January 2012

A Critical Case Study of Selected United States History Textbooks from a Tribal Critical Race Theory Perspective

Gary Padgett

University of South Florida, gpadgett@mail.usf.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd

Part of the Education Commons

Scholar Commons Citation

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact scholarcommons@usf.edu.
A Critical Case Study Of Selected United States History Textbooks From A Tribal

Critical Race Theory Perspective

by

Gary Padgett

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Interdisciplinary Education
College of Education
University of South Florida

Major Professor: Valerie J. Janesick, Ph.D.
Barbara Cruz, Ed.D.
Barbara Shircliffe, Ph.D.
Jeffrey Kromrey, Ph.D.

Date of Approval:
October 31, 2012

Keywords: textbook bias, american indians, assimilation, colonization, history education.

Copyright © 2012, Gary Padgett
Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my children, Tomas and Miranda. They say we do not inherit the Earth from our parents, we borrow it from our children. I hope I return it none the worse for wear.
Acknowledgments

The creation of this dissertation has been a process, and many people have helped and encouraged me along the way. I would like to thank my dissertation committee, Dr. Cruz, Dr. Shircliffe, and Dr. Kromrey, for their assistance throughout this process. I would like to extend a special thank you to Dr. Valerie J. Janesick, my chair and mentor in all things research related. Thank you for your hard work, encouragement, and believing that I could achieve this.

I would like to thank Dr. John R. Lowe for his guidance and mentorship over all of these years. Please know your impact has been greater than you realize. Wado.

Thank you to my mother, Karen, and my brothers and sister. You have listened patiently as I wrote this dissertation, now you can read it in print. Thank you for all you have done.

Thank you to my in-laws, Patricia, Jota, and everyone else. Even from thousands of miles away, your support has been appreciated.

Last on this page but first in my heart, I would like to thank my wife, Ana Maria. The sacrifices made for this dissertation have been yours as well as mine, and I am glad I can share the happiness with you as well. Gracias, y te amo.
# Table of Contents

List of Tables ................................................................................................................................. vii

List of Figures ................................................................................................................................. viii

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................... x

Chapter One: Introduction ............................................................................................................. 1
  Introduction and Rationale ............................................................................................................ 1
  Background and Personal Perspective ............................................................................................ 3
  Theoretical Framework: Tribal Critical Race Theory ...................................................................... 5
  Purpose of the Study ....................................................................................................................... 6
  Research Questions ....................................................................................................................... 6
  Research Design ............................................................................................................................. 7
  Definition of Terms ........................................................................................................................ 9
  Usefulness of the Study .................................................................................................................. 10
  Summary ....................................................................................................................................... 11

Chapter Two: Literature Review ................................................................................................... 12
  Introduction ................................................................................................................................... 12
  Value 1 .......................................................................................................................................... 13
    History of Textbook Analysis ....................................................................................................... 14
  Value 2 .......................................................................................................................................... 21
    African American Textbook Bias ................................................................................................ 22
    American Indian Textbook Bias .................................................................................................. 24
    Teacher Reliance on Textbooks ................................................................................................ 31
  Value 3 .......................................................................................................................................... 35
    How Textbooks are Selected ...................................................................................................... 35
    Origins of Textbook Selection ................................................................................................... 37
  Value 4 .......................................................................................................................................... 39
    State vs. Non-State Selections .................................................................................................... 39
Value 5 ........................................................................................................... 41
Theoretical Framework .................................................................................. 42
   Critical Discourse Analysis....................................................................... 42
   Tribal Critical Race Theory ...................................................................... 45
Gaps in the Literature .................................................................................. 48
Summary ........................................................................................................ 49

Chapter Three: Methods .............................................................................. 51
   Introduction ............................................................................................... 51
   Research Design ....................................................................................... 52
   Critical Case Study .................................................................................. 54
      Who ....................................................................................................... 54
      Why ....................................................................................................... 56
      How ....................................................................................................... 57
      Where .................................................................................................... 59
Role of the Researcher ................................................................................... 59
Assumptions of this Researcher ................................................................. 60
Summary ........................................................................................................ 61

Chapter Four: Presentation of the Data ....................................................... 63
   Introduction ............................................................................................... 63
   Context ...................................................................................................... 64
   Value 1: Generosity and Sharing ............................................................. 64
      Question 1: Do the Native American people share their possessions? .... 65
      Question 2: Do they give/share selflessly and humbly? ......................... 68
      Question 3: Is the revered bounty of Mother Earth shared? .................... 70
      Question 4: Are they encouraged by family, friends, or tribe to develop
         their talents for the good of all? .......................................................... 72
      Question 5: Are they represented as uniquely separate individuals as well
         as members of the group? ................................................................... 73
      Question 6: Are children portrayed as “lovingly taken care of” by family,
         relatives, and non-relatives? ............................................................... 76
   Value 2: Respect for the Elderly and Women ............................................ 78
      Question 1: Are male/female elders shown proper respect for their
         wisdom? ............................................................................................. 79
Question 2: Are they portrayed as appropriate role models with whom the young can identify? .................................................................81
Question 3: Are women portrayed as integral, respected, and important, instead of detached and subservient? .........................................................82
Question 4: Are the younger depicted learning from elders, especially through story-telling? ..............................................................................85
Question 5: Are elders portrayed speaking to the younger without interruption? .................................................................................................86

Value 3: Getting Along With Nature .................................................................87

Question 1: Are Native Americans depicted as respecting the natural harmony of nature, but not as compulsive environmentalist? ..................88
Question 2: Are there references to entities possessing a spirit or power to be respected? .................................................................................92
Question 3: Is the family unit depicted, teaching children love, responsibility, and life? ................................................................................93
Question 4: Is the humanness of Native Americans recognized, i.e., laughing, playing games, having fun, being with family and friends, etc.? .........................................................................................94
Question 5: Is a language of respect utilized in referring to Native Peoples, i.e., avoidance of offensive and stereotypical terminology? ..............95
Question 6: Are they portrayed as speaking “broken” English? .........................96
Question 7: Is their spirituality/religion respectfully portrayed via ceremony, or is it referred to as superstitious, heathen, meaningless, or trivialized ceremonies, dances, songs, or “war whoops”? ..................................................96
Question 8: Are they depicted with a wide range of physical features, avoiding the “Red Man” stereotype? ..........................................................97
Question 9: Are they dressed in culturally authentic garb, or are they all wearing feathers and headdresses regardless of the culture? .........................98
Question 10: When depicted in contemporary times, are they dressed in “mainstream” garb depending on the setting? ..................................................101
Question 11: Do they have stereotyped surnames, or authentic translations, including “European” names? .................................................................104
Question 12: Are ceremonial artifacts correctly depicted and explained, such as fetishes, medicine bundles, the wearing of turquoise and silver, the medicine pipe or calumet (not “peace pipe”), etc.? ...........................................106
Question 13: Are they portrayed eating a diverse diet, and using utensils or just their hands? .................................................................108
Question 14: Is accurate information provided concerning dwellings (or do they all seemingly live in tipis?), duties of adults and children, ceremonies, and practices? .................................................................110
Question 15: Are they portrayed as contemporary people and not a past people who mysteriously disappeared and no longer exist? ..................111

Value 4: Individual Freedom ........................................................................................................116

Question 1: Are the Native American people depicted as accepting responsibility for the consequences of a chosen action or decision? ..........117

Question 2: Are they portrayed as not imposing their individual will upon others because of a chosen action? .................................................................119

Question 3: Is the leadership of the tribe properly depicted via multiple chiefs, the role of women in leadership, the Tribal Council, and the leadership operations for the good of the tribe? ...................................................122

Value 5: Courage ..........................................................................................................................125

Question 1: Is the courage of individuals heroically depicted as an effort to give to or protect one’s people, or it is referred to as “fanatic,” “savage,” “massacre,” or other terms that give the impression of a totally warlike culture? .................................................................126

Question 2: Are they humble in their exploits and never personally boasting? .................................................................129

Question 3: Are they portrayed as stoics, unable or unwilling to express emotion (unless around strangers)? .................................................................129

Question 4: Do they show proper reverence for the gift of life? .................................................................130

Question 5: Is there a distorted impression that non-Native Americans brought a “superior” civilization to Native Americans such that Native cultures and achievements are demeaned, or are Native civilizations depicted as complex and sophisticated? .................................................................132

Additional Considerations ........................................................................................................135

Question 1: Is the author(s) a true Native American? ........................................................................135

Question 2: Is there evidence that the author(s) consulted a Native American? .................................................................136

Question 3: Do the photos/illustrations accurately reflect specific tribal/cultural traditions, symbols, and/or art forms? .................................................................136

Summary .................................................................................................................................139

Chapter Five: Analysis, Interpretation and Recommendations ..................................................141

Introduction .................................................................................................................................141

Applying Tribal Critical Race Theory .....................................................................................142

The Five Values ...........................................................................................................................144

Value 1: Generosity and Sharing .................................................................................................145

Reciprocity ..................................................................................................................................145

Economic Systems ......................................................................................................................148
Appendix E: Cherokee History ........................................................................................................... 202
Appendix F: Peer Reviewer Form ........................................................................................................... 204
Appendix G: The Five Great Values Authenticity Guideline ..................................................................... 205
  Value 1: Generosity and Sharing ........................................................................................................... 205
  Value 2: Respect for the Elderly and Women ......................................................................................... 205
  Value 3: Getting Along with Nature .................................................................................................... 206
  Value 4: Individual Freedom .................................................................................................................. 207
  Value 5: Courage .................................................................................................................................... 207
  Additional Considerations ....................................................................................................................... 208
Appendix H: IRB Certificate of Completion .............................................................................................. 209
About the Author ........................................................................................................................................ End Page
List of Tables

Table 1: Use of Adjectives in Textbooks.................................................................25
Table 2: List of States With or Without Statewide Textbook Adoptions....................40
Table 3: Rubin & Rubin Steps Toward Data Analysis..............................................53
Table 4: United States History Textbooks..............................................................55
List of Figures

Figure 1: Visual Scheme of the Literature Review ..............................................................13
Figure 2: Generosity and Sharing ......................................................................................65
Figure 3: Respect for the Elderly and Women .................................................................78
Figure 4: Getting along with nature ................................................................................87
Figure 5: Portrait Delaware Chief Tishcohan (circa 1735) .............................................99
Figure 6: Portrait of Joseph Brant (1743-1807) .............................................................100
Figure 7: Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933) .............................................................................101
Figure 8: Tom Torlino (1882) ..........................................................................................102
Figure 9: Pocahontas (1595-1617) ....................................................................................103
Figure 10: Portrait of Tenskwatawa (1775-1836) ............................................................107
Figure 11: Little Plume and Yellow Kidney (1911) ..........................................................107
Figure 12: Distribution of American Indian data, America's History .............................113
Figure 13: Distribution of American Indian data, Out of Many: A History of the American People .................................................................113
Figure 14: Distribution of American Indian data, Give Me Liberty! An American History ..............................................................................................................114
Figure 15: Distribution of American Indian data, The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People ..............................................................................................114
Figure 16: Distribution of American Indian data, America Past and Present ...............115
Figure 17: Individual Freedom ..........................................................................................117
Figure 18: Courage .........................................................................................................126
Figure 19: Portrait of a New England Indian (1681)......................................................137
Figure 20: Portrait of Chief Joseph (1840–1904)...............................................................138
Figure 21: Portrait of the Treaty of Greenville.................................................................139
Figure 22: Visual Schema of Data Analysis and Interpretation.................................144
Abstract

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in U.S. textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County, Florida’s 2012 textbook adoption. The study identified which of the textbooks under consideration contained the greatest amount of information dedicated to American Indians. The study then analyzed how that information was portrayed. The exploratory questions that guided this study were, how are American Indians portrayed in five selected U.S. history textbooks? It also addresses the question, under what conditions can Tribal Critical Race Theory help illuminate how American Indians are portrayed in textbooks? The methodology used is a critical case study (Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Janesick, 2004). The Five Great Values, as developed by Sanchez (2007), were used in the organization, coding, and analysis of the data. The theoretical framework that guides this study is Tribal Critical Race Theory (Brayboy, 2005), created in order to address issues from an indigenous perspective. This study found that while overt racism has declined, colonialism and assimilation were still used as models when American Indians were depicted in the five selected textbooks. It also discovered the portrayal of American Indian women to be particularly influenced by the models of colonialism and assimilation. Colonization and assimilation can been seen in the depiction of American Indians as a part of nature, the homogenization of American Indian religion, the portrayal
of elders as unnecessary, the exclusion of American Indian role models, and the use of Western socioeconomic models rather than indigenous ones.
Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction and Rationale

It is difficult to determine a date for the first known biases towards American Indians. It could be right after 1492 when Europeans heard about the people Christopher Columbus had encountered. Of course, anyone from an American Indian community or who has spent significant time around one can confirm that some tribal stereotypes were developed long before Europeans began their Age of Exploration. Regardless of whether the stereotypes are intertribal or interracial, they are persistent and damaging.

From a modern perspective, scholars are able to look back at over 500 years of documents regarding people now known as American Indians. These documents reveal hundreds of nations covering North America speaking hundreds of languages, practicing their own religions, and governing themselves in a way that worked for their time and place. The information gathered from these documents has been simplified for educational purposes and to support the United States’ national myth. Textbooks are an important source of information to watch the national myth develop. For scholars studying education, textbooks provide an insight into what a nation believes is important for its youth to learn about history and to become productive citizens. In the United
States, textbooks have varied over how, and if, they cover American Indians and their role in the founding and developing of this new nation.

The United States’ Constitution states that all powers not expressly given to the federal government are held in reserve by the individual states. Education is an example of this power, and each state develops its own curriculums and standards regarding what is taught in the classrooms. Textbooks are published by private companies, but they cater to the curricular needs of the states. This means that the information textbooks present, if any, regarding American Indians varies from state to state and textbook to textbook. Without a clear national standard, it is difficult for educational researchers to track the national myth or for American Indian communities to develop a strategy to combat negative stereotypes. However, this does not mean that nothing is, or can, be done.

In 1939, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) published *Anti-Negro Propaganda in School Textbooks*. This pamphlet is one of the earliest published concerns regarding textbook bias. Other reports followed in the 1940s and 1950s, but it was not until the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s that textbook bias began to be seriously researched. After the 1970s, research regarding textbook bias becomes less common. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights publishes *Characters in Textbooks: A Review of the Literature* in May of 1980, and then the research disappears as the 1990s progress. In the 2000s textbook bias is mentioned in articles and books, but most texts reference research from the 1960s and 1970s rather than presenting original research on the matter.

As the 2010s begin, there is a lack of current research examining textbook bias, and there is even less research regarding textbook bias towards American Indians. In
Hillsborough County Florida, 2011 begins the textbook adoption cycle for the American History classes. The textbooks chosen for this study will be used in high school United States history classes throughout the county for an undetermined amount of years. This study examined American Indian bias in five United States history textbooks that are under consideration for this adoption cycle in Hillsborough County.

**Background and Personal Perspective**

In the early 1800’s, a Cherokee named Sequoyah is credited with developing the syllabary, or the Cherokee alphabet. Upon doing so, he had trouble convincing tribal leaders of the importance of being able to read and write, but after they saw how easily Sequoyah’s daughter was able to learn the syllabary, it was quickly adopted and taught throughout Cherokee communities. This began a flurry of writing in Cherokee that is unique among all the tribal nations.

From a Cherokee perspective, it is hard to tell a story without first giving some historical context. As an enrolled Cherokee tribal member, I am no different. I grew up with the stories of Sequoyah and how important it was to learn to read and write. My parents and grandparents believe that education is very important, and they always made sure that I was surrounded by books.

As I grew older, I realized that what I was learning in my social studies classes about American Indians was not consistent with the stories I was learning at home. My teachers would call on me to teach my classmates about American Indians, and since this
began in elementary school, I quickly realized my textbooks were not the fount of 
information they were made out to be.

Upon graduating high school, I entered the university to become a history teacher. 
This led to my working for a tribal school system and then working for one of the largest 
school districts in the United States. As a history teacher, I felt it was important for me to 
make sure that the American Indian viewpoint was included in lesson plans and 
textbooks. In order to do this effectively, I pursed a Master’s degree in history and 
conducted research not only on the indigenous peoples of North America, but Latin 
America and the Caribbean as well.

As a first generation college student, I was encouraged by my family to pursue a 
doctoral degree. I began my doctoral studies in Curriculum and Instruction wanting to 
improve the educational process for American Indian students and their teachers. As I 
completed my coursework this desire did not change. Along the way, I also earned a 
graduate certificate in Diversity because I enjoyed learning the multicultural aspects of 
education and learning how the different pieces fit together to form a larger picture.

The larger picture is something that traditional Cherokees try to emphasis. Two 
very important Cherokee words are duyuktv (the right way) and gadugi (working 
together). Traditional Cherokees still use these words to draw attention to areas of 
concern and to motivate others to develop and implement solutions. These words explain 
why I am drawn to researching the portrayal of American Indians in United States history 
textbooks.
Theoretical Framework: Tribal Critical Race Theory

The main theoretical framework for this study is Tribal Critical Race Theory. Tribal Critical Race Theory evolved from Critical Race Theory, and shares its views on race and racism. However, Critical Race Theory was developed to address the needs of the civil rights movement (Brayboy, 2005) and focuses on the White-Black relationship. Tribal Critical Race Theory evolved out of this in order to address the needs of American Indians. It also differs from Critical Race Theory, which believes that racism is endemic in society, in that its central tenet is that colonization is endemic to society.

This study will also make use of critical discourse analysis. According to Teun van Dijk, critical discourse analysis “strives to provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality. Two major dimensions along which discourse is involved in dominance, namely through the enactment of dominance in text and talk in specific contexts, and more indirectly through the influence of discourse on others.” This compliments my use of Tribal Critical Race Theory because according to this definition of critical discourse analysis, this type of study “is not limited to a sociological or political-science account of dominance or patterns of access to social resources. Rather, positions and perspectives need to be chosen, for instance, against the power elites and in solidarity with dominated groups.” (van Dijk, 1993, p.279). Tribal Critical Race Theory calls for an end to assimilation and colonial mindsets, and critical discourse analysis is one tool to begin analyzing the impacts of these topics.
Purpose of the Study

Even after eighty years of research devoted to textbook bias, and the bias towards American Indians in particular, the bias remains. In addition to the remaining bias, the research strategies undertaken to examine the bias has also remained the same. Indigenous researchers have analyzed textbooks for bias, but they use the techniques of the “oppressors” and “colonizers” rather than developing a truly indigenous solution to the problem.

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in U.S. textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. The study identified which of the textbooks under consideration contain the greatest amount of information dedicated to American Indians. The study then analyzed how that information is portrayed.

Research Questions

The following exploratory questions guided this study:

1. How are American Indians portrayed in five selected high school United States History textbooks?

2. Under what conditions can Tribal Critical Race Theory help illuminate how American Indians are portrayed in textbooks?
Research Design

During the Civil Rights movement, many studies were conducted on the biases in textbooks. Since that time, not many textbooks have been analyzed for the biases they may contain. The studies that were conducted at that time used the same methods as those that were used to create the biased textbooks to begin with. In order to combat the biases within the textbooks, I conducted research using Tribal Critical Theory, an indigenous method. Dr. Daniel Wildcat states that what is needed in education is “an indigenization of the educational system. By indigenization, I mean the act of making our educational philosophy, pedagogy, and system our own, making the effort to explicitly explore ways of knowing and systems of knowledge that have been actively repressed for five centuries.”(Wildcat, 2001, p. vi). By researching American Indians biases in textbooks using an indigenous method, this study contributes to the indigenization of the educational system.

I began by identifying five United States history textbooks that contain the most information about American Indians. I did this by collecting the textbooks that are under review for adoption in Hillsborough County Florida. This provided me with twenty five textbooks from which to select five textbooks. I visually analyzed each of the twenty five textbooks for the amount of information they contain regarding American Indians. I based this on the number of pages of text and pictures in the textbook that are devoted to American Indian history.

The problem of textbook bias towards American Indians is a nationwide, and arguable global, problem. However, for the purpose of this study the textbooks from which these five books were selected are those that are being considered for adoption in
Hillsborough County, Florida during the 2011-2012 school year. Florida is a state that composes a list of official textbooks that its school districts can choose from, so analyzing the books available for review in Hillsborough County provides a sample of what the other school districts in Florida have under review. By limiting the adoption cycle to the most current one, the 2011-2012 school year, this study also contributes to the most up to date information regarding American Indian bias in textbooks.

I used a research instrument developed by Sanchez (2007) to conduct the initial review of the five selected textbooks. According to Sanchez, in order to create this research instrument, “Several criteria were utilized, notably through the understanding of traditional Native American values and traditions as perceived and practiced by representative Native cultures. This perspective is based upon the Five Great Values, which formed the authenticity guideline used in this study. The Values were proposed by Reiten (1995) based upon the earlier work of John Bryde (1971), refined and developed by this author [Tony R. Sanchez], and previously used to assess the accuracy of Native American trade books/storybooks that depict Native peoples.”(Sanchez, 2007) This research instrument allowed me to maintain the integrity of Tribal Critical Race Theory by using a tool that is based on indigenous values. The five values as identified by Sanchez are:

1. Generosity and Sharing
2. Respect for the Elderly and Women
3. Getting along with nature
4. Individual Freedom
5. Courage
I then used Tribal Critical Race Theory to guide a critical discourse analysis of the selected textbooks. Tribal Critical Race Theory, as defined above, served to create an indigenous method of research. Critical discourse analysis benefited the textbook analysis because of its systemic and retroductible approach. According to Ruth Wodak, “Retroductible (nachvollziehbar) means that such analyses should be transparent so that any reader can trace and understand the detailed in-depth textual analysis.”(Kendall, 2007). This is important for even non indigenous researchers to understand my research methods and how the results of my analysis were reached.

**Definition of Terms**

The following terms were used throughout the study. The definitions were derived from a review of the literature in Chapter Two:

1. American Indian: Also called: Native American a member of any of the indigenous peoples of North, Central, or South America, especially those of North America.

2. Critical Discourse Analysis: (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced by text and talk.

3. Indigenous: originating in and characteristic of a particular region or country; native.
4. Red Pedagogy: a blending of critical, feminist, indigenous and Marxist theories of education and Native American perspectives, exploring the tensions and intersections between them.

5. Tribal Critical Race Theory: emerges from Critical Race Theory in an attempt to address the issues of Indigenous Peoples in the United States. Emphasizes that colonization is endemic in society.

Usefulness of the Study

Since the time of the Progressives, education has been used to form the kind of citizens that the United States desired. This was done by emphasizing science and math, or by creating textbooks that focused on the glorious actions of certain men. In regards to immigrant and minority populations, education was suppose to be the great equalizer, teaching everyone English and giving them a common cultural background.

Today, educational policies have shifted, and students are able to take pride in their individual differences and cultural traditions. This is particularly important for American Indian students who have suffered generations of colonization and acculturation. This is also important for the children of the colonizers, who have not been exposed to other cultures or views of past events. Analyzing the textbooks from an indigenous viewpoint will assist in the decolonization of United States history textbooks.
Summary

I described the context and purpose of the study: to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in five U.S. textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. I also explained the theoretical framework, Critical Tribal Theory. I described how my personal and professional experiences have led me to research this topic. In Chapter Two I reviewed the literature relevant to textbook bias in relation to American Indians. The literature was reviewed through a lens created by reinterpreting the Five Values to evaluate a broader context. The categories with the Five Values that are reviewed are:

- History of textbook bias
- African American textbook bias
- American Indian textbook bias
- How textbooks are selected
- Teacher reliance on textbooks
- Theoretical framework

I also identified gaps in the literature. In Chapter Three, I described the methods used in this study.
Chapter Two

Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in U.S. textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. This study examined five widely used textbooks for their portrayal of American Indians. The study identified which of the textbooks under consideration contain the greatest amount of information dedicated to American Indians and analyzed how that information is portrayed. The following exploratory questions guided this study:

1. How are American Indians portrayed in high school United States History textbooks?

2. Under what conditions can Critical Tribal Race Theory help illuminate how American Indians are portrayed in textbooks?

Creating a textbook is a complicated process, and with so many writers and editors involved, errors and biases can occur. Each state also has their own criteria and process for selecting textbooks, adding an additional layer of complexity to the problem of textbook bias. Most textbooks in use in the United States also make use of Western
viewpoints and adhere to reproducing the national myth. In this study, this view of
history in regards to American Indians is viewed through a Tribal Critical Theory lens. A
review of the literature is presented in this chapter to provide a background of textbook
selection and bias and to describe the theoretical framework that drives this study. Figure
1 presents a visual schema of this literature review.

Figure 1: Visual Scheme of the Literature Review

**Value 1**

According to the research guidelines developed by Sanchez (2007), the first value
is generosity and sharing. While Sanchez intends this to apply to evaluating how
American Indians are portrayed as being generous and sharing, I use the value to interpret the literature that I have reviewed. Through this lens, those that have conducted and published research on textbook bias have been generous and shared their knowledge with others. While I may not always agree with the arguments that they present, they do exhibit the trait that Sanchez’s tool is looking to analyze.

**History of Textbook Analysis**

Textbooks are a main stay of most public school classrooms. Teachers and students rely on textbooks to provide accurate information about many subjects. However, textbooks do not provide the miracles that are expected from them (Apple & Christina-Smith, 1991; Goodlad, 1984; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Instead, textbooks tend to be biased and at times inaccurate. This is not new information, and the biases presented in textbooks have been written about many times. In general, the biases of textbooks have been thoroughly analyzed. It is the specific biases of the textbook that need more analyses. The question is no longer, are textbooks biased? The question is now, how are textbooks biased? In what ways is the information presented in textbooks inaccurate? What are the possible effects of these errors? These are the questions that need to be asked and answered. This is particularly true for the information concerning American Indians within textbooks.

