted from instructional plans for fear that students could not handle the topic without the aid of a teacher; does this mean that the written curriculum needs improvement? Is it even possible for a written curriculum to successfully communicate difficult topics without curriculum in use? It is becoming increasingly important to explore questions such as these. Hopefully we never experience another pandemic requiring schools to move to fully online instruction, but it is also hard to imagine that online instruction will be a thing of the past once the pandemic has ended. The virtual world is increasingly present in our lives and in education, and we must consider whether the written curriculum can stand alone in virtual education.

Still, in-person education and the role of curriculum in use will continue to be vitally important, and it warrants a robust, anthropological, ethnographic examination. My study suggests that teachers are instrumental in transforming discourses to make the curriculum more consistent with anthropological principles, but we need a more thorough picture of just how teachers are accomplishing this. Also importantly, we must consider an alternative – that a teacher could also be equally transformative, but in making the curriculum in use *less* anthropologically oriented than the written curriculum. A series of deep ethnographic studies could tell us much more about the role of the teacher in promoting anthropological literacy and transforming citizenship discourses. We could question whether a teacher's own anthropological literacy influences these processes. There is much to learn from multiple in-depth studies of the curriculum in use, and these could benefit greatly from a true anthropological approach to ethnography.

Even if I was unable to conduct traditional anthropological ethnography for this research, I have in some ways been a participant observer of my own community for many years; as a result of my experiences, it is truly my belief that most people, regardless of political ideology, want to see a society that is less preoccupied with our differences and more understanding of one another. Not everyone agrees on the means to this end, of course, and we continue to see debates on just how we should prepare the next generation for navigating a diverse world. Having applied Critical Race Theory to this study, I cannot ignore the fact that it is one such points of contention for Oklahoma education (and in other states). I chose to engage with CRT at the outset as it served as a framework for explaining similarities between concepts and ideas used by anthropologists and social studies education researchers alike. CRT can continue to be a useful

framework in research circles, but conversations about its relationship to public school education policy are becoming increasingly unproductive. If most people want to see greater cross-cultural understanding in our society, yet we are seeing such intense debate on how to accomplish this, how do we move forward?

It is clear to me that we cannot do so by remaining focused on CRT in public discussions of educational policy. I believe that anthropological literacy provides a new way of tackling these issues and questions and can inspire more productive conversations. After all, unlike CRT, anthropology is about much more than just race. It is about culture in the broadest sense. Contemporary anthropology ultimately provides us with the tools to understand others holistically, taking our cultural idea of "race" into account, but as just one part of many other things that make us who we are. Anthropology does not just help us learn how to understand others – it helps us to learn why we might not have understood in the first place. I encourage anthropologists of all traditions to see the value of applying our discipline to public education, and to take action. The varied strengths of different anthropological traditions can lend themselves to helping us better understand why anthropological literacy is needed, where it can be implemented, and how it can be systematized.

For all I may want to see anthropologists accomplish, however, teachers remain the cornerstone of education. Any anthropological intervention in education must be in collaboration with teachers. Prior to starting this research, I had some idea of how hard it must be to be a teacher in public education. Working with Laura, Hannah, and Alan opened my eyes to just how little I understood of the pressures and difficulties that teachers face – and my admiration for their perseverance, due to their love of serving Oklahoma's students, cannot be overstated. I knew I wanted to see social studies become a platform for anthropologically grounded education. I did not know just how undervalued social studies is within Oklahoma education. In conducting this research, I learned that although there are 3rd Grade standards for social studies, the amount of social studies instruction that 3rd Grade teachers can give is severely limited due to schools' prioritization of reading and mathematics (subjects for 3rd Grade state testing). Some teachers told me they taught social studies once per month. Some had stopped teaching it altogether due to district pressures to teach reading and math. Even Hannah could only teach it once per week, which seems like much in comparison. It is clear that working toward a more anthropologically literate Oklahoma will be hindered by the systemic valuing of other school subjects and state standardized testing.

Again, this means that the drivers behind moving toward an anthropologically literate citizenry should not be anthropologists, but teachers. As an anthropologist, I want to see change, but teachers are the ones who know where those changes can be made, and it extends far beyond the curriculum. The varied strengths of different anthropological traditions can lend themselves to helping us better understand why anthropological literacy is needed, where it can be implemented, and how it can be systematized. However, we can only do this in partnership with teachers, who know the system best and, most importantly, have such deep compassion and care for their students – those who keep teachers like Laura, Hannah, and Alan doing what they do. Assessing the Oklahoma history curriculum is only the beginning of the effort to potential to spread anthropological literacy. Together with teachers, anthropologists can take the next steps toward an anthropologically literate Oklahoma.

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