Any cursory search about textbook bias will reveal a large amount of research conducted on the subject (personal search, 2011). It seems that there is a general consensus among researchers that a bias exists within textbooks. However, the debate centers around what the bias is and what should be done about it.
Research stating that there is a bias in textbooks and that something should be done to correct it is overwhelming. This should not come as a surprise, because the resources in schools often “reflect and reconfirm the attitudes of teachers, acquired in 'their' schooldays, unless a conscious effort is made to examine and re-evaluate them. Education is, after all, a process of continuity and change, resources are one area where changes are likely to be necessary.”(Klein, 1985) The argument presented by this quotation is that racism has become institutionalized. Textbooks present history according to the way in which the textbook writer learned it, inaccuracies and all. This means that if teachers learned racist history, they tend to select racist source material because that is what they perceive to be true. At the district and state level, this can have an impact on the types of textbooks that are available for schools to choose from. In this way, racism becomes institutionalized and repeated because that is the way it has always been done.

Teacher training has ingrained the idea of multiculturalism and equity. This extends to textbooks, and teachers are supposed to be trained in order to pick out biases extremely against, and sometimes even those that are extremely for, only one section of the population. This research is not new, and Sleeter (2005) builds on the research of Zimmerman, Gay, Anyon (1979), and many others to make just that argument. Sleeter points out that "textbooks continue to report ethnic distortions, stereotypes, omissions, and misinformation"(Sleeter, 2005). The research she quotes supports the idea that textbooks are biased against certain groups, and that for at least the last thirty years, some researchers have "argued that textbooks should be representative and accurate, not only for the sake of being truthful but because the quality of school experiences for students
from historically oppressed communities is severely compromised when textbooks either omit their communities entirely or portray them in distorted and derogatory ways.” (Sleeter, 2005) Delpit (1995), another researcher, echoed many of the same ideas presented within Sleeter's research and builds on Gee's (1989) research about primary and secondary discourses and argues that students have their primary discourse, which they use at home, and which provides their cultural background. This seems to echo the idea of cultural capital, especially when combined with the idea of secondary discourse, which is what the students use at school and is the discourse of the "mainstream society." To combat this, her research again echoes that of Sleeter by arguing for curriculums that recognize the students' cultures and their relevance in the larger world.

A review of books on the history of childhood literature shows that authors such as Mintz (2006) and Zelizer (1985) make similar arguments. Mintz' book, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (2006) may not seem to be similar at first. However, a closer look at the historical arguments illustrates a common theme. While Delpit (1995) and Sleeter (2005) argue that the telling of history needs to change in order to be more inclusive and to recognize the role that history plays in a student's life, Mintz attempts to explain how and why such changes occur. Historically, he points out that the role of children in American life has changed, and concern over how and what they are learning is changing as a result. This is a similarity, but Mintz makes many of the same mistakes that Delpit and Sleeter argue textbooks need to avoid. Mintz argues that historically, American Indians have been vilified and history needs to be corrected, just as Delpit (1995) and Sleeter (2005) do. But, Mintz (2006) then goes and offers a romanticized history that is just as inaccurate as the history he is trying to correct. His historical
argument is acceptable and in line with many other researchers, but the solutions he offers to these historical errors are not acceptable.

The argument that Zelizer (1985) makes is connected to those that are mentioned above. Her work, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (1985), and like Sleeter, Delpit, and Mintz, is concerned with the social capital of children. Her argument is that over time, society has come to place more sentimental, and dollar, value on children. She outlines these historical changes in her book and makes a convincing argument. While she does not mention American Indians specifically, her historical arguments on minority, poor, and rural children can also apply to American Indians. Delpit (1995) and Sleeter's (2005) argument is that the telling of history needs to change and the public needs to take notice of students' social capital. If Zelizer's (1985) argument is correct, then perhaps as/if society places an increased value, be it sentimental or monetary, on American Indian students, then the needed changes may occur in textbooks. Perhaps as the textbooks are viewed through a Tribal Critical Race Theory perspective, a different viewpoint will be presented and more value will be placed on American Indian students when American Indian history is viewed from a different angle.

However much research there is regarding that biases in textbooks need to be removed or rewritten, there is an equal amount of research that states the exact opposite. The research of Ravitch (2003) stands as the most prominent example. Ravitch has many years of serving as a research professor and as a former Secretary of Education. Her book, *The Language Police* (2003), is one of her better known publications questioning researchers who are attempting to remove biases from textbooks. Ravitch states that
decreasing biases has "evolved into a surprisingly broad and increasingly bizarre policy of censorship… [against terms and pictures] that no reasonable person would consider biased in the usual meaning of that term."(Ravitch, 2003) She is arguing against over one hundred years of documentation to the contrary, ignoring historical arguments from researchers from all ethnic and gender groups. In regards to American Indians and textbooks, Ravitch (2003) states that terms like Indian should be utilized in textbooks while acknowledging that the proper way to refer to different indigenous groups is by the name that they call themselves. She even asks the important question of how a non-native person is suppose to know what to call each group. She could have looked at the historical answer, which is that students learn what these groups are called from textbooks. If the textbook writer does not know what each group is called, they can ask. The National Congress of American Indians maintains a database of tribal governments' contact information that is easily accessible. In recent months Ravitch has published works that counter her previous arguments.

In *America Revised* (1980), FitzGerald echoes Ravitch by writing "from the publishers' point of view, the educational system is a market, but from the view of the schools it is rough kind of democracy. If a state or school district wants a certain kind of textbook – a certain kind of truth – should it not have it" On the surface, it would seem that *America Revised* is supporting revising textbooks in order to remove biases, but it is not. Instead, as this one quotation points out, the book presents the idea that education is a market and that publishers are changing what truth is – even the fact that there is now more than one truth. The marketing of history is not a new idea, and has a solid historical base from which to make an argument. FitzGerald based her research on the textbooks of
the 1970's, and was concerned about the way post Vietnam textbooks were depicting the United States. Her research is important because it does show how the textbooks evolved, but it also shows how those against these revisions viewed this process. Her research lays an historical basis for Ravitch's research, whose work focuses on textbook revisions in the 1990's.

Joseph Moreau, the author of *Schoolbook Nation* (2004), offers an argument that can serve as a type of middle ground. Like Ravitch and FitzGerald, Moreau also states that textbooks have been rewritten. He also writes that the information textbooks present is not always consistent, between textbooks or from year to year. However, unlike Ravitch and FitzGerald, Moreau does not trace these changes to any particular group or to a particular year or event. Instead, Moreau writes that people of influence have always tried to be in control of what information is presented in textbooks. The theme of this argument is important within an historical context because it does not try to place blame or demonize those that are currently trying to change textbooks. Instead, it offers a historical look at the changes in textbooks and their effect on the information presented. This is a more persuasive argument based on historical grounds and links to other important works such as *Whose America*.

Zimmerman’s book, *Whose America?: Culture Wars in the Public Schools* (2005), makes an argument that supports that work of Moreau (2003). The historical argument in the research of textbook bias has been that there is a war between the majority Anglo Saxon Protestants and ethnic Americans over how history should be portrayed, especially the history of the United States. Researchers such as Ravitch and FitzGerald further this theory in the arguments on textbook bias. Moreau also supports
this theory, but adds to it the argument that this is not new, and is a historical cycle. Zimmerman takes this theory and adds a new dimension to it. Like Moreau, Zimmerman argues that this debate is historical, but that the warring parties are not the ones that Ravitch (2003), FitzGerald, and Moreau (2003) write about. Instead, Zimmerman (2005) cites examples where the ethnic majority and minority have been on the same side of the textbook argument. He writes about when the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Steuben Society, the Knights of Columbus, and the Jewish Alliance worked together to fight a textbook revision that they perceived as destroying the United States’ greatness by downplaying the American Revolution. (Zimmerman, p. 14) The minority groups supported the telling of the United States’ beginnings as a part of a “grand history”, but only wanted the inclusion of their group’s participation. In this way, they too could share in America’s greatness. They felt that any degrading of the United States also degraded the part they played in it. This research shows that the conflict is not always between the ethnic majority and minority. Instead, it is sometimes between these combined groups and textbook publishers, activists, and others who would like to make change but do not have an understanding of how it effects these different ethnic groups. Not only does Zimmerman offer an interesting historical argument, he also offers a hope of what could be done to foster interethnic cooperation to solve some of this textbook bias.

For the most part, research focusing on textbook bias has been about multicultural education. However, multicultural education is rarely "multicultural". Instead, the research tends to focus on two major groups, whites and blacks. Occasionally, Hispanic, and sometimes Asian, student populations are also mentioned. American Indians are
very rarely mentioned in this kind of research, and when they are, it is almost exclusively in the past tense. Most of the research that wants to address textbook biases actually helps to perpetuate some of these stereotypes about American Indians. Some authors, such as Takaki (2008), make a conscious attempt to include other ethnic groups. However, his book, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (2008), is more about the historical struggles of different ethnic groups than about how textbooks are biased against them.

The information regarding textbook bias ranges from one end of the spectrum to the other. The texts mentioned above are secondary sources, some of which also provide their own research. However, there is primary research discussing these biases and what should be done about them. *Reading into Racism* (Klein, 2005) is one of the books that presents the idea that this cycle can be broken. The way to do this is by consciously asking the hard question of whether or not what one believes to be true is actually true. This requires teachers to actively evaluate not only their beliefs, but their training as well. Many researchers over the years have looked at this issue, and have come to a similar conclusion.

**Value 2**

According to Sanchez, the second value is respect for the elderly and women. This value was developed to evaluate how textbooks depicted a mostly pan-American Indian cultural trait of showing respect to the elderly and women. For the purpose of this literature review, I interpreted the respect shown to the elderly to be the respect I show
towards those that have conducted past studies on biases in textbooks. These academic elders contributed to the body of knowledge that modern researchers have and deserve to be recognized.

**African American Textbook Bias**

As stated above in the review of the literature for the historical basis for textbook bias, most research focuses on a binary racial system in the United States. This focus from researchers and from the Civil Rights movement has produced research that details the biases against African Americans in textbooks for many decades. This research has evolved to include other ethnic groups, so it is important to understand the changes that have occurred.

An historical analysis of the portrayal of African Americans in textbooks reveals many of the same biases that American Indians face. Prior to the Civil Rights movement, African Americans were only mentioned in relation to slavery. African Americans were not depicted as free people, and slavery was often depicted as being an economic system that benefited the “happy” slaves. When African Americans were depicted in a time period after slavery, they were depicted as “frightened, confused, and helpless, perpetuating the stereotypes that blacks are inferior and simple.”(Wolf, 1992, p. 293) By keeping African Americans in the past, textbooks authors were able to avoid confronting the social concerns of African Americans in the present.

It would be expected in the 1960s that the Civil Rights movement would have caused an increase in the amount and accuracy of African American history presented in U.S. history textbooks. However, the coverage of the pre-Civil War era is lacking, and the textbooks gloss over the mistreatment of slaves. They also depict African American
advances towards racial equality as the result of “white people’s efforts, ignoring what blacks have done in their own behalf and the slow progress of some white people’s efforts.” (Wolf, p. 294) The textbooks during the 1960’s attempt to include more African American History, and include “a few selected heroes”, however, this gives a distorted view of history and ignores the contributions of African Americans in general. (Wolf, p.294) Again, this allows the textbooks to create a sense of history as something that existed before the reader and has no impact on modern times. By doing so, the textbooks do not require the reader to draw connections between what happened in the past and its impact on modern social concerns.

During the 1970’s and the 1980’s, textbooks began to truly reflect the accomplishments of the Civil Rights movement. The coverage of African Americans in U.S. history textbooks increased, and on average received twenty-four to forty-seven pages of information. The amount of pictures of African Americans also increased and ranged from 7.6 percent to 16.8 percent of all pictures in the textbook. (Wolf, 295) The increase in coverage is noteworthy, but is the result of many decades of research and lobbying. Ethnic groups like American Indians do not have this lobbying history and have suffered because of it.

The increase in African American coverage is significant, but researchers called for a more comprehensive and balanced history. (Glaze, Ueda, The Council on Interracial Books for Children) For example, while more African American individuals are presented in U.S. history textbooks from this time period, the individuals’ African American heritage is ignored or minimized. (Simms, p. 175, p. 202). In essence, while
the textbooks have included more African Americans, they have done so in a manner to
decrease the amount of attention that is given to the contributions of African Americans.

Over the last fifty years, African Americans have received more attention in
textbooks, and textbook bias against them has been taken seriously. While there is still
room for improvement, the progress African Americans have seen is incredible when
compared to other racial and ethnic groups. By using African American as a prototype
ethnic group, the American Indian textbook biases can be compared to a well
documented struggle for textbook equality.

**American Indian Textbook Bias**

Throughout history, certain stereotypes have persisted about American Indians in
textbooks. In modern textbooks, these stereotypes are still presented to a public more
saturated with the media than any in history. The media has the ability to bring about
change, and has done so for other racial/ethnic groups. However, American Indians have
not enjoyed this level of media success.

Over the past thirty years, the problems facing American Indians have gained at
least a little attention. There is now some recognition that the information presented
about American Indians may be biased. In 1974, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood
(MIB) released a study titled *The Shocking Truth about Indians in Textbooks*. In that
study, they provide a table that summarizes the problems with textbooks. Here is that
table:
Table 1: Use of Adjectives in Textbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th>Indians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Savage</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Squaw</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brave</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Raiding</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleman</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Massacre</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Drunk</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorable</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Howling</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courageous</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Unfriendly</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determined</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Warlike</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
<td><strong>614</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>140</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of this visual clearly illustrates that there is a bias against American Indians in the 1970’s version of the textbooks in Canada. The situation within the United States is also very similar. Corpus Mather (1994) suggests that American Indian students rarely see anyone like them depicted in the books that they read, and when they do see someone like them, it is in a disparaging character (Mather, 1994).

A similar argument can be seen in the research of Hirschfelder (1982). Her book is about the textbook biases that elementary age students see on a daily basis. She writes that these students regularly see images of Indians that are inauthentic, unrealistic, and
often offensive. She also writes that American Indians are usually portrayed as obstacles of progress, warlike, and hostile. However, the textbooks do not mention that non-American Indians also practiced scalping and that when American Indians fought against the colonist, it was to defend their homes and families. She also writes that “very few textbooks include enough information about Indians to suggest to young readers that there are hundreds of contemporary, dynamic Native societies in America.”(Hirschfelder, 1982) Instead, American Indian culture is portrayed as static and unchanging. Much like Mintz (2004), Hirschfelder (1982) is attempting to point out that historically, American Indians have been portrayed as a one dimensional stereotype. This is an historical argument that has been made over and over again, from Takaki (1993) to Mintz (2004) to Hirschfelder (1982) and many others.

Some books, such as Delpit's Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom (2006) point out the needs of American Indian students and teachers. However, most research is like that of Loewen (1995) and Wineburg (2001), who only address how American Indians are portrayed inaccurately in historical accounts and in the teaching of pre-colonial America. Mintz’s (2004) work is an excellent example of this kind of research. He is due credit for attempting to undue the long history of portraying American Indians as blood thirsty savages. The first chapter of his book tries to dispel this myth with stories of white children who were captured by American Indians and refused to leave when they had a chance. The story of the white girl who adopts the Mohawk lifestyle and even marries a Kahnawake Mohawk man shows how appealing the American Indian lifestyle can be. But, Mintz (2004) commits the error of going too far the other way and depicts American Indian life as carefree and in harmony with nature
(Mintz, 2004). This childlike depiction of American Indians is an easy way to explain why white children would want to stay with their adoptive families, but it is not an accurate account of what is really happening. Chances are, the Kahnawake Mohawk man would have had a different story to tell, but no one thought to record his side of the story. In addition to this, colonial history is the only time Mintz really discusses American Indians. American Indians are mentioned during the time of the civil rights movement, but only in passing. Even in books dedicated to researching the history of America's children, American Indian children are either absent or misrepresented.

Of course, not all research on textbook bias against American Indians is going to agree with the research mentioned above. The author of America Revised definitely does not agree. FitzGerald writes that “until recently, the discovery of America and the establishment of colonies in the New World were seen as a natural concomitant of events unfolding in Europe and as an event with positive consequences.” (Fitzgerald, 1979) The author does not deal with the bias such words like “New World” have against American Indians, but she does display the prominent Euro-American viewpoint that dominates the textbooks. The author also writes that in the 1980’s, when textbooks mentioned American Indians, they discussed a lifestyle in harmony with nature, a nature based religion, and a democratic tribal system of government. The author believes this information to be incorrect at best. The author does not believe that American Indians, who lives depended on their environment, understood it and lived in a state of balance. The author also does not believe that tribal governments were democratic. She also believes that this information is biased against non-natives, especially the information about nature based religions. This is an historical argument that goes back at least as far
as the Doctrine of Discovery, but does not do much for solving the issues American Indians face when using textbooks.

Loewen’s work, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (1995), is a standard read for most textbook analysis. The research he presents within its pages is relevant even years after its publication and is a good starting point for modern textbook analysis. He even has a chapter devoted to American Indian history and its depiction in American history textbooks. Other textbook analysis mention Loewen’s work in regards to multiculturalism, but for my study I focus on the American Indian chapter, Red Eyes, and how it applies to Tribal Critical Race Theory.

Loewen’s work does present a body of contemporary research which is lacking in most textbook studies. Instead of relying on research from the Civil Rights era, or quoting his book as later studies do, Loewen (1995) brings the status of American Indians in United States history textbook up to date. He mentions that there are improvements, such as twenty five years after the Civil Rights movement the number of illustrations featuring American Indians has increased by five. When considering this is out of 268 illustrations, the increase does not seem relevant. However, the content of the pictures are. Instead of presenting American Indians as one dimensional, war like people like the textbooks from the 1960s did, the textbooks of the 1980s present American Indians as people who contributed to their communities and to United States history, like Sequoyah and Crispus Attucks (Lowen, 1995, p. 99). He also demonstrates how there is an increase in content for American Indians. Almost every textbook he reviewed contained at least five pages presenting information regarding pre-contact American Indian societies (p.
These are improvements to United States history textbooks, but Loewen finds more inaccuracies within the textbooks than improvements.

Tribal Critical Race Theory states that assimilation is a cultural model that American Indians face, and Loewen also finds this in his review of United States history textbooks. Loewen (1995) states that United States history is written with the intent to comfort the descendants of the “settlers”. He further examines the use of terms such as settler and frontier demonstrates how they are biased against American Indians. Loewen does acknowledge that terms such as savage and halfbreed are no longer commonly used in textbooks, words like settler and frontier are just as biased. For example, the term settler has a peaceful connotation of someone moving to a new land and establishing a home. It ignores the process of war and theft that is needed to take someone’s home and make it their own. The term frontier also creates an image of a line that separates “us” from “them”. No such line existed in the United States, and what Loewen calls the “zone of interaction” was much larger than what textbooks present. Loewen (1995) also points out the misuse of the term civilization. Civilized is used in the United States history textbooks to describe European societies and cultures that were similar to them. The textbooks focus on rural American Indian societies and compare them to urban European societies, making the contrast very apparent. Loewen takes it a step further and suggest that the textbooks compare urban American Indian societies with rural European societies and see if the comparison stands. What he illustrates is the bias presented from lopsided comparisons (p. 99-132).

Loewen’s (1995) research supports this model of bias and assimilation when he discusses history textbooks’ lack of using similar disciplines such as archaeology and
anthropology. By relying on outdated models such as the progress of civilization from
hunters and gathers to urban societies, history textbooks are already supporting research
that is no longer accurate. Not only is this research inaccurate, but as stated above, it is
used to create distorted comparisons that are biased against American Indians. Another
example would be the use of the Bering Sea land bridge. Current archaeological research
suggest that the land bridge was either not used or was not the only method of travel to
what is now the United States. Current work with genetics and DNA supports this
research, and supports archaeological models that suggest the Americas were colonized
very quickly by a small group of people. This research is ignored by the textbooks and
the standard land bridge theory is used (p. 100-101). The textbooks, and Loewen’s
(1995) research ignores tribal histories that present alternatives to these theories of how
American Indians arrived or were created in the Americas.

While discussing how history has been distorted and assimilated, Loewen(1995)
also discusses the role of assimilation in United States history. What is interesting is that
he does not do so from the standard viewpoint that American Indians were assimilated
into mainstream society, forced onto reservation, or died out. Instead, he focuses on the
theories of syncretism and cultural imperialism. As was mentioned above, there was no
imaginary line of frontier that separated Europeans from American Indians. Instead,
there was a zone of interaction in which there was intermarriage and cultural exchanges.
This results in an interracial history that is important to understand. Textbooks devote
space to the Plain tribes and their use of the horse, rifle, and other European products.
These are good examples of syncretism, but the textbooks ignore the examples of
Europeans adopting American Indian products, cultural ideals, and language. The
Columbian Exchange is based on the large amount of plant and animal foods Europeans brought back from the Americas and the United States has many place names that are from American Indian languages (p. 103-107). By presenting only one side of the cultural exchange, a bias is created in which American Indians adopted the cultural traits from Europeans but had nothing to offer in return.

Loewen (1995) writes his research with the consumer of United States history textbooks in mind, the student. Occasionally, he mentions how the American Indian student must react when reading these accounts of historical American Indians. The obscure descriptions of the various native religions, the misrepresentation or lack of inclusion of the Indian Wars, and the lack of contemporary American Indians creates an awkward situation for American Indian students to be in (p. 131-136). Illustrating how an incomplete history can affect not only American Indian students but all students, is the greatest contribution of this research, even more so than pointing out the inaccuracies of the textbooks.

**Teacher Reliance on Textbooks**

Every student that has had to carry seven, five hundred page textbooks throughout the day knows the role of textbooks in their lives. However, their importance in the classroom may be lost on the student in comparison to the weight they are carrying. For researchers, many studies reference the fact that textbooks are the most important resource available to a teacher. And, since school is where official knowledge comes from, it is important to consider the schools reliance on textbooks (Apple, 1982).
Historically, textbooks have played a large role in developing and delivering curriculum to students. In fact, “The major conveyor of the curriculum - the textbook - has played a permanent role in Western education for over the last five hundred years” (Sleeter & Gant, 1991, p. 80). For a county as young as the United States, this means that textbooks have had a central role throughout its entire history. Even during the United States colonial period textbooks were present and an important part of the educational process. Within the United States, it was the New England Primer that established the authoritarian knowledge of the book that “set the tone for future textbooks” (Spring, 2002, p. xi). A colonial method of education is not necessarily relevant to modern needs, and instead supports educational theories of assimilation such as Tribal Critical Race Theory. Using colonial methods of education creates colonized students.

In modern times, textbooks have not lost their central role. If anything, the growing textbook market would suggest that textbooks are just as important, if not more so, then they used to be. Today, “it is the textbook which establishes so much of the material conditions for teaching and learning in classrooms in many countries throughout the world, and it is the textbook that often defines what is elite and legitimate culture to pass on” (Apple, 1988, p. 81). Combining what Apple writes about creating an elite culture to pass on with what Spring writes about colonial textbooks setting the tone, and there is even more evidence for an educational system using classroom resources to assimilate students.

In today’s classroom, the textbook is viewed by teachers and students as a resource that is factual and that can be trusted (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Fitzgerald, 1979; Horne, 1988; Sleeter & Gant, 1991; Swartz, 1993; Tyson-Bernstein,
1988). The perceived trustworthiness of textbooks is important because of the degree to which teachers and student rely on them. Their perceived trustworthiness is also why textbooks become contested items among different groups.

Textbooks are not and end in themselves, and supplemental material is often encouraged in classrooms. Teachers are always looking for new resources to use in their classroom; whether they are textbooks are not. However, “As givens in a particular situation, the textbooks that teacher have are the most significant resource for their teaching” (Westbury, 1990, p. 1). This is particularly true in history classes, because history classes are the most likely to rely on textbooks as the most important resource in the classroom (Elliot, 1990; Goodlad, 1984; Ravitch, 2003).

In Loewen’s book, Lies My Teacher Told Me (1995), he also discusses how textbooks are made and marketed. As the textbooks are written, edited, and published, they are created with multiple audiences in mind. Some of these audiences are the students’ characteristics as perceived by the publisher, historians, professors of education, teachers, and the general public. Even with all of these audiences in mind the amount of information out there regarding the biases and inaccuracies within textbooks, Loewen notes that there is little change in textbooks from one year to the next.

Loewen writes that there are a number of theories about why textbooks remain the same year after year. One such theory is that the secondary literature is not sufficient for textbook authors to create meaningful texts. Textbook authors cannot be expected to go back to primary sources to find information for their textbooks. This is a valid argument, and Loewen counters that theory by providing examples of secondary literature that textbook authors could use to access the information that they need. In recent times the
secondary literature has improved, but he also provides examples of secondary literature from the early 20th century that provides information that textbooks are missing (p. 273).

Within the amount of examples that Loewen provides regarding secondary sources, the second theory that textbook authors have to use professional judgment to decide what goes into a textbook also seems valid. Again, Loewen counters this argument by illustrating how much coverage is given to topics that are not necessarily relevant. Pressure from publisher, states, and adoption boards also play a role and will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter (p. 274).

The last argument that Loewen presents is that there is an upper class conspiracy that keeps textbooks from changing and presenting information that would stimulate students to question the status quo. Loewen acknowledges that there is a lot of information that would support this theory. For example, the upper class elite controls the textbook publishing companies that supply the books and ancillary materials. This means that the textbooks are similar regardless of which company publishes them. In addition, the upper class elite owns the media companies that might be relied upon to provide information that would contradict or supplement the textbooks. It would definitely appear the upper class elite is controlling information and its release to the public. This fits with Tribal Critical Race Theory and models of assimilation. However, Loewen also points out that information criticizing textbooks and alternative viewpoints are also published. He explains this with the fact that publishing houses are created in order to make money, and will publish books that will make them money (p. 275-278).

Not one of these theories is able to fully explain who is to blame, so Loewen went to the sources and asked them who they blamed for how textbooks are created. He found
that the textbook publishers blamed the adoption boards, parents, and school administrators. Parents blamed the publishers and teachers blamed administrators and publishers. The only ones not providing blame were the authors and editors who stood by the textbooks and took credit for their work (p. 283). This suggests that the blame does not lie with any one group, but rest in part with all of them.

**Value 3**

Value three, according to the research guidelines developed by Sanchez (2007), is getting along with nature. Sanchez intended for this value to analyze the depiction of American Indians and the natural environment. However, I used this value as a lens through which to analyze the literature concerning textbook bias. The nature of textbook publishing is important to understand in order to comprehend why textbooks are biased and why so little has changed over the decades.

**How Textbooks are Selected**

In Loewen’s book, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (1995), he also discusses how textbooks are made and marketed. As the textbooks are written, edited, and published, they are created with multiple audiences in mind. Some of these audiences are the students’ characteristics as perceived by the publisher, historians, professors of education, teachers, and the general public. Even with all of these audiences in mind the amount of information out there regarding the biases and inaccuracies within textbooks, Loewen notes that there is little change in textbooks from one year to the next.
Loewen (1995) writes that there are a number of theories about why textbooks remain the same year after year. One such theory is that the secondary literature is not sufficient for textbook authors to create meaningful texts. Textbook authors cannot be expected to go back to primary sources to find information for their textbooks. This is a valid argument, and Loewen (1995) counters that theory by providing examples of secondary literature that textbook authors could use to access the information that they need. In recent times the secondary literature has improved, but he also provides examples of secondary literature from the early 20th century that provides information that textbooks are missing (p. 273).

Within the amount of examples that Loewen (1995) provides regarding secondary sources, the second theory that textbook authors have to use professional judgment to decide what goes into a textbook also seems valid. Again, Loewen counters this argument by illustrating how much coverage is given to topics that are not necessarily relevant. Pressure from publisher, states, and adoption boards also play a role and will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter (p. 274).

The last argument that Loewen (1995) presents is that there is an upper class conspiracy that keeps textbooks from changing and presenting information that would stimulate students to question the status quo. Loewen acknowledges that there is a lot of information that would support this theory. For example, the upper class elite controls the textbook publishing companies that supply the books and ancillary materials. This means that the textbooks are similar regardless of which company publishes them. In addition, the upper class elite own the media companies that might be relied upon to provide information that would contradict or supplement the textbooks. It would
definitely appear the upper class elite is controlling information and its release to the 
public. This fits with Tribal Critical Race Theory and models of assimilation. However, 
Loewen (1995) also points out that information criticizing textbooks and alternative 
viewpoints are also published. He explains this with the fact that publishing houses are 
created in order to make money, and will publish books that will make them money (p. 
275-278).

Not one of these theories is able to fully explain who is to blame, so Loewen 
(1995) went to the sources and asked them who they blamed for how textbooks are 
created. He found that the textbook publishers blamed the adoption boards, parents, and 
school administrators. Parents blamed the publishers and teachers blamed administrators 
and publishers. The only ones not providing blame were the authors and editors who 
stood by the textbooks and took credit for their work (p. 283). This suggests that the 
blame does not lie with any one group, but rest in part with all of them. Other sections in 
this chapter will explore this in greater detail.

**Origins of Textbook Selection**

Textbooks have not always been freely provided to students. Students would 
have to purchase the textbooks needed to attend school, much like modern university 
students do today. Students whose families could afford textbooks would receive a better 
education than those students whose families could not afford to purchase textbooks. In 
1882, Massachusetts developed a plan to make sure that all students would receive an 
approved textbook, making it easier for students to receive an education regardless of 
their wealth. “This notion of free textbooks provided by the school and the related
‘adoption’ or ‘approval’ of these texts became American institutions and, in their turn, created a need for a structure of regulation of the pricing and physical quality of textbooks, but not of the curriculum which those textbooks defined, which has survived into the present.” (Westbury, 1990, p. 7). Since 1882, the states have developed their own plans on how to regulate textbooks with their boundaries for the benefit of their students.

As stated above, once Massachusetts established a plan for providing free approved textbooks to their students, it created needs that created an industry. Textbooks had to be produced, approved, and distributed to the schools. The problems began with what should be included in the textbooks, especially history textbooks. The competing interests of “Publishing houses, with their need to survive as businesses by making a reasonable profit; elected bodies in state and localities, with their mandate to respond to a sometimes-fickle electorate; the public school establishment, which is perennially at war with itself over the incompatible virtues of teacher autonomy and centralized control; and the scholarly community, forever engaged in a struggle to press new or old knowledge into the minds of the next generation”; often had different ideas that were not compatible. “In essence, it is a struggle between those who want children to learn about life as it is and those who want them to know about life as they think it should be” (Tyson-Bernstein, ps.41-43). This created a struggle that has continued into modern times.
Value 4

Of the five values identified by Sanchez (2007), value four is individual freedom. This value was to be used to analyze the perception that American Indians had a unique individual freedom that was characteristic of many of the indigenous nations of North America. While this value was intended for evaluating textbook bias, I reinterpreted it to conduct a literature review. The individual freedom of the states as they determine which textbooks to use, if they make any decision regarding textbook usage, echoes the individual freedom Sanchez sees in American Indian societies.

State vs. Non-State Selections

Within the United States, education is a right reserved for the states. This means that each state determines its own curriculum and its own method for selecting and approving textbooks – or not. This makes the textbook issue a national issue, but one that varies from state to state and district to district due to these differences.

Twenty two states currently approve textbooks and make an “official” list for the school districts to choose from. Districts that choose to purchase textbook from the “official” list receive financial reimbursement from the state to offset the costs of purchasing the textbooks. In 2004, Erika Sloan Gold created a chart listing the states that do and that do not create an “official” list for the school districts to choose from. That table is listed here:
### Table 2: List of States With or Without Statewide Textbook Adoptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adoption Statewide</th>
<th>District Choice States</th>
<th>Adoption Statewide</th>
<th>District Choice States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>Nebraska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>North Dakota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>Maine</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td></td>
<td>South Dakota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vermont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Washington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wyoming</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three largest textbook markets are California, Texas, and Florida. As seen from the chart above, all three of these states are listed as having created an official list for their school districts to choose from. From a textbook publisher’s viewpoint, it makes sense to focus their efforts on these states. It is so important, that sales “to California and Texas can account for over twenty percent of the total sales of any particular book…Due to this, the writing, editing, promotion and the general orientation and strategy of such production is quite often aimed toward guaranteeing a place on the list of state approved material. Since this is the case, the political and ideological climate of these primarily southern states often determines the content and form of the purchased curriculum throughout the rest of the nation.” (Apple, 1991, pp. 32-33). This explains the
importance of the political situation in adoption states and why educators need to pay attention to the elections in more than just their home states.

State laws usually state that school districts must use the most current publication of the approved textbooks. In order to make a profit, textbook companies are continually republishing textbooks. Even though the textbooks are republished, the changes to the textbooks are often minimal. For instance, the textbooks are usually changed “in superficial ways- for example, changing the photographs, the color of the paper for special sections for the textbook, the exercises or the titles. Often, thorough revision of content or method is avoided. Out-of-date knowledge is often left untouched” (Tyson-Bernstein, 1986, p. 42). This is significant when considering that the textbooks selected by California, Texas, and Florida influence the textbook selection of the United States. These three states alone account for about 25 percent of textbook purchases in the United States. This is a significant portion of the market and affects the other states in what is made available to them (Rapp, 2008). If these three states are using “updated” textbooks that lack revised content and methods, then it will be a trend throughout the nation.

Value 5

The last of the five values is courage. Too often, American Indians were/are not portrayed as being courageous in textbooks. And when they were, only the courage displayed during war was depicted. In American Indian societies, there are many ways to display courage, and this is a valued characteristic in men as well as in women. Like the
other four values, I used this value as a lens to review the literature. The courage I see comes from those that have developed critical theories to discuss textbook biases.

**Theoretical Framework**

*Critical Discourse Analysis.*

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) began when Wodak, van Dijk, and Fairclough met in Amsterdam in 1991, resulting in the “formal and institutional beginning of CDA.” In order to understand the history of critical discourse analysis, Ruth Wodak is a good place to start. She began her research in sociolinguistics, but move towards critical discourse analysis. Wodak states that it is important for research to be critical, which does not necessarily imply negative. Instead, “Critical means not taking things for granted, opening up complexity, challenging reductionism, dogmatism and dichotomies, being self-reflecting in my research, and through these processes, make opaque structures of power relations and ideologies manifest.” (Gavin, 2007).

Wodak states that there is no one CDA approach. “All approaches have their own theoretical position combined with a specific methodology and methods.” However, she has been influenced by Teun van Dijk and George Lakoff and their desire to connect discourse and society. This is evident from her statements regarding hers, and theirs, research regarding critical discourse analysis and cognition. She says, “This research further led to the insight that issues of ‘knowledge’ need to be addressed as well. How do we understand/deconstruct utterances in context? Why is the same text or utterance understood in significantly different ways by different groups of
listeners/writers/viewers? Does this depend on their cognitive/conceptual background and stored knowledge?” For use in a textbook analysis, this is of significant importance.

Teun van Dijk also offers his definition of critical discourse analysis. He writes that “the way we approach these questions and dimensions is by focusing on the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance…More specifically, critical discourse analyst want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction.” (van Dijk, 1993, pp. 249-250). Critical discourse analysis is motivated by social issues, and he writes that “Here we touch upon the core of critical discourse analysis, that is, a detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence such socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, namely through their role in the manufacture of concrete models.”(van Dijk, p. 258-259). This is a similar definition to that offered by Wodak (2006), which comes as no surprise considering their research is interconnected.

From an American Indian point of view, community relationships are very important. This relates to both the individuals within a community and the relationships between different communities. For this perspective, the cognitive research of van Dijk (1993) in relation to critical discourse analysis is very important. van Dijk clearly states that “More specifically, we hope to show that social cognition is the necessary theoretical (and empirical) ’interface’ if not the ‘missing link’, between discourse and dominance.”(van Dijk, 1993, p.251). He also states that “we assume that we here deal with properties of relations between social groups. That is, while focusing on social
power, we ignore purely personal power”(van Dijk, p. 254). This will be relevant when discussing textbook production.

Teun van Dijk (1993) also states what is needed from a critical discourse analysis. Not only is it concerned with social problems, it analyzes “questionable conditions of legitimacy or acceptability, including what is usually called ‘abuse’ of power, and especially also possibly negative effects of the exercise of power, namely social inequality.” (van Dijk, p. 250) This is important because, for critical discourse analysis, “Ultimately, its success is measured by its effectiveness and relevance, that is, its contribution to change.” (van Dijk, p. 253).

van Dijk (1993) writes that for a critical discourse analyst, “Unlike other discourse analyst, critical discourse analyst (should) take an explicit sociopolitical stance; they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large.” (van Dijk, p. 252). He also writes that “the more discourse genres, contexts, participants, audience, scope and text characteristics they (may) actively control or influence, the more powerful social groups, institutions, or elites are.” (van Dijk, p. 256). This is important in relation to textbooks because they are another way to control or influence and are usually created by powerful social groups, institutions, and powerful elites.

van Dijk (1993) also states that in order to indirectly influence other groups, dominant groups use “other persuasive moves are also needed, such as the following:

a. Argumentation: the negative evaluation follows from the ‘facts’.
b. Rhetorical figures: hyperbolic enhancements of ‘their’ negative actions and ‘our’ positive actions; euphemisms, denials, understatements of ‘our’ negative actions.

c. Lexical style: choice of words that imply negative (or positive) evaluations

d. Story telling: telling above negative events as personally experienced; giving plausible details about negative feature of the events.

e. Structural emphasis of ‘their’ negative actions, e.g. in headlines, leads, summaries, or other properties of text schemata (e.g. those of news reports).

f. Quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts, e.g. in news reports. (van Dijk, p. 264).

In order to conduct a textbook analysis, these kinds of persuasive moves must be taken into consideration. With this in mind, critical discourse analysis’ importance to a textbook analysis becomes clearer.

Tribal Critical Race Theory

“It is my hope and belief that TribalCrit begins to allow us to change the ways that Indigenous students think about schools and, perhaps more importantly, the ways that both schools and educational researchers think about American Indian students.” (Brayboy, 2005, p. 442). That line of Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) summarizes why this study is being conducted. Brayboy’s creation of a truly indigenous method to improve the lives of American Indian students and their teachers is an important contribution in the field of educational research.
Tribal Critical Race Theory evolved from Critical Race Theory (CRT), which came about during the Civil Rights era to address the social inequalities between whites and blacks. Like Critical Discourse Analysis, which is discussed above, Critical Race Theory is activist in nature and is committed to social justice. Researchers using Critical Race Theory in education argue that their work must be used to eliminate the influence of racism, sexism, and poverty have in the lives of students and faculty (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Parker, 1998; Solorsano & Yosso, 2001). These fundamentals of Critical Race Theory are also found in Tribal Critical Race Theory, such as listening “seriously involves an ability to make connections between ‘traditional’ community values and those of larger societal institutions likes courts and schools. Like CRT, TribalCrit values narrative and stories as important sources of data.” (Brayboy, p.428). The stories found in textbooks, as shown through critical discourse analysis, are also stories of the community and can be analyzed in a similar way.

Tribal Critical Race Theory evolved to more completely address the issues of Indigenous Peoples in the United States. Brayboy “constructed this theoretical framework because it allows me to address the complicated relationship between American Indians and the United States federal government and begin to make sense of American Indian’ liminality as both racial and legal/political groups and individuals.” (Brayboy, 2005, p. 427). Tribal Critical Race Theory is unique that in unlike Critical Race Theory, which holds that racism is endemic to society, the “primary tenet of TribalCrit is the notion that colonization is endemic to society. By colonization, I mean that European American thought, knowledge, and power structures dominate present-day society in the United States.” (Brayboy, p. 430). While colonization is the primary tenet
of Tribal Critical Race Theory, there are eight other tenets to flesh out this theory. Here are nine tenets of TribalCrit:

1. Colonization is endemic to society.
2. U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain.
3. Indigenous peoples occupy a luminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.
4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.
5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an indigenous lens.
6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.
7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.
8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.
9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change. (Brayboy. 429-430)

Brayboy calls on other TribalCrit scholars, “who embrace this line of thinking in their work, we must expose structural inequalities and assimilatory processes and work toward debunking and deconstructing them; it also works to create structures that will
address the real and immediate future needs of tribal peoples and communities.” (Brayboy, p. 440). In all, Brayboy makes a compelling argument for the need of an indigenous method of research and need for an American Indian lens. He also calls for the important inclusion of the community, echoing both Critical Discourse Analysis and traditional American Indian values. He writes that “I would argue that no research should be conducted with Indigenous Peoples that is not in some way directed by a community and aimed toward improving the life chances and situations of specific communities and American Indians writ large..there is little room for abstract ideas in real communities.” (Brayboy, p. 440). Brayboy’s research offers much in the way of analyzing textbooks for American Indian bias.

**Gaps in the Literature**

Research regarding textbook bias is evident, however, research focusing on those biases against American Indians is lacking. Research regarding Hispanic and Asian bias is increasing, and the strides African Americans have made in combating textbook bias is well documented, but American Indians have not had the same success. It appears that American Indian research is dropping from the mainstream or is only being included in multicultural research. While multicultural research is needed, when it is used instead of American Indian research it dilutes the problem and does not offer needed solutions.

Also, research of primary sources is lacking in regards to textbook bias. Researchers tend to reference studies from the 1960s and 1970s, and while not much may have changed, up to date research is needed to make that conclusion. As historical work,
relying on the older studies is relevant, however they do not lend a strong argument to the state of modern textbooks. In order to make a significant argument, recent textbooks need to be analyzed. Loewen’s work does stand unique in this aspect, but contemporary research is now relying on his work as well instead of conducting research on textbooks since 1995.

Critical analysis of biases and textual material has been produced for over thirty years. Wodak, van Dijk, and Fairclough have greatly contributed to this research, but critical research from an American Indian or Indigenous perspective is lacking. Brayboy and Grande are researchers contributing in this area, and their work is significant in closing this part of the gap in the research. However, other minority groups and “mainstream” researchers are producing more research from their viewpoints than American Indians. It is not enough to just have American Indians conducting research, but as Brayboy and Grande point out, an indigenous viewpoint is needed as well. Without conducting research on indigenous issues from an indigenous viewpoint, the issues concerning textbooks will not change for American Indians.

**Summary**

In this chapter I have reviewed the literature regarding textbook bias using the following categories:

- History of textbook bias
- African American textbook bias
- American Indian textbook bias
• How textbooks are selected
• Teacher reliance on textbooks
• Theoretical framework

The categories were analyzed through the lens of the Five Values. Overall, a study of the research regarding textbook bias, especially that concerning American Indians, is not very uplifting. Secondary sources point out the huge gaps in research and the obvious biases that are evident in textbooks. Primary sources, at least, provide some hope that people are taking notice and would like for a change to occur. It will take time to see whose changes occur, those concerned about the welfare of all of the nation’s children, or those who champion a return to a fictionalized, romanticized, past.

In Chapter Three I explained the methods I use in describing the bias against American Indians in five selected United States history textbooks. I also explained the methodology influencing my choice of methods and my use of them. Tribal Critical Race Theory is the theoretical perspectives that lie behind my methodology and Critical Discourse Analysis is the tool I use to conduct the critical case study. I also described my role as a researcher as well any ethical issues related to this study.
Chapter Three

Methods

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in U.S. History textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. This study examined five widely used textbooks for their portrayal of American Indians. The study identified which of the textbooks under consideration contain the greatest amount of information dedicated to American Indians and analyzed how that information is portrayed. The following exploratory questions guided this study:

1. How are American Indians portrayed in high school United States History textbooks?

2. Under what conditions can Critical Tribal Race Theory help illuminate how American Indians are portrayed in textbooks?

In this chapter, I explained the methods I used for collecting and analyzing data regarding how American Indians are portrayed in United States History textbooks. I also described how I chose and used my methods. Tribal Critical Race Theory is the theoretical framework that influenced my methods, one of which is Critical Discourse.
Analysis. I also described my role as the researcher and any ethical considerations regarding my research.

**Research Design**

The research design for this study is a critical case study. As such, this critical case study will be based on the three qualities of exemplary case studies as defined by Janesick (2004):

1. The case study must be significant to the researcher
2. The case study must be complete
3. The case study must be composed in an engaging manner

In order to conduct a critical case study, I will also answer the questions who, why, how, and where. Janesick (2006) expands on this in regards to critical case studies by writing:

Who: Explain who the individual is and what the immediate setting looks like.

Why: Describe why you chose that particular student, why you are doing the study, and what changes you propose making at the conclusion of the study.

How: Discuss how and where you are going to conduct the study, what questions you will use, and how you are going to develop some assumptions that you will interpret.

Where: Describe the political context of the classroom, the school, the family, and the immediate community. (Janesick, 2004, p. 36-37).
The questions of who, why, how, and where will also be discussed later in this chapter.

This critical case study analyzed textbooks and their portrayal of American Indians. This research is in line with that of qualitative content analysis, which according to Mukhongo (2010) is guided by the following steps:

1. *Formulating the Research Question.*
2. *Sample Selection.*
3. *Coding*

Like Mukhongo (2010), Rubin & Rubin (2005) break content analysis into five easy steps. While their research is on interviewing techniques, the basic principles are equally applicable to a critical case study. These five steps, as identified by Rubin & Rubin (2005) and illustrated in Table 3, capture my approach:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Recognize</td>
<td>Find the concepts, themes, events, and topical markers in the interviews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Examine</td>
<td>Clarify what is meant by specific concepts and themes and synthesize different events in order to put together my understanding of the overall narrative. This leads to elaboration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Figure out a brief label to designate each concept/ theme and mark the text where they are found. This allows for the easy retrieval and examination of the data units.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sort</td>
<td>Group all of the data units with the same label together. Then, look for how the concept was seen overall and examine for nuances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Synthesize</td>
<td>Put the concepts and themes together and show how they answer my research questions and produce broader implications.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Critical Case Study

Who

The method of critical case study allowed me to tell a story about something both unique and special, the portrayal of American Indians in textbooks. According to Janesick (2004), the first question to answer is, who? The population for this study is not a human based population, but rather one of textbooks. As illustrated in Chapter Two, textbooks used in Florida are representative of textbooks being used throughout the nation. This study focused on textbooks designed to be used in high school United States history classes. The textbooks are designed for United States history classes, which will aid in the generalization of this study and make the selected textbooks relevant to a larger audience.

Purposeful sampling is being used for this study to provide the textbooks that are needed. For this study, I deliberately selected textbooks that met the following criteria:

1. The textbook must be a United States History textbook.
2. The textbook must be on the approved list for Hillsborough County, Florida.
3. The textbook must be under consideration for adoption for the 2012 textbook adoption process.
4. The textbook must have significantly more data related to American Indians than the other textbooks.

My intention in using purposeful sampling is to have the most recent and relevant population of textbooks to draw from. Table 1 contains the textbooks under
consideration for adoption in 2012 in Hillsborough County, Florida for United States History classes.

Once I collected the textbooks that met the criteria listed above, I analyzed the textbooks for the amount of content they contain about American Indians. The content I analyzed in each textbook consists of textual material, photos and illustrations, and index entries. I excluded textbooks that were not a complete history textbook unto themselves so that when I conducted the analysis it would not be biased due to a textbook not referencing the same amount of data as the other texts. For the purpose of this study, I selected the five textbooks that contained the most content in regards to American Indians. Those five textbooks are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Publication Date</th>
<th>Lead Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bedford/St. Martin's.</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Henretta, J.</td>
<td>American History</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Why

Case studies are usually selected “because they are highly effective, not effective, representative, typical, or of special interest.” (Neale, Thapa, Boyce, 2006) The first quality of an exemplary critical case study reflects this quotation in stating that a case study must be of significance to the researcher (Janesick, 2004). As an enrolled Cherokee tribal member and a school district employee, a critical case study of American Indian portrayal in United States history textbooks is personally significant. It is also significant to teachers and scholars in that the textbooks analyzed are of the upcoming adoption cycle, which have not been available for this kind of analysis before now. It is also significant from a theoretical viewpoint. For this study I used Tribal Critical Race Theory as my theoretical framework, something that is not commonly used in research, much less textbook analysis.

The topic of American Indians is also one of special interest, not just to me as an enrolled Cherokee tribal member, but to the entire country. The American Indian population has increased over the last thirty years (U.S. Census, 2010), and the Civil Rights movement has brought attention to this growing, yet often ignored, segment of the United State’s population. As illustrated in Chapters One and Two, the stereotypes created and distributed through multiple forms of media are what define American Indians to much of the world. The sensitivity and depth needed to tell this story lends itself to a case study.
How

This study made use of research guidelines developed by Sanchez (2007). These research guidelines make use of what is called the Five Great Values, which were discussed in detail in Chapter Two. For the purposes of this study, those values are:

Value 1: Generosity and Sharing
Value 2: Respect for the Elderly and Women
Value 3: Getting Along with Nature
Value 4: Individual Freedom
Value 5: Courage

Sanchez (2007) goes on to list additional considerations that will also be used in this study. Those additional considerations are:

1. Is the author(s) a true Native American?
2. Is there evidence that the author(s) consulted a Native American?
3. Do the photos/illustrations accurately reflect specific tribal/cultural traditions, symbols, and/or art forms?

Janesick (2004) and Mukhongo (2010) describe the importance of conducting research with a clear set of questions to guide the research. Janesick (2004) states the questions should be open ended with answers that are able to be interpreted. The research guidelines developed by Sanchez (2007) allowed me to ask those open ended questions as I conducted the critical case study.

The main theoretical framework for this study is Tribal Critical Race Theory. Tribal Critical Race Theory evolves from Critical Race Theory, and shares its views on race and racism. However, Critical Race Theory was developed to address the needs of
the civil rights movement (Brayboy, 2005) and focuses on the White-Black relationship. Tribal Critical Race Theory evolved out of this in order to address the needs of American Indians. It also differs from Critical Race Theory, which believes that racism is endemic in society, in that its central tenet is that colonization is endemic to society. As a new form of critical theory, Tribal Critical Race Theory may yield results that other forms of critical theory do not. Its use in this study is also significant in that most research on American Indians falls under multicultural rather than relying on an indigenous form of research.

This study also made use of critical discourse analysis. According to Teun van Dijk, critical discourse analysis “strives to provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality. Two major dimensions along which discourse is involved in dominance, namely through the enactment of dominance in text and talk in specific contexts, and more indirectly through the influence of discourse on others.” This compliments my use of Tribal Critical Race Theory because according to this definition of critical discourse analysis, this type of study “is not limited to as sociological or political-science account of dominance or patterns of access to social resources. Rather, positions and perspectives need to be chosen, for instance, against the power elites and in solidarity with dominated groups.”(van Dijk, 1993, p.279). As stated above, an indigenous form of research is needed, and critical discourse analysis will allow me to conduct research from that perspective.
**Where**

This study will be conducted in Hillsborough County, Florida, the geographic location of this study. Conducting the study in Hillsborough County, Florida will aid in the collection of the needed textbooks and allow me easier access to content supervisors and social studies teachers. Hillsborough County is also the location of the University of South Florida, giving me access to my universities research library, professors, and my dissertation committee.

The political climate in Florida is one of contradictions. Florida has more citizens registered to vote as Democrats than it does Republicans but the majority of seats in the House and the Senate are held by Republicans (ADG, 2010). The governorship is also held by a Republican, and the conservative effects are being felt throughout the field of education. This is played out in the classroom through educational budget cuts and the implementation of Empowering Effective Teachers, a new form of teacher evaluation. What impact this will have on the textbooks selected for the 2012 textbook adoption cycle is yet to be seen.

**Role of the Researcher**

In qualitative research, the researcher is an instrument and the primary tool for gathering information. As such, I began by collecting the textbooks that are under review for United States history in Hillsborough County, Florida for the 2012 adoption process. After collecting the textbooks, I analyzed them for the amount of content they contain regarding American Indians, and selected the five books with the most American Indian
content. I kept charts and tables of this data to make sure that it is transparent and accessible to the reader. I used the research guidelines designed by Sanchez (2007) to break the textbook content into manageable chunks of information that are relevant to American Indians. I excluded data from the textbooks did not relate to the five values. I conducted a critical analysis of the gathered information using Tribal Critical Race Theory as a guide. I also made use of two outside reader to review my notes and categories. One reader is an engineer with advanced degrees and proven analytical abilities. The other reader is an enrolled Cherokee tribal member who has a record of community involvement. The combined talents of these two readers allowed my coding of the data to be checked from different viewpoints and analyzed for consistency and relevance.

Assumptions of This Researcher

As stated above, the researcher is the main tool for data collection, and with that comes the biases and influences of the researcher. As such, it is important for those biases to be clearly stated and for their role in the research to be explained. As an enrolled Cherokee tribal member, the topic of American Indian history is one that is very important to me. The history of North America’s first people is not just another history topic for me, but rather the story of my ancestors.

As a history teacher, how history is presented to students is also very important to me. I have always looked for curricular materials that provided my students with multiple viewpoints and the voice of the common person. When it came to American
Indian history, it was very difficult to achieve this goal. This often led me to look into who was writing the textbooks and what were their goals.

I believe that textbooks can be an important resource for both teachers and students. However, I also believe that textbooks do need to change their presentation of American Indians. This assumption is based more on what I believe textbooks should not be rather than what they should. While conducting this study I will use the guidelines developed by Sanchez (2007) in an attempt to develop criteria of what a textbook should include, rather than critiquing only what the textbook is lacking.

**Summary**

In Chapter One, I described the context and purpose of the study: to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in five U.S. textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. I also explained the theoretical framework, Critical Tribal Theory. I described how my personal and professional experiences have led me to research this topic.

In Chapter Two I reviewed the literature regarding textbook bias through the lens of the Five Values. Overall, a study of the research regarding textbook bias, especially that concerning American Indian, is not very uplifting. Secondary sources point out the huge gaps in research and the obvious biases that are evident in textbooks. Primary sources provide evidence that people are taking notice of these biases and would like for a change to occur. The literature also shows that there is a lack of research from an indigenous perspective and using indigenous methods.
In Chapter Three I explained the methods I plan to use in describing the bias against American Indians in five selected United States history textbooks. I also explained the methodology influencing my choice of methods and my use of them. I plan to use critical case study and use the guiding questions of qualitative content analysis as my method. Tribal Critical Race Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis are the theoretical perspectives that lie behind my methodology. I explained their significance to the researcher and their contribution to the field. I also described my role as a researcher as well any ethical issues related to this study.

In Chapter Four I presented the data. I conducted a critical case study of the five selected United States history textbooks and created charts that illustrate their portrayal of American Indians in both text and pictures. This data was gathered using the guidelines developed by Sanchez (2007).

In Chapter Five I analyzed the data. I analyzed the data presented in Chapter Four through the lens of Tribal Critical Race Theory. This lens yielded results that other theoretical frameworks have not.
Chapter Four

Presentation of the Data

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in U.S. History textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. This study examined five widely used textbooks for how American Indians are portrayed. The study identified which of the textbooks under consideration contain the greatest amount of information dedicated to American Indians and analyzed how that information is portrayed. The following exploratory questions guided this study:

1. How are American Indians portrayed in selected high school United States History textbooks?

2. Under what conditions can Critical Tribal Race Theory help illuminate how American Indians are portrayed in textbooks?

In this chapter, I presented the data gathered from the five selected United States history textbooks up for adoption in Hillsborough County for 2012. The data is
organized from the case studies based on the Five Values, using the evaluative guidelines developed by Sanchez.

**Context**

The study was conducted in, and about, U.S. history textbooks that are up for adoption in Hillsborough County, Florida. According to the Census Bureau of the United States, Florida has over nineteen million people, of which over seventy eight percent are categorized as White. American Indians only comprise half of one percent of the entire population of Florida. Hillsborough County, according to the Census Bureau, has just over one million people, of which over seventy five percent are categorized as White. American Indians only comprise half of one percent of the county’s population. The county’s and the state’s demographics are similar, and set the stage for the portrayal of American Indians in the selected textbooks.

Politically, the state of Florida has a republican governor and has had a republican governor for a number of years. The majority of the both the Senate and House of the State of Florida is also Republican. This sets a conservative tone throughout the state and may influence the selection of textbooks.

**Value 1: Generosity and Sharing**

As developed by Sanchez (2007), Value 1 is Generosity and Sharing. When I collected data from the selected U.S. history textbooks regarding this value, certain words
stood out to me as topics that were gathering attention in the collection of this data. The topics illustrated in the figure below are those that drive the presentation of data in the following questions.

**Figure 2: Generosity and Sharing**

**Question 1: Do the Native American people share their possessions?**

When evaluating the question of whether or not the selected U.S. history textbooks portrayed American Indians as sharing their possessions, I analyzed the textbooks for examples of the authors stating that either American Indians were generous,
or that they were not. Most of the examples that I found were from the first few chapters of the textbooks, where the authors discuss archaic, precolonial, and colonial American Indian culture and life. This held consistent throughout all five of the textbooks that were analyzed.

The most common example given of American Indians sharing their possessions is of the potlatch ceremony of the Pacific Northwest. One textbook uses it by saying “The Indian societies of the Northwest coast were characterized by an elaborate material culture and by their “potlatch” ceremonies, where prestige and rank were accumulated by those people who could give away the most goods.” (Faragher, p. 20) Another textbook describes the ceremony as “Leading families displayed their wealth in the potlatch – a feast at which they gave their goods to guests or destroyed them.” (Boyer, p. 15) This is an important ceremony for Pacific Northwest native communities, and the authors use it to illustrate a common American Indian value of generosity. That this trait, but not this ceremony, is common to many American Indian communities was not lost on the authors.

The textbooks repeatedly make statements such as “Generosity was among the most valued social qualities, and gift giving was essential to Indian society” (Foner, p. 15), “Wealth was valuable only if it was given away” (Faragher, p. 299), and “Nor were Indians devoted to the accumulation of wealth and material goods.” (Foner, p. 14) These are, of course, generalized statements that do not delve into the deeper meaning of generosity in American Indian communities, but the textbooks do try to reach for that deeper meaning. A common theme that is repeated throughout the textbooks is that “their reputation often rested on their willingness to share goods with others rather than hoarding them for themselves.” (Foner, p. 15) This is an attempt to reach that deeper
meaning, but not explaining why generosity was so important. One textbook attempts an explanation by stating that “The principle of reciprocity was central to Native Americans” (Boyer, p. 18), but does not fully explain how reciprocity is so important to individual American Indians and communities as a whole.

While the textbooks miss the chance to explain reciprocity as a cultural/religious aspect of American Indian life, they do attempt to deliver other theories for the importance and development of generosity as a common trait among American Indians. Throughout the textbooks, American Indian societies are described as being centered around the extended family, and this is one of the theories presented in the textbooks for why generosity developed. An example is the statement that “The culture of these lineage-based societies discouraged accumulation; individual ownership of goods and land was virtually unknown.” Rather than follow the statement up with a quotation from an American Indian to explain why that is, the textbook quotes a French missionary who states, “They possess hardly anything except in common”. (Henretta, p. 15) Including European rather than American Indian perspectives on the development of American Indian culture is repeated when the textbooks attempt to describe American Indian culture through a European economic model. This is illustrated in the statement that “As in non market economies and nonstate societies throughout history, these exchanges followed the principle of reciprocity – the mutual bestowing of gifts and favors – rather than the notion that one party should accumulate profits or power at the expense of the other.” (Boyer, p. 6) A European economic model cannot fully explain an American Indian concept, nor can phrases such as “societies throughout history” give full credit to
modern communities and cultures that place a value on generosity. Instead, they help to further the notion that American Indian cultures are static or existed only in the past.

One textbook did appear to attempt to describe modern American Indian communities as continuing to demonstrate and value generosity. They write that “Descriptions of the culture of the modern Shoshones suggest that their emphasis on sharing and gift giving, their condemnation of hoarding, and their limitations on the accumulation of material goods, fostered by a nomadic lifestyle, prevented individuals or families from acquiring excessive wealth and forged a strong sense of community among these people of the desert.” (Faragher, p. 11) Taken out of context, this statement seems to support the idea that in modern Shoshone communities, generosity is alive and doing well. However, placed within the context of Chapter 1 of the textbook and the mention of their nomadic lifestyle, it is evident that the authors are referring to modern societies as being non-archaic. This means that this is not a contemporary society that they are referring to, but again a pre-reservation community.

Question 2: Do they give/share selflessly and humbly?

As I analyzed the selected U.S. history textbooks for examples of American Indians giving and/or sharing selflessly and humbly, I looked for examples that would truly express selflessness and humbleness. As mentioned in the analysis of Question 1, being generous to one’s family and community was expected and essential to the survival of one and all. This is not an example of selflessness as the giver is benefitting from sharing by the survival of the community. The role of reciprocity steps in, and the giver expects that he or she will also benefit from this communal generosity when they are in
need. However, there were examples in the textbooks when American Indians gave selflessly to people that they expected nothing from and probably did not expect to see again.

In the textbooks, American Indian communities are shown to be generous with the arriving colonist at Plymouth, Jamestown, and many other early colonies. In fact, they are often credited with the very survival of these European colonial communities. The textbooks are full of examples of individual European or non-native Americans benefitting from American Indian generosity. These stories come in the examples of adopted captives, runaway slaves, and in individual encounters on what the textbooks describe as the frontier. An example would be the story Benjamin Franklin told of “how he would visit a nearby Indian family, ‘where I never failed to be treated with whortleberries, blackberries, strawberries or apples, plums, peaches, etc.’” (Foner, p. 401) Another example of American Indian generosity is when a colonist states that “we stayed for two days, refreshing ourselves with good venison, birds, and fish, which the savages gave us.” (Henretta, p 46) The use of the word savage draws attention away from their generosity, but this is another example of American Indians helping European colonists.

Selfless and humble generosity was not only demonstrated by the giving of sustenance. The textbooks also depict American Indians attempting to teach European or non-native American colonists how to grow corn, find game, and other life saving skills for living in what becomes the United States. Those stories are common are found in all of the textbooks and are usually repeated around Thanksgiving Day. However, one textbook depicts American Indian communities attempting to teach European colonists on how to be generous. The textbook provides this quote, “You are covetous, and neither
generous nor kind,” the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia told acquisitive French fur traders. “As for us, if we have a morsel of bread, we share it with our neighbor.”

(Henretta, p. 15) This quote is one of the few in which American Indians are allowed a chance to discuss in their own terms the trait of generosity. It is also one of the few times American Indians are depicted chastising Europeans and attempting to teach them cultural lessons.

The idea of generous American Indians who give selflessly without thought of the cost is a stereotype that is often presented. The “helpful sidekick” has been popularized in films and novels, and can be perpetuated in textbooks by only depicting American Indians as helping the colonist and explorers, when they are not at war, of course. This is an incomplete truth, and many textbooks do not devote the space to exploring these complex relationships. While American Indian communities did, and still do, value generosity and reciprocity, they also had to provide for their own communities. One textbook gives the example of “The local Powhatan Indians sold them [European colonist] some corn but, with their own supplies running low, declined to offer more.”

(Boyer, p. 47) This leads to a war where the colonist attack the Powhatans for not coming to their assistance, but this still stands as one of the few examples where an American Indian community demonstrated that there was only so much they would, or could, give to others.

**Question 3: Is the revered bounty of Mother Earth shared?**

When I analyzed the selected U.S. history textbooks for how American Indians are portrayed sharing the revered bounty of Mother Earth, I began by defining the revered
bounty of Mother Earth as the needed items for survival. I defined these items as food, shelter, and security. I looked for examples of how American Indians shared these needed items within their communities and how others viewed this system of generosity.

As was mentioned in Question 1, the idea of reciprocity in regards to generosity is an important concept in American Indian communities. While the concept is never fully developed or discussed in any of the selected textbooks, it is touched upon when describing generosity. One example is from the statement that “Strong customs dictated that members would share food and other scarce goods, fostering an ethic of reciprocity rather than one of self interest.” (Henretta, p. 15) As previously mentioned statements concerning reciprocity, this a generalized statement, but at least the concept is being mentioned. The idea that members of a group would share scarce resources and believe that others would do so as well to accomplish the shared goal of community survival is an important concept that needs to be mentioned. The belief that individuals can share their resources but also expect others to share as well provides not only food and shelter, but also the needed feeling of security which allows a community to progress.

The selected textbooks consistently compared American Indian societies to European societies, especially in regards to communal efforts and accumulation of wealth. One colonist is quoted as saying “There are no beggars among them,’ reported the English colonial leader Roger Williams of New England’s Indians.” (Foner, p. 15) This is obviously and oversimplified statement, but from a European colonist viewpoint, it summarized another statement from the authors of that textbook that “Although Indians had no experience of the wealth enjoyed at the top of European society, under normal circumstances no one in Indian societies went hungry or experienced the extreme
inequalities of Europe.” (Foner, p. 15) This statement demonstrates the shared American Indian cultural characteristic of taking care of the poor and sharing Mother Earth’s bounty, and how unique it is compared to European society. However, this statement is not completely accurate, and contradictory examples will be analyzed in Value Four.

**Question 4: Are they encouraged by family, friends, or tribe to develop their talents for the good of all?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks on whether or not they portrayed American Indians being encouraged by their family, friends, or tribe to develop their talents for the good of all, I was initially hesitant to begin researching. Among American Indians, there is the idea that traditional communities act like a bucket of crabs and pull down anyone who tries to succeed. This idea is counter to what I was searching for, but I was happy to find examples that illustrate to young students American Indians being encouraged to develop their talents.

Within the selected U.S. history textbooks, the lives of individual American Indians are not examined to illustrate how they interacted with their community in a personal way. Generalized statements regarding reciprocity gives the idea that community members work together, but beyond sharing food and scarce resources, details are not discussed. However, in a few of the textbooks examples are given of parents encouraging their children to do well in school. One textbook states that “Many parents urged their sons and daughters to study hard at white-run schools, learn English, and develop skills to help them succeed in the new world that confronted them.” (Henretta, p. 519) The same textbook recounts an American Indian’s school
experience, that “He remembered that when he left for boarding school, his father said, “We have now entered upon this life, and there is no going back… Remember, my boy, it is the same as if I sent you on your first war-path. I shall expect you to conquer.”(Henretta, p. 519) These examples, while not ample show that some American Indians were being encouraged to develop their talents for the good all by going to school and studying hard.

However, not all of the examples given in the selected textbooks were the same. Some of the American Indian communities did not value a school based education, and preferred to preserve their own teaching styles and the knowledge of their ancestors. One textbook gives the example of “The Iroquois leaders rejected the invitation because they found that boys who had gone to college “were absolutely good for nothing being neither acquainted with the true methods of killing deer, catching beaver, or surprising an enemy.”(Faragher, p. 9) This statement can be interpreted in many ways, either the Iroquois leaders did want to develop the boys talent at college, or that they wanted to keep them home and develop their talents as hunters and warriors. The text surrounding this statement does not lend itself to either interpretation, allowing the reader to make their own decision.

**Question 5: Are they represented as uniquely separate individuals as well as members of the group?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I searched for examples of American Indians being represented as uniquely separate individuals as well as members of a group. In traditional American Indian cultures, identity was often based on the
family and community relationships, as has already been mentioned in the previous four questions. However, for this question I looked for examples not of how this was practiced, but rather how this played a part in their identity formation.

Many of the selected textbooks gave definition like examples of archaic American Indian cultures to describe this concept of American Indian identity. Statements like “Most Native Americans, for example, defined their place in society through kinship” (Divine, p. 7) and “Indian identity centered on the immediate social group – a tribe, village, chiefdom, or confederacy” (Foner, p. 13) were typical of the comments found in the textbooks. Some of the textbooks followed up these statements with examples such as “they lived in multigenerational extended families” (Boyer, p. 16) to illustrate the social ties or gave regional examples such as “For all the Plains Indians, life revolved around extended family ties and tribal cooperation.” (Boyer, p. 505) These are important concepts to present, and one textbook even went so far to touch on this concept by illustrating the ethnocentric idea of any single term that could define all of these indigenous families, clans, and communities by stating that “They did not think of themselves as a single unified people, an idea invented by Europeans and only many years later adopted by Indians themselves.” (Foner, p. 13) The context of that statement is, again, set during the archaic period, but it has relevance throughout American Indian history.

The important of the individual as part of a family was best illustrated in the examples the selected U.S. history textbooks provided on the boarding school experiences. The policy of the United States government at the time was to remove American Indian children from their families and communities to attend schools on the
other side of the country. This was done in an attempt to erase the communal and familial ties of tribal life and to speed up the assimilation process. The textbooks mention this in statements such as “To think of themselves as individuals or members of a nuclear family, as white Americans were demanding, meant repudiating the clan, the very essence of Indian life.” (Henretta, p. 214) This was difficult for American Indians, and as the textbooks mention, also on those that thought this was the best process. The textbooks give examples such as “Frustrated missionaries often concluded that little could be accomplished on the reservations because the bonds of kinship were so strong. Yet they had difficulty enrolling students in off-reservation boarding schools because so many parents hated to relinquish their children.” (Henretta, p. 519) These references give examples of how important the extended family was, and in some places still is, so important to American Indian identity.

The bonds created in indigenous communities were so strong, they often spanned the distance of both miles and biology. Some of the textbooks mention this with statements like “Strangers were formally adopted to take the places of family members killed in battle or overcome by sickness.” (Faragher, p. 85) This allowed people who were not biologically related to be integrated into the community and to become contributing members. Of course, not every community enjoyed living in close proximity to each other or living in multigenerational houses. These communities, such as those in the Southwest, were also mentioned as an example of the diversity within American Indian communities. Statements such as “Often described as individualists, desert farmers lived in dispersed settlements that the Spanish called Rancherias, their dwellings separated by as much as a mile.” (Faragher, p. 21) These desert communities
may not have liked to live in close proximity, but each individual knew their membership in the larger community, regardless of the miles separating their houses.

The selected U.S. history textbooks did give examples of American Indians portrayed as individuals and as members of a larger group. There were not many examples, but they were there. Of course, most of the written material in the textbooks referred to tribal groups or communities as a whole, but at least a small portion of the text was devoted to how American Indians viewed themselves as part of this whole.

**Question 6: Are children portrayed as “lovingly taken care of” by family, relatives, and non-relatives?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks for examples of American Indian children being portrayed as lovingly taken care of by family, relatives, and non-relatives, I had to search for examples of American Indian familial life that was not definitional. This was not easy, as has been discussed in the first five questions, the selected textbooks are more apt to provide broad, generalized statements about American Indians rather than to provide examples of everyday life. However, there were a few examples of American Indian children and how their life was structured.

The selected textbooks seemed fascinated by the lack of physical punishment traditionally used in American Indian communities. Statements such as “Using physical punishment sparingly, if at all, Indians punished children psychologically, by public shaming” (Boyer, p. 18) and “Children were raised without physical punishment and were taught to treat each adult clan member with the respect accorded to relatives” (Boyer, p. 505) Children in most American Indian societies were not physically punished,
and the textbooks do mention this. The last statement also mentions that American Indian children were taught to respect all adults, especially members of their own clans, as they would their parents. This practice varied from community to community, as one textbook mentions that “The primary male adult in a child’s life was the mother’s oldest brother, not the father.” (Boyer, p. 16) This does not mean that the bond between father and child and was not strong. Two well known examples were cited in the textbooks, the first and lesser known example being Hiawatha. The textbook states that “When Hiawatha advocated peace, an evil sorcerer caused the deaths of his seven beloved daughters. Greif-stricken, Hiawatha wandered alone into the forest.” (Boyer, p. 3) Hiawatha clearly loved his daughters, and so too did Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas. Another textbook states that John Smith was “rescued by Pocahontas, reputedly the favorite among his many children by dozens of wives.” (Foner, p. 64) The bond between children and the adults was very strong, but were not fully explored in the selected textbooks.

The bond between parents and children in American Indian communities is very strong. As was mentioned before, one of the best examples of this is the boarding school experiences. Children were taken away from their parents and sent to schools where they were isolated from their families. Every textbook mentioned this, and the reason for it, with statements such as “Children, hair trimmed short, would be placed in boarding schools where, removed from their parents’ influence, they would shed traditional values and cultural practices.” (Faragher, p. 634) This was not always the case, as all of textbooks included examples of children running away from the boarding to schools to
reunite with their families and of students returning to their communities when they were finished with school.

**Value 2: Respect for the Elderly and Women**

As developed by Sanchez (2007), Value 2 is Respect for the Elderly and Women. When I collected data from the selected U.S. history textbooks regarding this value, certain words stood out to me as topics that were gathering attention in the collection of this data. The topics illustrated in the figure below are those that drive the presentation of data in the following questions.

![Figure 3: Respect for the Elderly and Women](image-url)
Question 1: Are male/female elders shown proper respect for their wisdom?

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks for their portrayal of male/female elders, I looked to see if they were shown proper respect for their wisdom. In many American Indian cultures, elders are looked upon as a resource for learning about culture, politics, love, and life in general. This is not to say that everyone who has reached a certain age is an elder, and it should be noted that there is a difference between being elderly and being an elder. (Mark, 1985, Medicine, 2001) Elders are people, men and women, who are respected for the knowledge they have accumulated throughout their lifetime. This is not something that everyone can achieve, regardless of how many years they lived. However, in most American Indian communities respect is shown to the elderly, regardless of their status as an elder.

In all of the selected U.S. history textbooks, the focus was on young men who dealt with colonial or U.S. governments as diplomats or warriors. The day to day life of American Indian communities was not addressed, and the role of an elder was not clearly discussed. When comparing the comparison between the role of male American Indian elders and female American Indian elders, the female American Indian elders received more attention. The female elders of the Iroquois, also known as the People of the Longhouse, received special attention in several of the textbooks. Statements such as “Among the Iroquois, for example, women collectively owned the fields, distributed food, and played a decisive role in selecting chiefs. In New England, women often served as sachems, or political leaders” (Boyer, p. 17) or “As in the longhouse, women played important roles in the confederacy, choosing male leaders who would represent their lineages and chiefdom on the Iroquois council” (Faragher, p. 25) demonstrate the
importance of female elders among the Iroquois. In many American Indian communities female elders played a special role, and the textbooks touch on this with “In most tribes, women played an important role in political, economic, and religious activities.” (Divine, p. 422) The general importance of female American Indian elders, with the lack of information regarding male American Indian elders, was consistent in all of the selected U.S. history textbooks.

Male American Indian elders were mentioned in the selected textbooks, but usually in regards to their relationship with female American Indian elders. One textbook mentions that “Tribal leaders were almost always men, but women played an important role in certain religious ceremonies, and female elders often helped to select male village leaders and took part in tribal meetings.” (Foner, P. 15) Another textbooks mentions that “Most peoples reckoned their descent matrilineally (back through generations of mothers), and after marriage, husbands left the homes of their mothers to reside with the families of their wives. Women controlled household and village life, and were influential in the matrilineal clans that linked communities together. Councils of elderly men governed the confederacies, but were joined by clan matrons for annual meetings at the central council house.” (Faragher, P. 23) These passages indicate the importance of the male role, but only relation in or in conjunction with the female role. Some of the selected textbooks used this for a deeper analysis of the socio-political make up of the female role. An example would be “But native women jealously guarded traditional culture, a system that often sanctioned polygamy – a husband having several wives – and gave women substantial authority over the distribution of food within the village.”
Looking at the deeper meanings allows the textbooks to analyze cultural and political movements that might not be familiar to the reader.

Not all of the portrayals of elders, male or female, came across in a positive manner. A prime example would be this statement, “For giving up the land that became Charleston, for example, the “Squaw Sachem” of the Pawtuckets, one of a number of women Algonquian leaders, received twenty-one coats, nineteen fathoms of wampum, and three bushels of corn.” (Faragher, p. 73) The tone of the statement is problematic, calling into question either the female elders business sense, her immoral selling of the land, or both. Since the event did take place, it is only fair to present the information to balance the information provided regarding female American Indian elders. Perhaps the most disturbing part of this statement is the use of the word squaw. This is a slang word for the female genitals, and should never be used to reference a woman.

**Question 2: Are they portrayed as appropriate role models with whom the young can identify?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were portrayed as appropriate role models with whom the young could identify. In order to find role models, I looked for examples of individuals who lived a moral life and gave back to their community. I also looked for examples of such individuals that were portrayed as real people and not as a supporting sound bite to represent a larger theme. In that context, no American Indians were presented that could serve as role model or with whom young American Indians could identify. Prior knowledge of individual American Indians presented in a historical context may allow them to serve as
role model, but not just as they are presented in the selected textbooks. Within the last one hundred years, American Indians were rarely presented, and none in such detail that could serve as a role model. Not one of the five selected textbooks mentioned this critical idea.

**Question 3: Are women portrayed as integral, respected, and important, instead of detached and subservient?**

While analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I examined the ways in which women were portrayed. I sought to answer the question of whether or not women were portrayed as integral, respected, and important, instead of detached and subservient. In each of the selected textbooks, the role of female American Indians in society was examined. The information may have been generalized, but it provided an idea of what a woman’s role was in a traditional American Indian community.

The selected textbooks maintained their focus on the Iroquois and matrilineal societies. Exceptions did stand out, such as “In contrast to the Iroquois, most Algonquian peoples were patrilineal” (Faragher, p. 25) and “The Plains tribes divided labor tasks according to gender.” (Divine, p. 422) Of course, the textbooks make up for this later in regards to historical content, but for these communities their portrayal of women is lacking.

In general, the selected textbooks focused on the division of labor between the genders. The textbooks mention that “The women cultivated maize and other crops while the men hunted and fished” (Divine, p. 8), “Men took responsibility for fishing as well as hunting, while women procured wild plant products” (Boyer, p. 6) and that “Because men
were frequently away on the hunt, women took responsibility not only for household
duties but for most agricultural work as well.” (Foner, p. 16) At times the selected
textbooks would give specific tribal or regional descriptions, such as “In the Muskogean-
speaking societies – and among the Algonquian-speaking and Iroquoian peoples to the
north and east – the men hunted and fished while the women, using flint hoes, raised
corn, squash, and beans.” (Henretta, p. 15)

In addition to the importance of their work, the five selected textbooks illustrated
the importance of American Indian women by highlighting the matrilineal clan system.
Statements such as “Most, although not all, Indian societies were matrilineal – that is,
centered on clans or kinship groups in which children became members of the mother’s
family, not the father’s” (Foner, p. 15) were common in all of the selected textbooks.
Specific tribal groups and regions were discussed, for example “The farming bands living
in areas eventually claimed by England were often matrilineal, which meant in effect that
the women owned the planting fields and houses, maintained tribal customs, and had a
role in tribal government” (Divine, p.7) or “Iroquois women produced crops of corn,
beans, squash, and sunflowers sufficient to support up to fifty longhouses, each occupied
by a large matrilineal extended family.” (Faragher, p. 23-24) When discussing the
matrilineal clan system, the selected textbooks presented information that demonstrated
an American Indian woman’s respected role.

Another way of demonstrating the respected role of American Indian women is by
illustrating the American Indian man’s role with a matrilineal clan system. The selected
textbooks point out that unlike the European social model, “Indian women owned
dwellings and tools, and a husband generally moved to live with the family of his wife.”
The textbooks also point out that “In some Native American societies, such as the Iroquois, the extended families of women took precedence over those of men” (Boyer, p. 16) and that “In these matrilineal societies, fathers stood outside the main lines of descent and authority.” (Henretta, p. 15) Statements such as these point out that American Indian women had greater rights and privileges than their European counterparts. In fact, one of the selected textbooks even mentions that “Membership in a family defined women’s lives, but they openly engaged in premarital sexual relations and could even choose to divorce their husbands.” (Foner, p. 15) The ideas of sexual freedom and divorce were uncommon in European and colonial American societies, so the textbooks are again demonstrating an American Indian woman’s position of respect and power in comparison to that of a European of colonial woman.

The respect shown to women by these examples in the preceding paragraphs was not always shown to women. American Indian women were often used as a tool to bridge the gap between different cultures, as is demonstrated by the selected textbooks’ presentation of the Pocahontas story. The selected textbooks mention that “Powhatan arranged a marriage between his daughter Pocahontas and John Rolfe, an English colonist” (Henretta, p. 51) and that “Pocahontas subsequently became an intermediary between the two peoples, bringing the food and messages to Jamestown.” (Foner, p. 64-65) Powhatan used his own daughter to create a bond with a foreign power, and he was not the only one to do so. The selected textbooks move forward in history and discuss how “most trappers, like the British and French before them, sought accommodation and friendship with Indian peoples; nearly half of them contracted long-lasting marriages with Indian women, who not only helped in the trapping and curing of furs but also acted
as vital diplomatic links between the white and Indian worlds.” (Faragher, p. 458) The role of diplomat and helping two distinct peoples learn to live in peace are very important roles, but reducing women to a tool in order to achieve this goal is not respectful.

The selected textbooks also mention times when women were completely disrespected. For instance, the textbooks mention that “French Jesuits seemed especially eager to undermine the independence of Native American women.” (Divine, p. 9) Undermining an entire gender’s independence is cruel, but the textbooks point out that “Some of Handsome Lake’s supporters accused women who rejected his teachings of witchcraft, and even killed a few of them.” (Boyers, p. 211) Killing women accused of witchcraft reduces a woman’s role in the community, and instills fear into others. Reducing women’s roles and regarding them as property was also practiced at times in various places, as is mentioned in “Some Kiowa men owned hundreds of horses and had several “chore wives” and captive children who worked for them.” (Henretta, p. 403) In an idealized world, American Indian and all women would be treated with respect. The selected U.S. history textbooks present information that this is not always the case.

**Question 4: Are the younger depicted learning from elders, especially through story-telling?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I searched for examples of young American Indians learning from their elders, especially through storytelling. I was unable to locate even one example of young American Indians learning from their elders. The only examples of storytelling were in relation to the American Indian prophets, yet
the importance of storytelling to the continuation of tradition, the transmission of knowledge, and for entertainment to American Indian communities was not discussed.

**Question 5: Are elders portrayed speaking to the younger without interruption?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks for examples of elders being portrayed speaking to young American Indians without interruption, I was initially hopeful. After my last search revealed no examples of American Indian elders making use of storytelling to instruct the younger generation, I hoped that at least elders would be portrayed being respected by young American Indians. Some of the previous questions illustrate the amount of information regarding the generalized role of American Indians, especially female American Indian elders. Something as simple as showing enough respect not to interrupt their elders would probably be portrayed in the selected textbooks.

Instead of finding the examples of respect I expected when researching this topic, I discovered examples of young American Indians showing disrespect to their elders. An example would be when one of the selected textbooks reported that “Young militants challenged their elders in the National Congress of American Indians.” (Henretta, p. 879)

Certain groups of young American Indians began challenging the National Congress of American Indians and other established groups in 1960, and this is one of the few instances the selected textbooks used to portray modern American Indians. Of course, rather than respecting they established organizations, they are portrayed challenging their elders. Instead of learning from and listening to their elders, the selected U.S. history
textbooks show a break down in the relationship between the younger and older generation.

**Value 3: Getting Along With Nature**

As developed by Sanchez (2007), Value 3 is Getting Along With Nature. When I collected data from the selected U.S. history textbooks regarding this value, certain words stood out to me as topics that were gathering attention in the collection of this data. The topics illustrated in the figure below are those that drive the presentation of data in the following questions.

![Diagram of topics related to getting along with nature](image)

Figure 4: Getting along with nature
Question 1: Are Native Americans depicted as respecting the natural harmony of nature, but not as compulsive environmentalist?

As I analyzed the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were depicted as respecting the natural harmony of nature, but were not portrayed as compulsive environmentalists. In general, the information regarding American Indians was again restricted to the archaic period and the early fur trade era. The selected textbooks contained information that presented different aspects of American Indian relationships with the environment, and presented how those relationships changed over time.

In the selected textbooks, American Indians were not portrayed as compulsive environmentalists. They were, however, portrayed as having a different view of the natural world than Europeans. For example, it was mentioned that “Indians saw land, the basis of economic life for both hunting and farming societies, as a common resource, not an economic commodity.” (Foner, p. 14) As the basis of economic life and survival, American Indians had to understand how to best live with and within the natural world. For example, “Woodland peoples’ method of land management was environmentally sound and economically productive.” (The Boyer, p. 14) This statement has relevance to modern readers, as it portrays American Indians having a green economy centuries before Europeans and colonists developed similar concerns. Examples of how American Indians maintained an environmentally sound economic life are also portrayed, such as the quote that says, “Like the bison, the Indians dispersed across the landscape to minimize their impact on the land, wintering in the river valleys and returning to the High Plains in summer.” (The Boyer, p. 506) Comparing American Indians to bison, while
may be offensive, is nothing new. Racism aside, it does portray American Indians living with the natural rhythms of the land and how they did it.

The selected textbooks focused on hunting, but American Indian agricultural practices were not completely ignored. From a Eurocentric model, agriculture is a sign of civilization. When American Indian cultures, containing marks of civilization as defined by a Eurocentric model, did not participate in sedentary agriculture the selected textbooks attempted to explain why. An example of one such attempt is “Moreover, ignorance of cultivation was never the reason cultures failed to take up farming, for hunter-gatherer peoples understood a great deal about plant reproduction.” (Faragher, p. 14) When using the model of the agricultural revolution, it seems necessary to explain why some cultures chose not participate in sedentary agriculture. However, the use of the Three Sisters, corn, beans, and squash, were discussed in all of the selected textbooks as an example of how American Indians participated in farming and raised food crops in such a way that did not deplete the soil. Woodland and Eastern American Indian farming communities tended to receive the most attention on farming practices, but desert farming communities were also mentioned in all of the selected textbooks. They were credited with “using irrigation to grow two crops a year”. (Henretta, p. 12) The use of irrigation indicated that the desert farming communities not only had adopted sedentary agriculture but had learned to adapt the environment to serve their needs.

American Indians are usually portrayed, as mentioned before, like the bison. They are usually portrayed as living with the land, but not adapting it to their needs or making significant changes to the landscape. The stereotype of the compulsive environmentalist is a strong one, and information regarding how American Indians
impacted the environment is not usually presented. The selected U.S history textbooks did provide information on how American Indians alter the environmental landscape for their own benefit. For example, one of the selected textbooks mentions that “Indians had transformed the natural world, making it over into a human landscape.” (Faragher, p. 25) The concept of a human landscape rather than a natural landscape is significant in regards to overcoming the compulsive environmentalist stereotype. Another textbook reports the views of the first European explorers, that the “Algonquians engaged in controlled burning, creating parklike forests that, in the eyes of the first Europeans, were “very beautiful and commodious.” (Henretta, p. 8) The natural world that the Europeans found in the Americas was not natural, but created by American Indians for their benefit. This can also be seen in other textbooks that state “At one suck kill site in southeastern Colorado, dated at about 6500 BCE, archaeologists uncovered the remains of nearly 200 bison that had been slaughtered and then systematically butchered on a single occasion.” (Faragher, p. 9) The slaughtering of so many bison at one time goes against the environmentalist stereotype, but does show that American Indians understood the natural world in which they lived and that they understood its processes in order to not only survive, but thrive.

In addition to the compulsive environmentalist stereotype, there is some discussion that American Indians did not live in harmony with natural rhythms, and that is why the Americas did not have large mammals like other parts of the world did. This reasoning seems to be in reaction to the stereotypical portrayal of American Indians as compulsive environmentalists. As an example, one of the selected textbooks mentions that “Lowered reproduction and survival rates of these large mammals may have forced
hunting bands to intensify their efforts, leading to what some archaeologist have called the “Pleistocene Overkill.” (Faragher, p. 9) This quotation does have reference to the archaeological record, but is phrased to present it as a currently held theory. Other textbooks explicitly state that “On the Great Plains, after hunting mastodons and other Paleolithic mammals to extinction, they adopted new weapons – the atlatl (a spear thrower) and later the bow and arrow – for bringing down swifter prey.” (Henretta, P. 8)

Statements such as this quote ignore other current theories regarding climate change that are just as relevant, but do not ignore the environmentally sound hunting and agricultural practices of American Indians.

Not all American Indian hunting and agricultural practices were environmentally sound, but they were the least environmentally impacting methods they had at the time. One such environmentally unsound practice documented by one of the selected textbooks was the method of killing bison by chasing them over a cliff. The textbook states that “Since a single buffalo could provide two hundred to four hundred pounds of meat and a band had no means of preserving and storing most of it, the latter practice was especially wasteful.” (The Boyer, p. 15) This statement is within the context of the archaic period, and at that time American Indians did not have sophisticated weapons with which to hunt bison. They did not willfully waste resources, but did so out of necessity. That changed over time as a traditional characteristic of respecting the environment gave way to greed.

The selected textbooks pay considerable attention to the fur trade as an example of interaction between American Indians and non-natives. One part of this interaction is the increased demand by non-natives for furs, and the American Indian ability to fulfill that want. One of the selected textbooks states that “There is no doubt that the sheer
extent of the fur industry – the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of beaver, deer, otter, and other animals – profoundly altered the environment.” (Henretta, p. 67) The other selected textbooks echo this with comments like “Once Indians began hunting for trade instead of just for their own needs, they quickly depleted the region’s beavers and other fur bearing animals” (The Boyer, p. 69) and “To pay for the trade goods, the Indians hunted more aggressively and even further reduced the population of fur-bearing mammals.” (Divine, p. 10) This is further expounded upon by noting that “Nor was the future bright, because the Indians’ subsistence needs and the overkill for the export trade was cutting the size of the buffalo herds.” (Henretta, p. 404) This portrayal, while environmentally negative, is accurate of American Indian practices at the time. It also does not support the compulsive environmentalist stereotype, but it also does not support the idea of American Indians respecting the natural harmony of nature.

**Question 2: Are there references to entities possessing a spirit or power to be respected?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I searched for examples of references to entities possessing a spirit or power to be respected. The textbooks references American Indian religions in regards to revivalist movements such as those started by Wovoka or Handsome Lake. However, the selected textbooks did not provide much information about physical entities possessing a spirit or power to be respected.

The only physical entities mentioned in the selected textbooks that contained a spirit or power to be respected was the environment. Sometimes a particular geographic feature, such as the Black Hills, was mentioned, but more often than not the textbooks only referenced general American Indian spiritual beliefs towards the physical world.
Comments such as “Native American religions revolved around the convictions that all nature was alive, pulsating with spiritual power” (The Boyer, p. 17) and “Spiritual power, they believed, suffused the world, and sacred spirits could be found in all kinds of living and inanimate things – animals, plants, trees, water, and wind” (Foner, p. 14) While completely generalizing the spiritual beliefs of hundreds of different people, and doing so in a way that seems a lot like Disney’s animated film Pocahontas, the selected textbooks do portray the natural world as being a part of American Indians spiritual world. One of the selected textbooks attempts to make American Indian spirituality seem less exotic by putting it into a global perspective of that time. The selected textbook states that “In some respects, however, Indian religion was not that different from popular spiritual beliefs in Europe.” (Foner, p. 14) Many people around the world during the archaic period lived closely with the Earth and believed in spiritual forces. While it is only is passing, the selected textbooks do mention that.

Question 3: Is the family unit depicted, teaching children love, responsibility, and life?

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked for examples of how the American Indian family life was portrayed. In particular I looked to see if the family unit was depicted teaching children love and responsibility. In the selected textbooks, the American Indian family unit was not explored. All of the selected textbooks included passages that discussed an individual American Indian family or two, but none dedicated space to how the family unit interacted with each other, raised children, or passed on cultural traditions. All of the selected textbooks did make general statements regarding the role of women as keepers of tradition, but not how the traditions were passed on to
the younger generation. The concept of love was not discussed in the selected textbooks, and the bond between parents, grandparents, and children were usually only mentioned briefly in regards to the boarding school experience or in reference to the U.S. government’s attempts to break up extended families into single, nuclear family living arrangements.

**Question 4: Is the humanness of Native Americans recognized, i.e., laughing, playing games, having fun, being with family and friends, etc.?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I searched for examples of the humanness of American Indians being portrayed, such as in laughing, playing games, having fun, and being with family and friends. These examples were not present in the selected textbooks. American Indians were portrayed as family groups from an anthropological perspective in all of the selected textbooks, but the interaction between family members and friends were not explored in any of the selected textbooks. Examples of laughing and playing games were also not present in the selected textbooks. Examples of individual American Indians interacting with others were limited to political and economic issues, and did not mention personal issues unless they were part of a filed grievance. This fact is another reminder that omission is another form of bias within textbooks.
Question 5: Is a language of respect utilized in referring to Native Peoples, i.e., avoidance of offensive and stereotypical terminology?

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I searched for examples of the authors using a language of respect in referring to Native peoples, i.e., avoidance of offensive and stereotypical terminology. In the past, as the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood illustrated in their study (1974), textbooks included offensive terms for American Indians and used words with a positive connotation for those of European descent. Since that time many studies, such as those by Ravitch (1985, 2004, 2011), have pointed out the revisions textbooks have undergone and the removal of any language that people may find offensive. With that in mind, I analyzed the selected textbooks to see what language was used in regards to American Indians.

In the selected textbooks, a language of respect was used in referring to Native Peoples. Words such as savage and squaw did appear, but only as quotations and not as the words of the author. In general, information related to American Indians was stated as politically correct as possible. Some of the selected textbooks even dedicated space to explaining tribal names and their origins. An example from one of the selected textbooks is “Natives, of course, referred to themselves by their own names. For example, the people of the mid-Atlantic coast called themselves Lenni Lenape, meaning “true men”; a large group of natives in the western Great Lakes country called themselves Lakota, or “the allies”; and the nomadic hunters of the desert Southwest used the name Dine (pronounced “dee nay”), meaning simply “the people.” Europeans came to know these
three groups by rather different names: the Delawares (from the principal river of the mid-Atlantic region) the Sioux, and the Apaches (both of which meant “enemy” in the language of the neighboring tribes). (Faragher, p. 6) Not only did the selected textbooks not use offensive language, they at times even attempted to point out that how American Indian communities are popularly known are not what they call themselves. They also point out that in some cases, such as the Sioux and Apaches, the names they are popularly known by can be offensive.

**Question 6: Are they portrayed as speaking “broken” English?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were portrayed speaking broken English. All of the selected textbooks included speeches and monologues from famous American Indians. All of the selected textbooks translated the speeches into English and did not portray the speakers as stereotypically speaking imperfect, or broken, English.

**Question 7: Is their spirituality/religion respectfully portrayed via ceremony, or is it referred to as superstitious, heathen, meaningless, or trivialized ceremonies, dances, songs, or “war whoops”?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks for the portrayal of American Indian spirituality/religion, I looked for it being portrayed as superstition, heathen, meaningless, or trivialized as dances, songs, or war whoops. The selected textbooks did mention American Indian spirituality/religion, but not in a way that would portray it as anything less than a respected way of belief. One of the selected textbooks even mentions that “In some respects, however, Indian religion was not that different from
popular spiritual beliefs in Europe.” (Foner, p. 14) By comparing American Indian religions to those of Europe, it does lend them a legitimacy that is not given to superstitions and war whoops. However, the selected textbooks do generalize the hundreds of American Indian religions and forms of spirituality into one generic belief system.

**Question 8: Are they depicted with a wide range of physical features, avoiding the “Red Man” stereotype?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were depicted with a wide range of physical features, avoiding the “Red Man” stereotype. The only physical descriptions relating to American Indians in the selected textbooks are quotes from European explorers describing American Indians as tall and well proportioned. The textbook also include portraits and pictures that illustrate the physical features of American Indians.

In addition, the selected textbooks do include information regarding the diversity of peoples included under the term American Indian. One example is “The most striking feature of Native American society at the time Europeans arrived was its sheer diversity.” (Foner, p. 12) Of course, neither American Indians nor Europeans thought of all indigenous people in the Americas as one group, but a statement such as this does challenge that modern and still current conception that all American Indians are one people. Another example from a selected textbook is “Physically and linguistically diverse groups moved to form loosely organized confederacies, unions of mutual convenience, that effectively restrained interethnic hostilities.” (Divine, p. 85) While
neither of these examples contain descriptions that challenge the “Red Man” stereotype, they do attempt to dispel the idea that all American Indians are one people.

**Question 9: Are they dressed in culturally authentic garb, or are they all wearing feathers and headdresses regardless of the culture?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I examined the clothing of the American Indians portrayed in the textbooks. I looked to see if they were dressed in culturally authentic garb, or if they were all wearing feathers and headdresses regardless of the culture. In the selected textbooks, the American Indians were portrayed wearing clothing that was culturally appropriate. The majority of pictures featuring American Indians were of people from the Great Plains, so they did wear feather headdress at the appropriate time. This may lead to the idea that all American Indians dress this way, but the selected textbooks also included examples of American Indians who did not dress with feathers and headdresses.

One example is the portrait of a Delaware chief named Tishcohan that was painted in 1735. (Faragher, p. 132) This portrait can be seen in Figure 1. In the portrait, there are no feathers or headdress depicted. Clothing that is important to Tishcohan and his culture at the time, such as blankets and a clay pipe, are depicted in the portrait. Tischcohan is not depicted in leather or with weapons that were not culturally appropriate for him, indicating the correct time and cultural area.
Another example of an American Indian being portrayed in culturally appropriate clothing is the portrait of Joseph Brant that was painted in 1786. (Faragher, p. 211) Joseph Brant, also known as Thayendanegea, was depicted in all of the selected textbooks. The portrait from one of the selected textbooks can be viewed in Figure 2. In the portrait, Joseph Brant is depicted wearing a feather headdress, but it is not the feather headdress of the Plains cultures. Instead, it is the traditional headdress of the Iroquois known as a gustoweh. Joseph Brant is Mohawk, one of the six nations comprising the Iroquois confederacy, so it is appropriate for him to be depicted wearing such a headdress. He is also depicted wearing a cloth shirt rather than leather, which is also
culturally appropriate for that time and area. Around his neck he is depicted wearing a shell necklace which was also popular among many American Indian communities.

Figure 6: Portrait of Joseph Brant (1743-1807).

When depicting American Indians, the selected textbooks portrayed American Indians wearing culturally appropriate clothing. However, non-American Indians were not always portrayed wearing culturally appropriate clothing. President Calvin Coolidge is depicted in one of the selected textbooks dressed as an “Indian chief”, wearing a long Plain’s style feather headdress and a blanket. (Faragher, p. 824) Under that, it is visible that he is wearing a modern suit typical of a politician or businessman in the United States. While Calvin Coolidge did claim to have American Indian heritage and was adopted into one of the Sioux tribes, he was not a member of an American Indian community and had no reason to dress in such a fashion except for the purpose of staged
photos. This is a classic example of cultural appropriation. A photograph similar to the ones in the selected textbooks can be seen in Figure 4.

![Figure 4: Photograph of Black Hawk and Son, Whirling Thunder (Foner, p. 398)](image)

**Figure 7: Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933)**

**Question 10: When depicted in contemporary times, are they dressed in “mainstream” garb depending on the setting?**

When analyzing the selected history U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were depicted dressed in mainstream, contemporary clothing. The selected textbooks do not contain much information regarding American Indians in modern times, so the majority of the portraits, photos, and descriptions of American Indians are over one hundred years old. However, the clothing they are depicted in is usually contemporary for that time and place.

One example is the portrait of Black Hawk and son, Whirling Thunder (Foner, p. 398). In this portrait (circa 1833), Whirling Thunder is depicted wearing his tradition clothing, including pierced ears, a blanket, and a mohawk hairstyle. His father, Black Hawk is depicted wearing contemporary clothing for the mainstream U.S. While he is
still depicted with pierced ears, he is wearing a black suit, white shirt, and a black tie. The father and son depicted together brings to focus the comparison between what is contemporary fashion in each of the communities that they related to more.

Another example, which is similar to the portrait of Black Hawk and Whirling Thunder, is the photographs of Tom Torlino. (Divine, p. 425) These photographs (1882) can be seen in Figure 3. In the first photograph, Tom Torlino is shown wearing the traditional clothing of his people, which was contemporary for that community. This includes pierced ears, long hair, blankets, and metal jewelry. The second photograph shows Tom Torlino after he has assimilated in the mainstream non-American Indian society. He is shown with short hair parted on the side, wearing a dark colored suit and tie, and a white shirt. Like the portrait of Black Hawk and Whirling Thunder, the photographs of Tom Torlino demonstrate not only the differences in assimilation, but also the difference in contemporary fashion between different communities.

![Figure 8: Tom Torlino (1882)](image-url)
The only portrait created of Pocahontas during her lifetime (1595-1617) also depicts her in contemporary, mainstream clothes. The portrait can be seen in Figure 4. The portrait of Pocahontas depicts her after her conversion to Christianity and travel to England. She is shown wearing contemporary English fashions, such as a hat, wide lace collars, gowns, fans, and sleeves with lace cuffs. This is in sharp contrast to how Pocahontas is usually depicted, which is in traditional American Indian clothes from the East coast.

Figure 9: Pocahontas (1595-1617)
Question 11: Do they have stereotyped surnames, or authentic translations, including “European” names?

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were portrayed as having stereotyped surnames, or authentic translations, including European names. More often than not, the American Indians mentioned by name are commonly known throughout the United States, such as Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Pocahontas, and Geronimo. While the English translations of names such as Sitting Bull and Crazy are contested, they are the standard name by which these are men known. However, the selected textbooks did present other lesser known American Indians, often using more than one name for same person.

One of the most commonly cited American Indians in the selected U.S. history textbooks is Joseph Brant. Joseph Brant is Mohawk is also known as Thayendanegea. (Faragher, p. 211; Foner, p. 238) In the selected textbooks his name in English and in Mohawk is given. An example is when one textbook states “Mohawk chief Thayendanegea, known to whites as Joseph Brant, was a devout member of the Church of England and helped to translate the Bible into the Iroquois language.” (Henretta, p. 175) Joseph Brant’s biculturality was mentioned in the selected textbooks and emphasized by using English and Mohawk names as well as mentioning his ties to both communities.

Another commonly cited American Indian in the selected textbooks is Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas. Powhatan is actually the official title of her father, and is not his name. This is mentioned in one of the selected textbooks and also offers the name of her uncle, her father’s brother. Their correct names are Powhatan (Wahunsonacock) and Opechancanough. (Foner) Less known American Indians are also mentioned in the
selected textbooks, some with names in their language and in English, some only in their language, and some only in English. William Apess is mentioned as a Pequot, but no name is given in his own language. (Foner, p. 237) Another Mohawk is mentioned in a textbook, stating that he is “the Mohawk chief Theyanoguin, called King Hendrick by the British” (Divine, p. 99) While Mohawks are often mentioned in regards to colonial contact and in the fur trade, American Indians from the Five Civilized Tribes are also mentioned. For instance, “Among the Creek and Cherokee, a group led by men of mixed Indian-white ancestry like Major Ridge and John Ross enthusiastically endorsed the federal policy of promoting “civilization.” (Foner, p. 319) In this case, only the names is English are given, and for people from the Five Civilized Tribes who were of mixed ancestry they may only have a name in English. Tom Torlino is another American Indian that is only presented with a name in English, which makes sense since it is in relation to his assimilation pictures. (Divine, p. 425)

Some American Indians who have English names are presented with only their name in their native language. Some examples are Osceola and Sequoyah, also known as Billy Powell and George Guess or Gist. They are better known by their names in their native language rather than the ones in English, which also disguises their mixed ancestry which is not often mentioned in U.S. history textbooks. This holds true for the five selected textbooks of this study as well.
Question 12: Are ceremonial artifacts correctly depicted and explained, such as fetishes, medicine bundles, the wearing of turquoise and silver, the medicine pipe or calumet (not “peace pipe”), etc.?

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked at the depiction of ceremonial artifacts and whether or not they were correctly depicted and explained. Photographs in the sections dedicated to American Indians do include artifacts such as pipes clothing. Their uses, and their meaning as described by the original owner, are often also included as the caption for with the photograph. One such example is wampum, which is included in all of the selected textbooks. In one of the selected textbooks, a photograph of the wampum is displayed in its correct colors and it is described as certifying a particular treaty. (Foner, p. 98) At other times, portraits and photographs of people are used to depict the use of artifacts.

The brother of Tecumseh, Tenskwatawa (1775-1836), is mentioned in all of the selected history textbooks. A portrait of him can be seen in Figure 5. (Henretta, p. 224) In this portrait, he is depicted wearing a turban, which is traditional to the people East of the Mississippi River. He is also depicted wearing a metal gorget, pierced ears, and metal cuffs. All of these are appropriate for that time and place. He is also depicted holding a strand of beads in his hand, which is a significant artifact associated with Tenskwatawa. His followers were told to use this strand of beads in order to “shake hands with prophet”, something that is unique to this one person, but shows the textbook accurately explaining an American Indian artifact.
Figure 10: Portrait of Tenskwatawa (1775-1836)

Figure 11: Little Plume and Yellow Kidney (1911)
Another example is the photograph of Little Plume and Yellow Kidney.

“Henretta, p. 517) In this photograph, many traditional artifacts are displayed, such as the leather clothing with intricate beadwork, the feather fan, and even the tipi itself. However, what is interesting about this photograph is not what is displayed, but what is not. The selected textbook points out that the photographer removed modern items, such as a clock, from the photographic. In the case of the photograph of Little Plume and Yellow Kidney, pointing out what traditional artifacts are missing is just as informative.

**Question 13: Are they portrayed eating a diverse diet, and using utensils or just their hands?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were portrayed eating a diverse diet, and whether or not they were portrayed using utensils or just their hands to eat. Interestingly, all of the selected textbooks contained information regarding the diet of American Indians. As has been consistent with American Indian information, the majority was dedicated to archaic and colonial periods, but it still provides information regarding traditional diets and food sources.

The diversity within American Indian diets was covered in all of the selected textbooks. At times, the description of American Indian diet was simple, and at others it was specific to certain tribal groups or communities. An example from a selected textbook would be “These peoples, numbering less than a million at the time of conquest, generally supplemented farming with seasonal hunting and gathering.” (Divine, p. 7) It is a simple description of a varied diet, but consistent with other selected textbooks, as is evident from this example, “Some Native American societies obtained most of their food
by farming, others by hunting, and still others by fishing, but most drew on a variety of food sources.” (Boyer, p. 4) The simple descriptions of diet allow for further descriptions of American Indian cultural diversity and interaction with the environment.

The selected textbooks also contained more complex descriptions of American Indian diets and how their food was obtained. For example, one of the textbooks mentions that “They also developed the practice of burning the woodlands and prairies to stimulate the growth of berries, fruits, and edible roots. These burns created meadows and edge environments that provided harvestable food and attracted grazing animals, which were hunted for their meat and hides.” (Faragher, p. 12) With this information, the selected textbook not only provides information about the variety American Indian diets, but also the complex methods employed in order to achieve a varied diet. Another similar example is “They learned to plant beans and squash with the maize, a mix of crops that provided a diet rich in amino acids and kept the soil fertile.” (Henretta, p. 8) Corn, beans, and squash are referred to as the Three Sisters and are an important part of many American Indian communities’ diets. Including this information, like the previous example, provides information not only about a diverse diet, but also the in depth environmental knowledge American Indians needed to raise crops without depleting the soil.

Specific regional and tribal descriptions of diet provided more information in regards to American Indian diets. The diversity within one American Indian community and across American Indian communities could be seen when specific examples were provided. One such example from a selected textbook is “The Plains tribes gave up farming almost entirely and hunted the buffalo, ranging widely over the rolling plains.”
(Divine, p. 421) This is an example of a society that did not follow the typical pattern of supplementing the diet with agriculture. Instead, they abandoned farming and depended almost solely on hunting buffalo. This information provides an example of the diversity across American Indian communities. Another example is “Although these people were once scornfully labeled “Diggers” because of their practice of gathering edible roots and were ridiculed for their “primitive” lifeways, they actually made very sophisticated adjustments to a harsh environment.” (Faragher, p. 11) This example also provides information relating to a community completely opposite of the Plains tribes, in that they relied almost solely on agriculture rather than hunting.

In analyzing the selected textbooks, I also looked for examples of how American Indians were portrayed eating. I particularly focused on whether or not they were portrayed using utensils or just their hands. I was able to locate many examples of the varied diets of American Indians, but not one of the selected textbooks contained information or pictures depicting American Indians eating.

**Question 14: Is accurate information provided concerning dwellings (or do they all seemingly live in tipis?), duties of adults and children, ceremonies, and practices?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if accurate information was provided concerning American Indian dwellings, or if all American Indians were portrayed living in tipis. I also looked for accurate information regarding the duties of adults and children, ceremonies, and practices. While the information was not evenly distributed, the selected textbooks did provide accurate information.
The selected textbooks describe a variety of American Indian dwellings, but the portraits of American Indian dwellings are consistently of the Plains tribes, most of which lived in tipis. Few examples were provided in the selected textbooks of longhouses, pueblos, or houses from the Southeast. While this may lead to the thinking that all American Indians live in tipis because of the amount of information provided on them, there are examples that show that not all American Indians live in tipis.

The selected textbooks do provide information regarding ceremonies and practices. These have been discussed in greater detail in the sections concerning religion and spiritual forces in the environment. The selected textbooks do generalize all American Indian ceremonies and cultural practices, but do provide examples of some such as the Mandan rain dances or the Lakota Sun Dance.

The selected textbooks do not provide information regarding the duties of adults and children. The selected textbooks do not address the interaction, function, or duties of American Indian families or the individuals that comprise them. The selected textbooks present more information regarding the different types of American Indian dwellings than they do the functioning of American Indian families.

**Question 15: Are they portrayed as contemporary people and not a past people who mysteriously disappeared and no longer exist?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I searched for examples of American Indians portrayed as contemporary people and not a past people who mysteriously disappeared and no longer exist. As has been mentioned many times within this chapter, the majority of the information in the selected textbooks regarding American
Indians has been set within the archaic and fur trade eras. These are not contemporary eras by any means, but American Indians are portrayed outside of these eras, just not with great frequency.

While searching for examples of American Indians portrayed as contemporary people, I came across an example of how American Indians are usually portrayed. This example was only in one of the selected textbooks, and reads as “In some histories of the colonial period, Native Americans make only a brief appearance, usually during the earliest years of conquest and settlement. After initial contact with the first European invaders, the Indians seem mysteriously to disappear from the central narrative of colonization, and it is not until the nineteenth century that they turn up again, this time to wage a last desperate battle against the encroachment of white society.” (Divine, p. 85) Sadly, this example speaks for all of the selected textbooks. The following photographs (Figures 12-16) of the selected U.S. history textbooks demonstrate just how little information is provided about American Indians after the “last desperate battle against the encroachment of white society.” The pages containing information regarding American Indians are tabbed, and the distribution of the tabs relate to the perceived placement of American Indians in the historical timeline of the United States.
Figure 12: Distribution of American Indian data, America's History

Figure 13: Distribution of American Indian data, Out of Many: A History of the American People
Figure 14: Distribution of American Indian data, *Give Me Liberty! An American History*

Figure 15: Distribution of American Indian data, *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*
American Indians were portrayed in the second half of the selected textbooks, but not nearly as often as they were in the first half. Information after 1900 was limited to the New Deal and Civil Rights, and a few of the selected textbooks contained information regarding Navajo code talkers. The information regarding American Indians in the modern era usually depicted American Indians as either poor, militant, or both. One textbook portrayed modern American Indians as assimilating into the mainstream when they stated that “Only handfuls of Flatheads, mostly elderly, continued to live together in pockets of rural poverty.” (Faragher, p. 637) In this case, tradition is linked with poverty for the Flatheads. Militancy is also a common theme for modern American Indians in all of the selected textbooks. An example would be the simple statement “The 1960s also witnessed an upsurge of Indian militancy.” (Foner, p. 1069) The American Indian Movement was given space in the selected textbooks as an example of modern American
Indian militancy, but the National Congress of American Indians, a much larger, older, and less militant organization is rarely even mentioned.

While modern American Indians were portrayed as poor, militant, or both, some of the selected textbooks also included the struggle modern American Indian women were facing. Like many women in the United States, American Indian women also faced gender discrimination in addition to racial discrimination. An example of a textbook touching on this subject is “The OIA assumed, for example, that Ute men would represent the tribe in all official matters, a policy that forced Ute women to petition the U.S. government to recognize their rights and concerns. Similarly, Ute women struggled to hold on to their roles as producers within the subsistence family economy against the efforts of the OIA agents to train them for homemaking alone.” (Faragher, p. 637)

Including the struggles of American Indian women is important because it helps to round out and balance the portrayal of modern American Indian life.

**Value 4: Individual Freedom**

As developed by Sanchez (2007), Value 4 is Individual Freedom. When I collected data from the selected U.S. history textbooks regarding this value, certain words stood out to me as topics that were gathering attention in the collection of this data. The topics illustrated in the figure on the next page are those that drive the presentation of data in the following questions.
Question 1: Are the Native American people depicted as accepting responsibility for the consequences of a chosen action or decision?

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbook, I researched whether or not American Indians are depicted as accepting responsibility for the consequences of a chosen action or decision. In general, the American Indian perspective on most issues was not discussed. The American Indian voice was usually only reported on issues relating to civil rights, loss of land, or loss of culture.
One of the few times American Indians were depicted accepting responsibility for the consequences of a chosen action or decision is in the teachings of prophets such as Handsome Lake, Tecumseh’s brother the Open Door, and Wovoka. The teachings of these prophets are included in all of the selected U.S. history textbooks and cover a variety of time periods. These prophets taught that the decline in American Indian freedom and economic stability was a result of American Indians turning away from their traditional beliefs and from the overconsumption of alcohol. They called for a return to traditional beliefs, and taught the importance of being responsible for one’s self and community. Instead of placing blame on external factors, the prophets called American Indians to examine themselves and to make changes in themselves, their homes, and their communities.

The selected textbooks presented American Indian perspectives on assuming responsibilities in indirect as well as direct ways. Direct ways are, of course, quotes such as the teachings from the American Indian prophets mentioned above. Indirect ways are those that suggest American Indians were assuming responsibility for their actions, but do not implicitly say so. An example of this is “Eastern Woodland communities organized diplomacy, trade, and war around reciprocal relationships that impressed Europeans as being extraordinarily egalitarian, even democratic.” (Americas Past and Present, p. 7) The idea of reciprocity is very important, as each side of the relationship must acknowledge their role and assume responsibility for their part. To build such relationships on an international level suggests that reciprocity was a cultural trait that crossed tribal boundaries.
The selected U.S. history textbooks also presented interpretations of American Indian actions instead of allowing American Indians to explain their reasoning. In these instances, American Indians assuming, or not assuming, responsibility for their actions is based on the interpretation of an outside group. One example is when a selected textbook states that “Indian peoples fought in the Revolution for some of the same reasons Patriots did – political independence, cultural integrity, and the protection of their land and property – but Indian fears of American expansion led them to oppose the Patriot rhetoric of natural rights and the equality of all men. Almost all the tribes that engaged in the fighting did so on the side of the British.” (Faragher, p. 211) American Indians had their own reasons for participating in the war between the American colonies and Britain. It is probably that they participated in, and did so knowingly, for the reasons the selected textbook mentions. However, it is also possible that there were other reasons that non-natives may not know about. This is a case of assuming American Indians accepted responsibility for their chosen actions for the reasons stated.

**Question 2: Are they portrayed as not imposing their individual will upon others because of a chosen action?**

While analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I examined if American Indians are portrayed as not imposing their individual will upon others. I searched for examples of how American Indian governments and political leaders were portrayed, and if their governmental system operated on fear and domination or on a equality based democracy. In reality, the truth is always somewhere in the middle, and Question 2 holds true to that reality.
The selected textbooks generally portrayed American Indian political systems and leaders as not imposing their will on others. Even a majority rules democracy was not portrayed in American Indian communities because “Communities sought unity through consensus rather than tolerating lasting divisions.” (Boyer, p. 18) Even a majority rules democracy imposes its will on the minority, and the selected textbooks portray American Indian societies as attempting to reach a consensus rather than impose their will on anyone. In order to lead others, rulers depended upon their oratorical skills in order to convince others to follow them. This is mentioned in the selected textbooks, for example, “It required considerable oratorical skills for an Indian leader to persuade independent-minded warriors to support a certain policy.” (Divine, p. 7) In many societies political and military leaders had authority to impose their will, but American Indian leaders had to constantly use persuasion to achieve their goals.

The freedom enjoyed by American Indian society is documented in all of the selected U.S. history textbooks. They mention that “There were no ruling classes or kings, and leaders included women as well as men.” (Faragher, p. 23) The selected textbooks quote colonial leaders who were impressed by how American Indians did not impose their will upon others. One of the selected textbooks quotes an officer as saying “The Iroquois, wrote one colonial official, held “such absolute notions of liberty that they allow of no kind of superiority of one over another, and banish all servitude from their territories.” (Foner, p. 17) This attraction for the freedom in American Indian society is not portrayed in the selected textbooks as only for the upper officer class. One textbook states, “In fact, however, it was far rarer for natives to adopt French ways than for French settlers to become attracted to the “free” life of the Indians.” (Foner, p. 44) The idea of
not imposing their will upon others and the idea of freedom is depicted as integral part of American Indian life. The textbooks attempt to portray this by saying “Freedom” had not played a major part in Indians’ vocabulary before the revolution. By the early nineteenth century, dictionaries of Indian languages for the first time began to include the word.” (Foner, P. 238) The concept of freedom was so ingrained into American Indian life that they did not even need a word to describe it.

The selected textbooks tend to portray American Indians as loving freedom and not imposing their will upon others. This was not always the case, however, and the textbooks also present that side of American Indian history. For example, “Natchez was a class society, with a small group of nobility ruling the majority.” (Faragher, p. 23) The Natchez were ruled by a leading family that imposed their will upon others. Also, “Tribes frequently warred with one another to obtain goods, seize captives, or take revenge for the killing of relatives.” (Foner, p. 12) This is an obvious example of an American Indian group imposing their will upon others. Another example is “The local Creek Indians initially welcomed the settlers and began selling them slaves, generally war captives and their families, most of whom were sold to the West Indies.” (Foner, p. 142) The taking of captives for the purpose of slavery is a prime example of imposing one’s will upon another.

The selected U.S. history textbooks did address whether or not American Indians imposed their will upon others. In general, the selected textbooks portrayed American Indians as not imposing their will upon others and preferring to rule by consensus. The selected textbooks also portrayed examples of American Indians imposing their will upon
others through monarchies and slavery. The depiction of both sides allows the textbooks to portray a broad image of a complex topic.

**Question 3: Is the leadership of the tribe properly depicted via multiple chiefs, the role of women in leadership, the Tribal Council, and the leadership operations for the good of the tribe?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if the tribal leadership was depicted via multiple chiefs, the role of women in leadership, the Tribal Council, and if the leadership operates for the good of the tribe. Tribal governments are complex and vary among the different communities, and throughout time. The selected textbooks presented many examples in attempt to present these differences. However, there is no single model for tribal governments, and they run the historical gamut from small family based councils to empires with a hierarchical government of hundreds. Modern tribal governments tend to vary as well, though the political realities of colonization means that most modern tribal governments will reflect the U.S. Constitution and the structure of the U.S. government. When analyzing the selected textbooks, I looked for both historical and modern portrayals of tribal governments.

The selected textbooks presented examples of tribal governments that rules via multiple chiefs or worked through a process of consensus. Most of the information regarding tribal governmental structure was included in the first portion of the textbook, which is dedicated to the archaic, pre-colonial, and fur trade era. The foundation of this form of government is presented in the selected textbooks with statements such as “Simple kin-based groupings evolved into complex tribal structures, cemented by rituals,
founding myths, and distinctive crafts.” (Henretta, p. 8) Family structures, rituals, and founding myths helped form the tribal governments, which can be seen in all of the various communities. Another example that is presented is the desert communities. All of the selected textbooks mention the desert communities, and example being “Desert communities were characterized by a kind of social equality in which decisions were made by consensus among the adults and leadership tended to be informal, based on achievement and reputation.” (Faragher, p. 11) As has been mentioned before, the concept of consensus rather than majority rule is very important in many American Indian societies. The desert communities do portray this, as well as the concept that leadership was held through persuasion and reputation rather than a community being obligated to follow a ruler. For small, kin based communities this style of government works. The selected textbooks also point out how larger tribal communities were able to maintain this type of leadership. All of the selected textbooks discuss the Iroquois confederacy and its founding myth of Hiawatha and the Peacemaker. The founding myth allows the Iroquois to develop into a confederacy that still maintains a presence on the international stage. It began because, in order “To control this violence, the Iroquois founded a confederacy in which warfare among the member nations was outlawed, gift exchange and payment replacing revenge.” (Faragher, p. 24) The concept of a confederacy allowed multiple chiefs to work together for the benefit of the entire confederacy.

When mentioning the Iroquois confederacy, all of the selected textbooks also discussed Iroquois women and their role in the government. Iroquois women were selected as representatives for the family clans, and in that role selected males to serve as
clan and tribal leaders. The women also had the right to recall the men if they were not fulfilling the duties. This was not isolated to the Iroquois, who seem to be the dominant example, as evidenced by this statement from a selected textbook, “A strict communal code of behavior that regulated personal conduct was enforced by a maze of matrilineal clans and secret religious societies; unique combinations of these clans and societies formed the governing systems of different Pueblo villages.” (Faragher, p. 22) From the Pueblo villages, to the Iroquois, to the people of the Southeast, matrilineal clans and women held a place of leadership and power that all of the selected textbooks mention.

Not all American Indian communities were governed by a system of multiple chiefs or a democracy style form of consensus. Some American Indian communities were large empires and others were a theocracy. The selected textbooks also mention these types of tribal governments. The selected textbooks discuss that “other Mississippian peoples living in permanent settlements under the command of powerful chiefs” also occurred. (Henretta, p. 14) An example of this was given as “In fact, the native communities of the Chesapeake were bound together in a sophisticated political system known as the Powhatan Confederacy, led by a powerful chief named Wahunsonacook, whom the Jamestown colonists called “King Powhatan.” (Faragher, p. 65) Whether or not “King Powhatan” was a king in the sense Europeans understand the concept or serving as a representative to speak with the Europeans, he is portrayed in the selected textbooks as a king. Another example presented in all of the selected textbooks are the Natchez. One of the selected textbooks discusses that “A century and a half later, French traders and priests reported that the Natchez people were rigidly divided among hereditary chiefs, nobles and honored people, and a bottom class of peasants.” (Henretta,
p. 14) The Natchez are a classic example of a class based society that was ruled by an elite minority, unlike other American Indian communities that were ruled by councils or by consensus.

Much of the information regarding American Indian governmental systems was in the first part of the book. Modern American Indian governmental systems were not discussed in detail, but only in reference to the New Deal and the proposed recognition and restructuring of American Indian communities during the 1930s. After the 1940s, none of the selected U.S. history textbooks mention American Indian governments or community organization.

Value 5: Courage

As developed by Sanchez (2007), Value 2 is Respect for the Elderly and Women. When I collected data from the selected U.S. history textbooks regarding this value, certain words stood out to me as topics that were gathering attention in the collection of this data. The topics illustrated in the figure on the next page are those that drive the presentation of data in the following questions.
Question 1: Is the courage of individuals heroically depicted as an effort to give to or protect one’s people, or it is referred to as “fanatic,” “savage,” “massacre,” or other terms that give the impression of a totally warlike culture?

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if the courage of individuals were heroically depicted as an effort to give to or protect one’s people, or if it was referred to as fanatic, savage, massacre, or other terms that would give the impression of a totally warlike culture. I looked at this from multiple perspectives, and
found examples to support all of them. Not all perspectives were equally represented though.

In the selected textbooks, warfare conducted by American Indian was not portrayed as heroic and only rarely within the context of attempting to preserve their land or lifestyle. The most encouraging comment was from a selected textbook that stated “Organized violence was probably rare among hunting bands, who seldom could manage more than a small raid against an enemy.” (Faragher, p. 19) This is not exactly heroic, but it does imply a culture that is not warlike. Most examples in the selected textbooks were not as kind.

The selected textbooks tended to include many examples that portrayed a warlike American Indian culture. The selected textbooks presented examples that portrayed violence and warfare as a historical part of American Indian life. Comments such as “Public torture and human sacrifice of enemies were common” (Faragher, p. 23) in the first parts of the textbooks portray American prehistory as violent. The selected textbooks also mention that “The expedition brought them in contact with numerous tribes, most importantly the powerful Sioux but also Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras, each with a history of warring on other tribes and of carrying on its own internal feuds.” (Boyer, p. 225) Quotes such as this portray the idea that warfare was common between American Indian communities, and it backed up with other examples such as “The Sioux became ferocious fighters who tried to reduce the Mandans and other farming tribes to subject peoples.” (Henretta, p. 221) and “Warfare was also common among farming confederacies fighting to gain additional lands for cultivation.” (Faragher, p. 19) These examples provide a portrayal of American Indian life that was historically violent.
The selected textbooks also present violence as part of a larger agenda on the part of American Indian communities. While not contemporary, the selected textbooks dealt with modern tribes and gave examples of a premeditated warlike culture. One example from a selected textbook is “The Creeks had their own agenda: To become the dominant tribe in the region, they needed to vanquish their longtime enemies, the pro-French Choctaws to the west and the Spanish-allied Apalachees to the south.” (Henretta, p. 80) The Creeks are not portrayed as attempting to protect their own communities, but rather as an imperialist tribe warring for their own benefit. The Iroquois confederacy, which is usually portrayed in a favorable light by the selected textbooks, also is portrayed as violent and war hungry. One example is, “Epidemics killed tens of thousands of Indians, and pelt-hungry Iroquois warriors murdered thousands more.” (Henretta, p. 47) The use of the word murdered indicates the authors’ intent in this quote as not portraying an honorable action. Examples of wanton American Indian violence was not limited to examples of violence against other American Indian communities, but also towards non-native communities. For example, one of the selected textbooks states “In August 1868, war parties of defiant Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Sioux raided settlements in Kansas and Colorado, burning homes and killing whites.” (Boyer, p. 508) Again, words like defiant and killing do not have positive connotations and do not denote a heroic action in defense of family and home.

In addition to violence committed by American Indians, the selected textbooks also presented examples of American Indians suffering violence committed by others. One example is that “Violent raids led by wealthy backcountry settler Nathaniel Bacon in 1675, included the indiscriminate murder of natives.” (Faragher, p. 80) Another example
is “In late 1868, warfare broke out again, and it took more than a decade of violence to beat the Indians into submission.” (Americas Past and Present, p.) These examples, while not depicting the portrayal of American Indian violence, do depict American Indians living in a violent world. This negative, violent, warlike worldview is depicted in all of the selected U.S. history textbooks.

**Question 2: Are they humble in their exploits and never personally boasting?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were depicted as humble in their exploits and never personally boasting. In the selected textbooks, American Indians were not depicted as boasting over their personal exploits. However, this may be that in the selected textbooks American Indians were not depicted describing their exploits in any manner. When discussing American Indian achievements, the voice was usually that of the author or of a non-American Indian observer from that time period.

**Question 3: Are they portrayed as stoics, unable or unwilling to express emotion (unless around strangers)?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I examined the portrayal of American Indians as stoics, to see if they were depicted as unable or unwilling to express emotion. As has been mentioned in earlier questions, the depiction of American Indians is not very deep, and issues such happiness, love, and other positive emotions are not depicted in the selected textbooks. Anger is an emotion that is depicted in all of the selected textbooks from the Indian Wars to discussions of the American Indian
movement. Sadness is also mentioned in regards to the loss of land and the boarding school experience, and hopelessness is mentioned in regards to loss of cultural traditions and alcoholism. However, a dynamic American Indian individual that experiences the full range of emotions is not depicted in any of the selected textbooks.

**Question 4: Do they show proper reverence for the gift of life?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked for examples of American Indians showing reverence for the gift of life. This left room for interpretation, so I narrowed my search down to American Indians showing reverence for the gift of their own life. This narrowed my search and allowed me to focus on individual American Indians.

As has been mentioned many times within Chapter 4, American Indian identity is association with the community and one’s participation in it. In order to search for portrayals of American Indians showing reverence for the gift of life, I looked for examples of American Indians living within the community but also acknowledging their own individuality. The selected textbooks contained examples of American Indians speaking about their reverence for the lives of animals, their families and clans, and even their enemies. However, finding an example of an American Indian showing reverence for his or her own life without conceiving of it within a bigger picture was not possible. Historically, this would agree with the understanding of American Indian identity being and individual that is also part of the larger group.

The selected textbooks did not contain examples of individual American Indians showing reverence for their own life, but they did contain examples of individual
American Indians showing contempt for their own lives. In modern American Indian communities, drug and alcohol addiction are problems that are being addressed with varying degrees of success. The selected textbooks provide examples of this and demonstrate that this has been a problem for hundreds of years. For example, one of the selected textbooks mentions that “In their despair, some turned to alcohol, increasingly available during the 1660s despite colonial efforts to suppress its sale to Native Americans.” (Boyer, p. 69) Turning to alcohol was not a traditional American Indian practice, and in turning to alcohol the American Indians mentioned in the quote are isolating themselves from their community and reducing their productivity. The textbook later mentions that “Unable to hunt, trade, or wage mourning wars, Seneca men frequently resorted to heavy drinking, often becoming violent.” (Boyer, p. 211) Violence, nonparticipation within the community, and turning away from tradition are examples of a breakdown in American Indian identity that result in a lack of reverence for life. This is also mentioned when the selected textbook states that “Alcoholism, a continuing problem exacerbated by the prevalence of whiskey as a trade item (and by the boredom that resulted from the disruption of hunting and other traditional pursuits), became more prevalent as Native Americans strove to adapt to the constraints of reservation life.” (Boyer, p. 512) The changing way of life and access to natural resources altered some American Indians’ way of viewing the world and their reverence for life.

In searching for examples of American Indian showing reverence for the gift of life, I found non-examples instead. American Indians were portrayed revering the lives of others, including their enemies, but not their own lives as an individual without the
context of a community. The examples provided by the textbook shows the growing contempt for life, demonstrated by the alcoholism that develops as the traditional ways of life deteriorate.

**Question 5: Is there a distorted impression that non-Native Americans brought a “superior” civilization to Native Americans such that Native cultures and achievements are demeaned, or are Native civilizations depicted as complex and sophisticated?**

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I analyzed the portrayal of American Indian culture in relation to non-American Indian culture. In particular, I researched whether the selected textbooks presented a distorted impression that non-American Indians brought a superior civilization to the Americas such that American Indian cultures and achievements were demeaned, or if American Indian civilizations were depicted as complex and sophisticated. As has been presented in previous questions, the selected textbooks present information from various places throughout the Americans and the different communities that inhabit those regions. This question, however, puts that information into the context of comparison with non-American Indians.

The selected textbooks presented examples of American Indian civilization and culture as being equal to, and valued as such, to the cultures of non-American Indians. One of the selected textbooks states “but they never concluded from their observations that Indian culture was inferior to that of the colonizers.” (Americas Past and Present, p. 9) This statement summarizes many of the examples provided by the selected textbooks,
such as “We tell you now,” Pontiac declared to British officials, “the French never conquered us, neither did they purchase a foot of our Country, nor have they a right to give it to you.” (Faragher, p. 171) This quote demonstrates Pontiac’s, and many American Indians’, view that tribal nations had equal rights to those of European nations. This belief continues into modern times, and the selected textbooks provide examples of this as well. One example of American Indian culture being valued as equal to, and not inferior to, non-American Indian culture, is “Undaunted, Native Americans struggled to preserve their customs and rebuild their numbers.” (Boyer, p. 504) Another example is “Indians demonstrated a remarkable capacity for change and adaptation.” (Faragher, p. 132) The selected textbooks mention this adaptation and unwillingness to assimilate, and this demonstrates that non-American Indians did not bring a superior civilization that American Indians were eager to adopt.

Not only did the selected textbooks present examples of American Indian cultures being equal to non-American Indian cultures, they also present examples of American Indian cultures being superior to non-American Indian cultures. One such example is of the early colonist, whom the selected textbook states, “They survived only because of Powhatan’s material assistance.” (Faragher, p. 66) This goodwill allowed non-American Indian civilization to grow, which would not have occurred without American Indian help. The selected textbooks also present examples of American Indians not wanting to adopt the culture of non-American Indians, but only valuing their trade goods. One such example is “Many eastern Indians initially welcomed the newcomers, or at least their goods, which they appreciated for their practical advantages.” (Foner, p. 62) American Indian civilizations did have to interact with non-American Indian civilizations, and when
they the results varied. However, the selected textbooks provide examples of times when
the American Indian civilizations acted superior. One such example is “The Iroquois
Confederacy as a whole sought to play off one European power against the other, to its
own advantage.” (Faragher, p. 167) Playing one European power off the other is the
same tactic European civilizations were attempting to do with American Indians, so
providing this example does add balance to which civilization had the most power.
Another example provided by the selected textbook is in regard to non-American Indian
civilizations authority of native communities. For example, “Insisting that the United
States lacked the authority to draft Indian mean into the army, the Iroquois issued their
own declaration of war against the Axis powers.” (Foner, p. 929) The selected textbooks
provide a modern example of American Indian civilizations asserting their equality on the
world stage by declaring war on the Axis powers instead of accepting the United State’s
declaration of war as their own.

While the selected textbooks do present examples of American Indian
civilizations being equal or superior to non-American Indian civilizations, they also
include examples of American Indian civilizations being inferior to non-American Indian
civilizations. One example is the fur trade, which a selected textbook states, “Later
observers would describe this trade as one in which Indians exchanged valuable
commodities like furs and animal skins for worthless European trinkets.” (Foner, p. 62)
Depicting the Europeans as having a better understanding of the value of the furs in
comparison to other trade goods depict Europeans as being superior. In war, non-
American Indian civilizations are also usually depicted as being superior to American
Indian civilizations. One example is “The destruction of one of the region’s most
powerful Indian groups not only opened the Connecticut River valley to rapid white settlement but also persuaded other Indians that the newcomers possessed a power that could not be resisted.” (Foner, p. 82) By stating that American Indians could not resist the power of the colonist, the selected textbook again portrays American Indian civilizations as inferior. A more obvious statement of American Indians being inferior is a quote from a Cherokee that is included in most of the selected textbook. In the quote, “One Cherokee told the governor of South Carolina in 1753, “The clothes we wear, we cannot make ourselves, they are made to us. We use their ammunition with which we kill deer…Every necessary thing we must have from the white people.” (Foner, p. 120) By including the statement that all necessary things must come from white people clearly depicts American Indian civilizations as inferior to non-American Indians.

**Additional Considerations**

**Question 1: Is the author(s) a true Native American?**

The question of what is a true American Indian is one that is currently being debated throughout the United States. In order to answer the question of whether or not the author, or authors, of the selected U.S. history textbooks are true American Indians, I first had to define what an American Indian is. To do so, I use the definition supported by many organizations, that an American Indian is tribal member of a federally recognized, state recognized, or terminated tribe. This recognizes the fact that being an American Indian is not necessarily just a matter of genetics or race, but also a political situation of community and family ties. None of the authors of the selected textbooks
mention tribal membership in their biographies, nor does a brief internet search result in evidence of the authors’ tribal membership. Based on the definition that I am using, the answer is no, the authors of the selected U.S. textbooks are not American Indians.

**Question 2: Is there evidence that the author(s) consulted a Native American?**

In the selected U.S. history textbooks, there is no mention of American Indian tribes, communities, or organizations. There is no evidence that the authors consulted American Indians at any point in the creation of the selected textbooks. They do mention, however, non-American Indian organizations such as the Library of Congress.

**Question 3: Do the photos/illustrations accurately reflect specific tribal/cultural traditions, symbols, and/or art forms?**

The photos/illustrations in the selected U.S. history textbooks do accurately reflect specific tribal/cultural traditions, symbols, and/or art forms. As has been mentioned earlier, the photographs and portraits included in the selected textbooks tend to be contemporary of the time period and portray the traditions of that time and place. One example is that of David, an American Indian from what is now New England. (Foner, p. 62) This portrait can be seen in Figure 7. David is portrayed wearing cloth, shells, and knee high footwear common of coastal people.
Another example is that of Chief Joseph. (Foner, p. 649) Chief Joseph (1840–1904) is a historical figure this portrayed in all of the selected textbooks. One of his photographs can be viewed in Figure 8. In this photograph, he is depicted wearing his hair in the traditional style of his people, which is short on top and long in the back and on the sides. The style of beadwork, the shirt, and the bandolier are also appropriate for the time period.
Figure 20: Portrait of Chief Joseph (1840–1904)

The portrait of the Treaty of Greenville is another example of appropriate tribal traditions. (Foner, p. 283) The Treaty of Greenville (1795) is a topic that is covered in all of the selected U.S. history textbooks, and the painting depicting this can be seen in Figure 9. The Treaty of Greenville ended the wars between American Indians and colonists over the area of Northwestern Ohio. The tribal leaders ceded land to the United States in exchange for trade goods, and provided tribal support to the United States during the War of 1812. This is an important treaty signed in 1795, and the painting of this historical event is significant. The American Indians, and the non-natives, are depicted wearing clothing that is appropriate for that time, place, and their culture. The act of negotiating is also a tradition that has a long history in American Indian communities.
Summary

In Chapter One, I described the context and purpose of the study: to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in five U.S. textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. I also explained the theoretical framework, Critical Tribal Theory. I described how my personal and professional experiences have led me to research this topic.

In Chapter Two I reviewed the literature regarding textbook bias through the lens of the Five Values. Overall, a study of the research regarding textbook bias, especially that concerning American Indian, is not very uplifting. Secondary sources point out the huge gaps in research and the obvious biases that are evident in textbooks. Primary sources provide evidence that people are taking notice of these biases and would like for
a change to occur. The literature also shows that there is a lack of research from an indigenous perspective and using indigenous methods.

In Chapter Three I explained the methods I plan to use in describing the bias against American Indians in five selected United States history textbooks. I also explained the methodology influencing my choice of methods and my use of them. I plan to use critical case study and use the guiding questions of qualitative content analysis as my method. Tribal Critical Race Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis are the theoretical perspectives that lie behind my methodology. I explained their significance to the researcher and their contribution to the field. I also described my role as a researcher as well any ethical issues related to this study.

In Chapter Four I have presented the data. I have conducted a critical case study of the five selected United States history textbooks and presented the data that has resulted from this analysis. The data has been gathered using the guidelines developed by Sanchez (2007).

In Chapter Five I will analyze data. I will analyze the data presented in Chapter Four through the lens of Tribal Critical Race Theory. This lens may yield results that other theoretical frameworks may not.
Chapter Five

Analysis, Interpretation and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in U.S. History textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. This study will examine five widely used textbooks for their depiction of American Indians. The study will identify which of the textbooks under consideration contain the greatest amount of information dedicated to American Indians and analyze how that information is portrayed. The following exploratory questions guided this study:

1. How are American Indians portrayed in selected high school United States History textbooks?

2. Under what conditions can Critical Tribal Race Theory help illuminate how American Indians are portrayed in textbooks?

In this chapter, I analyzed the data gathered from the five selected United States history textbooks up for adoption in Hillsborough County for 2012. The data is organized based on questions that were raised while presenting the data according to
Sanchez’s Five Values (2007) as described earlier in Chapter Two and Three. Tribal Critical Race Theory is used to guide a Critical Discourse Analysis of the information that was presented in Chapter Four.

**Applying Tribal Critical Race Theory**

Tribal Critical Race Theory is being used rather than Critical Race Theory for two reasons. While they are both activist in nature and are committed to social justice, they differ in where they portray injustice originating. Critical Race Theory holds that racism is endemic to society and is the focus of the research using that perspective. Tribal Critical Race Theory differs in that it holds that colonization is endemic to society, and research using this perspective focuses on aspects of colonization and assimilation.

Tribal Critical Race Theory is also an indigenous theory developed by Dr. Brayboy, a Lumbee tribal member from North Carolina. This added indigenous perspective matches with Critical Discourse Analysis in valuing communities and the stories that originate in those communities. The stories found in textbooks, as shown through critical discourse analysis, are also stories of the community and can be analyzed in a similar way.

There are nine tenets to Tribal Critical Race Theory, all of which are implemented in analyzing the data from the selected U.S. history textbooks. Here are nine tenets of Tribal Critical Race Theory:

1. Colonization is endemic to society.
2. U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain.
3. Indigenous peoples occupy a luminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.

4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.

5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an indigenous lens.

6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.

7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.

8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.

9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change. (Brayboy, 429-430)

As I analyzed the data, I examined how these nine tenets reflect the imperialistic and colonizing influences of the selected textbooks. The five textbooks analyzed in this study were *America’s History* (Henretta, 2011), *Out of Many: A History of the American People* (Faragher, 2011), *Give Me Liberty: An American History* (Foner, 2011), *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People* (Boyer, 2011), and *America Past and Present* (Divine, 2011). Tribal Critical Race Theory guides this analysis by providing an indigenous way of seeing these influences and how they are incorporated. These
influences are further analyzed by identifying themes that were not addressed by the selected textbooks or were addressed in a way that raised further questions.

The Five Values

The Five Values were used to organize the literature in Chapter Two and to gather and organize data from the selected U.S. history textbooks in Chapter Four. In this chapter, I also use the Five Values to organize my analysis of the data that was presented in Chapter Four. The Five Values were developed in conjunction with American Indians, and represent what were identified as common American Indian values. As such, the data is analyzed and organized from an indigenous perspective.

![Analysis and Interpretation Diagram](image)


Figure 22: Visual Schema of Data Analysis and Interpretation
Value 1: Generosity and Sharing

Value 1, as has been described in great detail in earlier chapters, concerns generosity and sharing. These traits are important to American Indians, and are traits that are exploited to perpetuate stereotypes and myths. The most common of these myths is Thanksgiving, in which American Indians are depicted sharing and serving food to the Pilgrims. While gathering data in Chapter Four, other questions were raised in regards to generosity and sharing, and they are analyzed in greater detail below.

Reciprocity

When analyzing the five selected U.S. history textbooks, statements such as “Generosity was among the most valued social qualities, and gift giving was essential to Indian society” (Foner, p.15), “Wealth was valuable only if it was given away” (Faragher, P. 299), and “Nor were Indians devoted to the accumulation of wealth and material goods.” (Foner, P. 14) were commonly seen. These are, of course, generalized statements that do not delve into the deeper meaning of generosity in American Indian communities. There is an attempt to reach that deeper meaning, and one textbook attempts an explanation by stating that “The principle of reciprocity was central to Native Americans” (Boyer, p. 18), but it does not fully explain how reciprocity is so important to individual American Indians and communities as a whole.

While the textbooks miss the chance to explain reciprocity as a cultural/religious aspect of American Indian life, they do attempt to deliver other theories for the importance and development of generosity as a common trait among American Indians. Throughout the textbooks, American Indian societies are described as being centered on the extended family and this is one of the theories presented in the textbooks for why
generosity developed. The role of reciprocity steps in, and the giver expects that he or she will also benefit from this communal generosity when they are in need. The idea of reciprocity in regards to generosity is an important concept in American Indian communities as is demonstrated in the statement that “Strong customs dictated that members would share food and other scarce goods, fostering an ethic of reciprocity rather than one of self interest.” (Henretta, p. 15) The belief that individuals can share their resources but also expect others to share as well provides not only food and shelter, but also the needed feeling of security which allows a community to progress. The concept of reciprocity seems to not exist among the European colonists, and none of the five selected textbooks mention it. One of the selected textbooks does provides this quote, “You are covetous, and neither generous nor kind,” the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia told acquisitive French fur traders. “As for us, if we have a morsel of bread, we share it with our neighbor.” (Henretta, p. 15) This quote is one of the few in which American Indians are allowed a chance to discuss in their own terms the trait of reciprocity.

Tribal Critical Race Theory states that “The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an indigenous lens” and that “Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.” (Brayboy. 429-430) These are important statements because they directly reflect the last quotation in the previous paragraph, which is one of the few examples in which American Indians are used to explain a native concept. It is also unique in that an American Indian is criticizing a colonist on his behavior. However unique it may be, quotations like this are needed in
order for the lived experience of American Indians to be understood. They are also important so that American Indian students can see their own tribal philosophies and traditions stated from their perspectives, and not filtered through a Eurocentric lens that does not understand reciprocity and may try to identify and describe it according to one of the economic or social models that exist within their worldview.

Reciprocity, however, goes much further than just describing a system in which people help each other. In many American Indian communities, reciprocity is the foundation for relationships and dictates how people interact with others. This can be seen in prayers and offerings that are given while hunting, in the relationship between superiors and subordinates, and at times even in religious or spiritual experiences. In Cherokee traditions, hunters are known to offer a prayer after taking an animal’s life. By showing respect for the deceased animal and asking for forgiveness, the hunter expects to be pardoned. This illustrates a relationship of give and take, from both sides, between individuals who know their responsibilities to each other. Reciprocity is extended to all aspects of life, and is necessary for American Indian communities to maintain the physical and spiritual balance that is sought.

The selected textbooks do not explain the importance of reciprocity or its importance in everyday life. This is one example of the assimilation process at work. By incorporating the idea of reciprocity into another economic system, American Indians are also able to be absorbed into other systems without having to recognize their distinct cultures and contributions.
When analyzing the five selected U.S. history textbooks, examples of European economic models are seen throughout the textbooks. This does not hold true for American Indian economic systems, as American Indian culture is filtered through the lenses of the authors rather than the American Indians they are describing. The selected textbooks consistently compared American Indian societies to European societies, especially in regards to communal efforts and accumulation of wealth. One of the selected textbooks states that “Although Indians had no experience of the wealth enjoyed at the top of European society, under normal circumstances no one in Indian societies went hungry or experienced the extreme inequalities of Europe.” (Foner, p. 15) This statement demonstrates the shared American Indian cultural characteristic of taking care of the poor and sharing Mother Earth’s bounty, and how unique it is compared to European society. However, constantly including European rather than American Indian perspectives on the development of American Indian culture is repeated throughout the selected textbooks. The textbooks attempt to describe American Indian culture through a European economic model, and this is illustrated in the statement that “As in non market economies and nonstate societies throughout history, these exchanges followed the principle of reciprocity – the mutual bestowing of gifts and favors – rather than the notion that one party should accumulate profits or power at the expense of the other.” (Boyer, p. 6) A European economic model cannot fully explain an American Indian concept, nor can phrases such as “societies throughout history” give full credit to modern communities and cultures that place a value on generosity and reciprocity. Instead, they help to further the notion that American Indian cultures are static or existed only in the past.
Analyzing the portrayal of American Indian economic systems in relation to European economic models emphasizes the importance of examining a culture within its own context. European economic models cannot take the American Indian cultural traits of caring for the community over accumulating personal wealth into account, so they are treated as an anomaly or a curiosity. When examined through the cultural lens of any of the tribal nations that employs this system, a different understanding can occur. What is depicted as an anomaly in a Western context becomes common place within an indigenous model, as is the history of that economic system and why it worked for that time and place.

A deeper analysis of the economic systems employed by the various native communities, or the use of an American Indian voice in describing them, would have gone a long way in accurately portraying American Indian traditional ways as viable economic models that predate capitalism on this continent. However, in the current political climate economic discussions are divisive at best, and perhaps this is why the five selected textbooks do not delve deeper into indigenous economic models. The current political debate centers on the importance of a free market and attempts to define government programs that assist women, the poor, and the elderly as socialist. While American Indian communities have traditionally paid special attention to women, the poor, and the elderly, the Western idea of socialism does not accurately describe these indigenous economic systems. Since American Indian economics is not easily defined and categorized with Western terms, it is either ignored or treated as an exotic concept.
Value 2: Respect for the Elderly and Women

Value 2 was developed to address the concept of respect for the elderly and women. In American Indian communities, women and elders traditionally held positions of respect, and some of those traditions are still alive. As I analyzed the data that was presented in Chapter Four, questions arose from the way the five selected textbooks depicted American Indian women and elders. Questions over what is appropriate language when referring to American Indians were raised, as well the role of community in American Indian life. Those questions are analyzed further below, but another question was posed as I noticed that a concept that should have been addressed along with elders and women was not discussed. I noticed that American Indian role models were not present in any of the selected U.S. history textbooks. The absence of any modern American Indian that can serve as a role model for young students is a disturbing discovery that is also analyzed further in the following sections.

Role of Community

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I searched for examples of American Indians being represented as members of a group. In traditional American Indian cultures, identity was often based on the family and community relationships. Many of the selected textbooks gave examples of archaic American Indian cultures to describe this concept of American Indian identity. Statements like “Most Native Americans, for example, defined their place in society through kinship” (Divine, p. 7) and “Indian identity centered on the immediate social group – a tribe, village, chiefdom, or confederacy” (Foner, p. 13) were typical of the comments found in the textbooks. Some of the textbooks followed up these statements with examples such as “they lived in
multigenerational extended families” (Boyer, p. 16) to illustrate the social ties or gave regional examples such as “For all the Plains Indians, life revolved around extended family ties and tribal cooperation.” (Boyer, p. 505) The importance of the individual as part of a family was best illustrated in the examples the selected U.S. history textbooks provided on the boarding school experiences. The policy of the United States government at the time was to remove American Indian children from their families and communities to attend schools on the other side of the country. This was done in an attempt to erase the communal and familial ties of tribal life and to speed up the assimilation process. The textbooks mention this in statements such as “To think of themselves as individuals or members of a nuclear family, as white Americans were demanding, meant repudiating the clan, the very essence of Indian life.” (Henretta, p. 214) The bonds created in indigenous communities were so strong, they often spanned the distance of both miles and biology. Some of the textbooks mention this with statements like “Strangers were formally adopted to take the places of family members killed in battle or overcome by sickness.” (Faragher, p. 85) This allowed people who were not biologically related to be integrated into the community and to become contributing members. Most of the written material in the textbooks referred to tribal groups or communities as a whole, and this reflects the importance of the community in American Indian society.

Traditionally, the community has played a large role in American Indian society, and this is still true today. The policies of the U.S. government; from the Dawes Act’s attempts to break apart tribal nations, the boarding schools that removed generations of children from their families, to the policies of adopting American Indian children to non-
Historically, American Indian culture, language, and identity were inherited with clan and community membership. American Indians believed this so strongly that “during the Revolutionary War, they were perplexed that people who all spoke English would make war against each other.” (Duncan, 1998, p. 10) This continues into modern time with the traditional Cherokee belief that “[being in balance means]...having the support of family, extended family, clan and tribe. The medicine people say it requires understanding ourselves and our place in the world around us.” (Duncan, p. 25) These are important concepts, because they encapsulate how American Indians define themselves and how that definition is passed down. Traditional stories, “the seeds of history and culture”, are used to pass down values and beliefs, and “If you are a Cherokee child hearing these stories, you learn all of these things, and above all you learn what it means to be Cherokee.” (Duncan, p. 13) Learning what it means to be Cherokee, or a member of any tribal nation, is important from an individual perspective and a community perspective. This is particularly true for traditional communities, because the stories teach “that everyone, no matter how different, has an important role to play.” (Duncan, p. 21) The importance of the individual as part of the community is important because it preserves the community and provides a place for everyone.

From the viewpoint of a textbook analysis, the role of the community is presented, but not in a way that can truly teach what role the community plays. This is because “An understanding of the Cherokee worldview (or any worldview) has to be experiential as well as intellectual.” (Duncan, p. 25) In a Eurocentric educational system...
that values textbooks and written sources over oral histories, these communal ties are hard to present in a way that does not oversimplify its importance. However, it is important to either try to present it accurately or incorporate outside sources, such as guest speakers, to supplement the textbooks.

*Disrespectful Language*

The theme of disrespectful language was hard for me to categorize at first. When I first began analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks for examples of respectful language referring to American Indians, I looked to see if they avoided the use of offensive and stereotypical terminology. The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood’s study on this issue (1974) demonstrated that textbooks included offensive terms for American Indians and used words with a positive connotation for those of European descent. Since that time many studies, such as those by Ravitch (1985, 2004, 2011), have pointed out the revisions textbooks have undergone and the removal of any language that people may find offensive. As I analyzed the selected textbooks and found that in while in general a language of respect was used in referring to American Indians that was not always the case. With that in mind, I determined that the theme of disrespectful language must go under Value 2 because it deals directly with showing respect towards women and the elderly. After analyzing how the role of the community, its importance to American Indians, and it depiction in the selected textbooks, I could think of no better place for this theme. The following sections concern the role of women and elders within the broader community, but first it is important to see what language is used to describe them in the five selected U.S. history textbooks.
In general, information related to American Indians was stated as politically correct as possible. This was particularly true when it came to the names of American Indian communities. The selected textbooks dedicated space to including references to how American Indian communities refer to themselves, such as the Lenni Lenape, Lakota, and Dine. The textbooks would also include how these tribal nations are now commonly known, such as the Delaware (Lenni Lenape), Sioux (Lakota), and Apache (Dine). A few of the selected textbooks even went as far as to discuss the significance of the names, such as translating Lenni Lenape into English as “the people” and pointing out that Delaware is the name of a European colonist who took possession of the river they lived near. Understanding how the usage of names and how they can be offensive, even if they are commonly used, is important when discussing any history, not just that of American Indians.

There were examples of offensive language used in the five selected U.S. history textbooks. One examples is, “For giving up the land that became Charleston, for example, the “Squaw Sachem” of the Pawtuckets, one of a number of women Algonquian leaders, received twenty-one coats, nineteen fathoms of wampum, and three bushels of corn.” (Faragher, p. 73) While this is clearly not a flattering description of this female leader, the most disturbing part of this statement is the use of the word squaw. This is a slang word for the female genitals, and should never be used to reference a woman. This is not the only example of the textbooks using words like squaw and savage, but usually they are used as a part of a quote and depict the language of that time.

Colonization and assimilation can be seen in the word usage regarding American Indians. When the selected textbooks use tribal names that translate as “the enemies” or
recalls the name of the colonist who took their land, it drives home the colonial agenda of assimilation. Word usage is even more important when referring to individuals, and words such as squaw and savage can only be used to hurt. Tribal Critical Race Theory calls for social change, and this is relevant in addressing the portrayal of American Indians and American Indian women in particular. No other definable group would allow their women to be referred to by their genitalia, nor would others allow them to be referred to in such a way. However, this does not hold true for American Indian women who are constantly subjected to this treatment.

The use of tribal names is also important, because it reflects either a respect for the beliefs, customs, and traditions of American Indians or a disregard for the beliefs of tribal nations. Since 1492, tribal nations have struggled with varying success to maintain their language, culture, and identity. One way in which to do this is through the use of names for nations and places. Tribal nations that were named by colonial forces have recently gone back to the names they have always called themselves. Examples are the Ho-Chunck Nation, formally called the Winnebago; Tohono O’Odham, formally known as the Papago; Kewa Pueblo, formally known as Santo Domino Pueblo; and the Meskwaki, formally known as the Sac and Fox. Since these names reflect a tribal nation’s beliefs and history, it is important that they are respected and included in the narrative. A tribal nation’s beliefs and history can also be used to decide word usage that reflects a more respectful and nuanced telling of American Indian history.

Role of Women in American Indian Communities

While analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I examined the ways in which women were portrayed. I sought to answer the question of whether or not women
were portrayed as integral, respected, and important. I did not want to find examples of American Indian women portrayed as detached and subservient. In each of the selected textbooks, the role of female American Indians in society was examined. The information may have been generalized, but it provided an idea of what a woman’s role was in a traditional American Indian community.

All five of the selected U.S. history textbooks focused on the young men who dealt with colonial or U.S. governments as diplomats or warriors. However, female American Indians, Iroquois women in particular, were given more attention in the selected textbooks as elders than male American Indians. The selected textbooks point out that tribal leaders were almost always men, but that women played an important role in selecting the male leaders. The selected textbooks also mention the central role that a matrilineal system plays in many American Indian communities. An example is, “Most peoples reckoned their descent matrilineally (back through generations of mothers), and after marriage, husbands left the homes of their mothers to reside with the families of their wives. Women controlled household and village life, and were influential in the matrilineal clans that linked communities together. Councils of elderly men governed the confederacies, but were joined by clan matrons for annual meetings at the central council house.” (Faragher, P. 23) This passage indicates the importance of the male role, but only relation in or in conjunction with the female role. Some of the selected textbooks used this for a deeper analysis of the socio-political make up of the female role. An example would be “But native women jealously guarded traditional culture, a system that often sanctioned polygamy – a husband having several wives – and gave women substantial authority over the distribution of food within the village.” (Divine, p 9)
Looking at the deeper meanings allows the textbooks to analyze cultural and political movements that might not be familiar to the reader.

Female elders were not the only American Indian women that the selected textbooks portrayed, though they did tend to be the focus. One such exception is Pocahontas. Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas, used his own daughter to create a bond with a foreign power, and he was not the only father to use his daughter in this manner. The selected textbooks move forward in history and discuss how “most trappers, like the British and French before them, sought accommodation and friendship with Indian peoples; nearly half of them contracted long-lasting marriages with Indian women, who not only helped in the trapping and curing of furs but also acted as vital diplomatic links between the white and Indian worlds.” (Faragher, p. 458) The role of diplomat and helping two distinct peoples learn to live in peace are very important roles, but reducing women to a tool in order to achieve this goal is not respectful.

The selected U.S. history textbooks did not always portray American Indian women being respected. For instance, the textbooks mention that “French Jesuits seemed especially eager to undermine the independence of Native American women.” (Divine, p. 9) Undermining an entire gender’s independence is cruel, but the textbooks point out that “Some of Handsome Lake’s supporters accused women who rejected his teachings of witchcraft, and even killed a few of them.” (Boyers, p. 211) Killing women accused of witchcraft reduces a woman’s role in the community, and instills fear into others. Reducing women’s roles and regarding them as property was also practiced at times in various places, as is mentioned in “Some Kiowa men owned hundreds of horses and had several “chore wives” and captive children who worked for them.” (Henretta, p. 403) In
an idealized world, female American Indians and all women would be treated with respect. The selected U.S. history textbooks present information that this is not always the case.

Historical research indicates that this portrayal of American Indian women in the textbooks is something to celebrate, as American Indian women tend to “exist in the historical shadows.” (Perdue, 1999, p. 3) As was stated above, the focus of the five selected U.S. history textbooks is the young men who dealt in various forms with U.S. government. From a Eurocentric perspective, this makes sense due to the male dominated world in which they inhabit. However, from an American Indian perspective the exclusion women’s importance from the historical narrative is inexcusable. While it will vary from community to community, women play a key role in American Indian society. Focusing on male American Indians distorts the view of American Indian life and tries to fit it into a European based, paternalistic mold.

Indigenous means of preserving information, such as oral traditions, “offer insights into women’s place in belief systems and ceremonies, oral histories reveal women’s perceptions of the changes they have seen, and autobiographies provide a glimpse of individual women’s lives.” (Perdue, p. 3) However, this does not always hold true, and “Far less observant men either ignored women altogether or fell into a pattern of depicting them as slaves and harlots.” (Perdue, p. 4) The selected textbooks depict accurate descriptions of life for female American Indians, but not always from the perspective of a female American Indian. Instead, the textbooks and the research they rely on are primarily written by men. Historically, “Victorian propriety led them to talk primarily with men or to exclude menstruation, childbirth, and sexuality from their
conversations with women.” (Perdue, p. 5) These issues played, and still play, a large role in society but are not mentioned due to the lack of a female perspective.

When American Indian traditions and customs are not understood or not placed within the right context, they can be misunderstood. Historically, the portrayal of American Indian women on the Plains has been placed into the archetype of the Irish maid. (Kehoe, 1983) When not described as the stereotypical maid, women were described as “slaves and beasts of burden.” (Gallatin, 1836) These are not flattering portrayals of American Indian women, and stem from the fact that the writer did not understand the role of American Indian women within the context of their own traditions, customs, and communities. American Indian women tend to be ones that keep and preserve the traditions and customs of the communities, which should emphasize the importance of the female voice in the historical narrative. Without, not only is there chance of misunderstanding the role of American Indian women, there is chance of misunderstanding American Indians in general.

Using Tribal Critical Race Theory as a lens through which to analyze the data from Chapter Four, I am reminded that one of the tenets calls for scholars to work for social change, and this includes working to include a female perspective. This is particularly true when writing about native women because the “gender of observers poses substantial problems for writing the ethnohistory of Native women because Native men and women lived remarkably separate lives.” (Perdue, p. 3) More important to remember is that fact that men “did not dominate women, and women were not subservient to men. Men knew little about the world of women; they had no power over women and no control over women’s activities. Women had their own arena of power,
and any threat to its integrity jeopardized cosmic order.” (Perdue, p. 13)  As an American Indian male, this is an important aspect to remember and to teach to others. For too long, male American Indians have forgotten these facts, and the evidence of this is manifesting in many of the social disorders that exist in American Indian communities. This call to social change is an important tenet, and a female perspective would have been useful in many aspects of the selected textbooks, such as the alcoholism, which is discussed later in this chapter.

Role of Elders

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks for their portrayal of elders, I looked to see if they were shown the proper respect for their status. In many American Indian cultures, elders are looked upon as a resource for learning about culture, politics, love, and life in general. This is not to say that everyone who has reached a certain age is an elder, and it should be noted that there is a difference between being elderly and being an elder. (Mark, 1985, Medicine, 2001) Elders are people, men and women, who are respected for the knowledge they have accumulated throughout their lifetime. This is not something that everyone can achieve, regardless of how many years they have lived. However, in most American Indian communities respect is shown to the elderly, regardless of their status as an elder.

As I was analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I searched for examples of young American Indians learning from their elders and I was unable to locate even one example of young American Indians learning from their elders. The only possible examples were in relation to the American Indian prophets, yet that does not reflect the day to day transmission of knowledge in native communities. Instead of finding the
examples of respect I expected when researching this topic, I discovered examples of young American Indians showing disrespect to their elders. An example would be when one of the selected textbooks reported that “Young militants challenged their elders in the National Congress of American Indians.” (Henretta, p. 879) Certain groups of young American Indians began challenging the National Congress of American Indians and other established groups in 1960, and this is one of the few instances the selected textbooks used to portray modern American Indians. Of course, rather than respecting the established organizations, they are portrayed challenging their elders. Instead of learning from and listening to their elders, the selected U.S. history textbooks show a break down in the relationship between the younger and older generation.

Why there is not a more detailed description of young American Indians learning from their elders is a question that will have many answers. Removing the importance of the elders in daily life, modern life in particular, is one step in the process of incorporating American Indian students into a Eurocentric lifestyle. It may also be that the authors’ own worldview does not reflect the daily importance of elders and therefore they did not include it. However, elders have long held an important role in American Indian life. From a traditional Cherokee viewpoint elders are often referred to as Grandfather or Grandmother, which is “an honorable title given to those who are respected in my tribe and in other American Indian and Alaska Native tribes. It is an honor earned with time, experience, and in helping others.” (Garrett and Garrett, 1996, p. 8) This is an important concept that needs to be explained in order to understand the lived experiences of American Indians. In the case of the selected U.S. history textbooks, it was not even mentioned. It would have been beneficial to include the perspectives of
both the younger and the older generations in order to fully describe the role of an elder and their importance to the community.

The portrayal and treatment of elders, all elders, not just American Indian elders, is a topic all critical researchers should address. Within American Indian communities, “an emerging cultural paradox… is the long history of respect for elders and the emergence of elder abuse as a problem. Elders commonly hold a special and respected place in traditional Native American societies due largely to their experience, knowledge, wisdom, and power as dreamers, healers, and teachers. Although violence against other tribal members is considered as unnatural and a threat to internal spiritual harmony, victimization, and abuse of elders and is recognized as a clandestine but increasing problem in the Native American community.” (Smyer, 2011) These issues cannot be directly tied to the way American Indian elders are portrayed in the five selected history textbooks. However, if the important role of elders and their stories in American Indian life is made well known, perhaps they can be utilized as a tool to help combat elder abuse. Textbooks can be one step in this process.

Role Models

After analyzing the portrayal of American Indian women and elders, I looked to see if American Indians were portrayed as appropriate role models with whom the young could identify. In order to find role models, I looked for examples of individuals who lived a moral life and gave back to their community. I also looked for examples of such individuals that were portrayed as real people and were not used to represent a larger theme. In that context, no American Indians were presented that could serve as role model or with whom young American Indians could identify. Prior knowledge of
individual American Indians presented in a historical context may allow them to serve as role model, but not just as they are presented in the selected textbooks. Within the last one hundred years, American Indians were rarely presented, and none in such detail that could serve as a role model. Not one of the five selected textbooks mentioned this critical idea.

The five selected U.S. history textbooks did not mention one American Indian that could serve as a role model, but many people of European and African ancestry were presented as role models. This places the American Indian student in a difficult position at an age when identity formation is taking place. They can choose their American Indian identity, and then have no one within the historical narrative with whom they can relate or look up to or they can deny their American Indian heritage and adopt others as their role models. As an American Indian, father, and educator, I find those options to be unacceptable. In order to provide another option, I have compiled a list of American Indians that could be incorporated into textbooks or supplemental materials to present American Indian role models.

A 2007 study found that children ages 4-12 could name famous American Indians when asked to do so, but they only named historical figures. When asked to name modern American Indian role models, many of the children could not answer the question. More than half of the children that could answer the question listed Wilma Mankiller, former principal chief, and the first female principal chief, of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma. In response, the study composed a list of modern American Indians that can serve as role models. They are Dr. Eloisa Garcia Tamez (Lipan Apache), defender of human rights and indigenous land claims; Charlene Teeters (Spokane),
educator and activist on issues concerning American Indian stereotypes and mascots; John Herrington (Chickasaw), astronaut and the first American Indian to walk in space; Cory Witherill (Navajo), race car driver striving to be the first American Indian to win the Indy 500; Notah Begay (Navajo/San Felipe Pueblo/Isleta Pueblo), P.A pro golfer and youth advocate; Winona LaDuke (Anishinaabe) activist, environmentalist, economist, writer, and Harvard graduate; Litefoot (Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma), actor, rapper, and corporation owner; Naomi Lang (Karuk), figure skater and the first American Indian to participate in the Winter Olympics; Sandra Sunrising Osawa (Makah), film producer and director; Sherman Alexie (Coeur d’Alene/Spokane), poet, novelist, film producer, and screenwriter; Patty Talahongva (Hopi), journalist and first American Indian to host a national news program. (Jean, 2007) In addition to the eleven American Indians listed above, I would like to add Billy Mills (Oglala Lakota), U.S. Marine and Olympic runner; and Oren Lyons (Onondaga), U.S. army veteran, lacrosse coach, and faith keeper for the Onondaga people. On the community level there are artists and musicians such as Fawn Wood (Saddle Lake First Nation) or Tatanka Means (Oglala Lakota) that could serve to inspire young American Indians to work hard and develop their talents. I would also like to add all of my fellow American Indian doctoral students to this list of role models. They are the next generation of elders and their hard work should not be ignored.

Value 3: Getting Along with Nature

Value 3: Getting Along with Nature addresses a perplexing problem for portraying American Indians. American Indians have traditionally lived closely with the Earth, as many people the world over have done in order to survive. The interactions between American Indians and the Earth have been recognized as unique, and this is not
a trait that should be ignored. However, there is the danger of moving from accurately portraying a people that have an intimate knowledge of the land they live upon and depicting a stereotype of an American Indian crying over litter. As shown in Chapter Four, the five selected U.S. history textbooks depict American Indians both ways. There are also instances in which American Indians are not recognized as humans and are depicted as part of the environment. From an American Indian perspective, humans are viewed as part of the environment existing in a web of interdependence. The textbooks are written from a Western perspective that distinguishes between humans and the natural world. In that case, when American Indians are portrayed as part of the environment they are dehumanized and seen as part of the landscape, something to exploit and dominate. This is part of the assimilation policy directed towards American Indians that is discussed in the following section.

*American Indians as Part of Nature*

As I analyzed the selected U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were depicted as respecting the natural harmony of nature, while not being portrayed as compulsive environmentalists. In general, the information regarding American Indians was again restricted to the archaic period and the early fur trade era. The selected textbooks contained information that presented different aspects of American Indian relationships with the environment, and presented how those relationships changed over time.

In the selected textbooks, American Indians were not portrayed as compulsive environmentalists. They were, however, portrayed as having a different view of the natural world than Europeans. Americans Indians were depicted as viewing land as a
common resource, and space within the textbooks was dedicated to American Indian use of the land for hunting and farming. While there was a focus on hunting and farming techniques, American Indians were usually depicted as adapting to the environment rather than adapting the environment to their needs. Despite research to the contrary, American Indian terraforming techniques were not generally mentioned nor was their impact on creating and preserving prairies and farmland.

While American Indians were not being portrayed as compulsive environmentalists, they were at times depicted as being either unable or unwilling to care for the environment. The selected textbooks start with prehistoric mammoth kills and move up to the stampeding of bison over cliffs to illustrate the waste of overkills conducted by American Indians. From the archaic period the selected textbooks move to the fur trade era, and give examples of American Indians participating in the fur trade with European merchants. In this role, American Indians are depicted slaughtering fur bearing animals in the name in greed.

These two roles, while complete opposites, illustrate the selected textbooks depictions of American Indians and their relationship with the Earth. Either American Indians are “Like the bison… [dispersing] across the landscape to minimize their impact on the land, wintering in the river valleys and returning to the High Plains in summer” (Boyer, p. 506) or they are wasting hundreds of pounds of meat and depleting animal populations. Ignoring for the moment the out of cultural context depictions of ancient American Indian hunting techniques, the racist implications of comparing American Indians to bison cannot be ignored. This may have been an attempt at cleverly linking American Indians to the environment, but what is actually achieved is a racist
perpetuation of stereotypes that is not necessary in order to describe the American Indian impact on the environment.

The comparison of American Indians to bison is one clear example of an assumed white supremacy. The selected U.S. history textbooks do not present other racial groups as animals, and they definitely do not do so as part of the narrative and not as a quote. This is part of the imperialist process of dehumanizing traditional American Indian societies and encouraging a policy of assimilation. Including an American Indian voice would have allowed deeper insight into how or why American Indians interacted with the environment in such a manner, but the selected U.S. history textbooks do not put American Indian interactions with the environment into a tribal perspective. This is not unique to the selected textbooks, as “the scientific community largely ignored the knowledge and experience of native peoples and failed to take their knowledge of nature seriously.” (Limerick, 2003) While this is true, it is more disturbing when this is placed within a context of assimilation and colonization. Limerick (2003) also points out that by “casting Indians as “part of nature” unavoidably dehumanized them, obscuring their humanity with a style of description more appropriate for animals. Indeed, many nineteenth century and early twentieth-century naturalists chose to study Indians and their cultures in much the same way they studied the West’s flora and fauna, as curiously foreign objects to be sketched, cataloged, and recorded. The well-established custom of including collections and displays on Indians in natural history museums exemplifies the common habit of classifying Indian life as a sub-category of nature. In this unsettling framework, individual Indian people became “specimens” for study and display.” This philosophy holds true today as the selected U.S. history textbooks portray American
Indians as part of the environment, directly as bison and indirectly as specimens to be analyzed and studies.

**Value 4: Individual Freedom**

Value 4 addresses individual freedom, and the data reflecting this value is presented in Chapter Four. Individual freedom is another trait that is often used to describe American Indians, as is evidenced not only from the five selected textbooks but also other historical writings. The themes I identified when analyzing the data from Chapter Four relating to individual freedom are the depiction of American Indians as distinct religious or spiritual people and the appearance of American Indians. Both themes are prone to generalizations, reducing American Indians to one homogenous cultural group instead of reflecting the differences that exist and within the various American Indian communities and tribal nations. An analysis of these themes describes how they are homogenized through text and photographs.

*American Indians as Distinct Religious or Spiritual People*

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks for the portrayal of American Indian spirituality/religion, I looked for portrayals of American Indians as superstitious or as heathens, or for the various religious traditions trivialized as meaningless dances and songs. The selected textbooks did mention American Indian spirituality/religion, but not in a way that would portray it as anything less than a respected way of belief. While the various American Indian religions were portrayed respectfully, they were generalized into one homogenous generic belief system. Specific American Indian prophets are mentioned, such as Wovoka (Northern Paiute, 1856-1932) and Handsome Lake (Seneca,
ca. 1735-1815), but the selected textbooks do not differentiate between the different religious groups or the deeper spiritual impact the religious traditions and revival movements had from a tribal perspective.

I also analyzed the selected U.S. history textbooks for examples of references to entities possessing a spirit or power to be respected. I found that the selected textbooks did not provide much information about this topic, and the only physical entities mentioned in the selected textbooks that contained a spirit or power to be respected was the environment. Comments such as “Native American religions revolved around the convictions that all nature was alive, pulsating with spiritual power” (Boyer, p. 17) and “Spiritual power, they believed, suffused the world, and sacred spirits could be found in all kinds of living and inanimate things – animals, plants, trees, water, and wind” (Foner, p. 14) are examples of how the selected textbooks portray the spiritual power associated with the environment. It is commendable that the selected U.S. history textbooks portray the natural world as being part of the American Indian spiritual world, but it is unfortunate that they generalize so many religious beliefs in doing so.

In a positive step, one of the selected textbooks attempts to make American Indian spirituality seem less exotic by putting it into a global perspective for that time period. The selected textbook states that “In some respects, however, Indian religion was not that different from popular spiritual beliefs in Europe.” (Foner, p. 14) Many people around the world during the archaic period lived closely with the Earth and believed in spiritual forces. While it is only is passing, the selected textbooks do mention that. By comparing American Indian religions to those of Europe, it does lend them a legitimacy that is not given to superstitions and war whoops.
The idea of colonization and the government’s goals of assimilation characterize these portrayals of American Indian religious beliefs. They are portrayed as one decentralized system that is focused on the spiritual forces inhabiting the natural world. This is a tactic used to create the idea of an American Indian that does not exist. American Indians are not one people, and instead comprise hundreds of different tribal communities with religious beliefs that are not interchangeable and vary among the different communities. As a colonizing tactic, the reduction of Cherokees, Mohawks, Lakotas, Navajos, Crees, and others into a conceptualized “American Indian” minimizes the autonomy and inherent sovereignty of each tribal community. The first step in doing so is minimizing the religious differences between the communities and then portraying the religious beliefs as an uncomplicated nature based belief system.

The selected U.S. history textbooks do not present information from an American Indian viewpoint, and this lends itself to misinterpreting American Indian religious beliefs. When discussing religious beliefs, it is important to include the voices of those that hold those beliefs so that they are portrayed in a manner that makes the rites and symbolism meaningful not only to those that share the same beliefs, but also to those that do not. For many people, religion plays a large role in their life, and American Indians are no different. When their belief system is not explained, not only is the lives of individuals trivialized, but also their ability to adapt and survive. This is why the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 was passed. This legislation was intended to protect American Indian religious freedoms due to the lack of respect and knowledge regarding the indigenous religion and spiritual practices.
American Indian Appearance

When analyzing the selected history U.S. history textbooks, I looked to see if American Indians were depicted dressed in mainstream, contemporary clothing. The selected textbooks do not contain much information regarding American Indians in modern times, so the majority of the portraits, photos, and descriptions of American Indians are over one hundred years old. However, the clothing they are depicted in is usually contemporary for that time and place. While examining the clothing of the American Indians portrayed in the textbooks, I looked to see if they were dressed in culturally authentic garb, or if they were all wearing feathers and headdresses regardless of the culture. In the selected textbooks, the American Indians were portrayed wearing clothing that was culturally appropriate. The majority of pictures featuring American Indians were of people from the Great Plains, so they did wear feather headdress at the appropriate time. This may lead to the idea that all American Indians dress this way, but the selected textbooks also included examples of American Indians who did not dress with feathers and headdresses. I also looked to see if American Indians were depicted with a wide range of physical features, avoiding the “Red Man” stereotype. The only physical descriptions relating to American Indians in the selected textbooks are quotes from European explorers describing American Indians as tall and well proportioned. The textbook also include portraits and pictures that illustrate the physical features of American Indians. In addition, the selected textbooks do include information regarding the diversity of peoples included under the term American Indian. While this does not necessarily challenge the “Red Man” stereotype, they do attempt to dispel the idea that all American Indians are one people.
Assimilation is a government policy directed towards American Indians and this can be seen in the many photographs that the selected textbooks contain. This is particularly true of the ones that are before and after photographs of the boarding school experience. The photographs of the boarding school experience clearly demonstrate the assimilation policies of the government and their effect on American Indians. However, the selected textbooks do not continue the stereotypes of American Indians being one people, looking and dressing alike. A variety of American Indians are depicted among the five selected U.S. history textbooks, from various times, and in various means of dress.

The assimilation process is taken a step further in the depiction of American Indian appearance. Without an American Indian voice or perspective, American Indians do not have the freedom to express who they are or determine what an American Indian looks like. In contemporary times, American Indians come in all shapes and sizes, but this is not depicted in the selected U.S. history textbooks. The inclusion of photographs and paintings of American Indians that depict physically features traditionally associated with native people must be included, but so should depictions of American Indians that represent the multicultural reality of many American Indian communities. An example would be the late J. Christopher Stevens who served as a U.S. ambassador and was killed in Libya. His photographs illustrate his light hair, skin, and eye color but he is a Chinook tribal member who could inspire young American Indians with his service to his country and high educational achievements.
Value 5: Courage

Value 5: Courage is the value that stood out most to me when analyzing the data presented in Chapter Four. Courage can be defined in many ways, but when I think about the struggles American Indians have endured over the last few hundred years, I see courage in many forms. As I analyzed the data that was presented in Chapter Four, I realized American Indian males are often portrayed as heroic in battle, and their courage is admired. I also noticed that American Indian males were depicted courageously defending their rights and lands through diplomatic means and court cases. As I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, women do not enjoy this same depiction. And no American Indians were portrayed demonstrating courage that was not in battle in court. The courage that it takes to endure, to raise a family and hope for a better life, is not depicted. The means to do this, and how they relate to courage, are analyzed below.

A Vanishing Race

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks, I searched for examples of American Indians portrayed as contemporary people and not a people who mysteriously disappeared and no longer exist. Most of the information regarding American Indians in the selected textbooks has been set within the archaic and fur trade eras. These are not contemporary eras by any means, but American Indians are not portrayed outside of these eras with any great frequency. One of the selected textbooks spoke prophetically, stating that “In some histories of the colonial period, Native Americans make only a brief appearance, usually during the earliest years of conquest and settlement. After initial contact with the first European invaders, the Indians seem mysteriously to disappear from the central narrative of colonization, and it is not until the nineteenth century that they
turn up again, this time to wage a last desperate battle against the encroachment of white society.” (Divine, p. 85) Sadly, this example speaks for all of the selected textbooks. American Indians are portrayed in the second half of the selected textbooks, but not nearly as often as they were in the first half. Information after 1900 was limited to the New Deal and Civil Rights, and a few of the selected textbooks contain information regarding the Navajo code talkers of World War II. The information regarding American Indians in the modern era usually depicted American Indians as either poor, militant, or both.

The idea of American Indians as a vanishing race is not a new concept, though it was not intended to illustrate the disappearance of American Indians from the historical narrative. Instead, researchers believed that American Indians would cease to exist as a people and their culture would fade away. The textbooks purposefully illustrate this concept with the inclusion of the photograph of Little Plume and Yellow Kidney. (Henretta, p. 517) In this photograph, many traditional artifacts are displayed, such as the leather clothing with intricate beadwork, the feather fan, and even the tipi itself. However, what is interesting about this photograph is not what is displayed, but what is not. The selected textbook points out that the photographer removed modern items, such as a clock, from the photograph. In the case of the photograph of Little Plume and Yellow Kidney, pointing out what traditional artifacts are missing is just as informative as pointing out what is in the photograph.

In the case of the five selected textbooks, all five included much information regarding American Indians during the archaic and fur trade periods, but they do not mention American Indians again until the Civil Rights movement with a brief mention of
the American Indian Movement. By not including information about American Indians during the first sixty years of the 1900’s implies that American Indians did not contribute anything of significance and presents the false image that American Indians had vanished from the American historical landscape. The lack of information regarding American Indians during the early years of the 1900s also allows history to not report the government’s attempts at tribal termination and relocations.

By effectively removing American Indians from the modern historical record, the process of assimilation becomes easier by passing on a different version of history to young students, even American Indian students. This policy of imperialism and white supremacy that calls for a telling of history that focus on those of European ancestry does little for those that do not fit that mold.

*Alcoholism*

When analyzing the selected U.S. history textbooks I found examples of a complete disregard of the gift of life by American Indian males. This disregard for their own lives bled over into how they interacted with others and their community as a whole. Traditionally, an individual American Indian’s identity is tied up with the identity of his or her community. When that tie is broken, personal and societal issues arise. In the case of the selected U.S. history textbooks, the catalyst behind this societal brake down is alcohol.

In modern American Indian communities, drug and alcohol addiction are problems that are being addressed with varying degrees of success. The selected textbooks provide examples of this, such as “In their despair, some turned to alcohol, increasingly available during the 1660s despite colonial efforts to suppress its sale to
Native Americans.” (Boyer, p. 69) Turning to alcohol was not a traditional American Indian practice, and results in isolation from the community and reduced productivity. Violence, nonparticipation within the community, and turning away from tradition are examples of a breakdown in American Indian identity that results from alcohol and drug abuse. This is also mentioned when the selected textbook states that “Alcoholism, a continuing problem exacerbated by the prevalence of whiskey as a trade item (and by the boredom that resulted from the disruption of hunting and other traditional pursuits), became more prevalent as Native Americans strove to adapt to the constraints of reservation life.” (Boyer, p. 512) These problems are constant in American Indian communities, but are only addressed by one of the selected U.S. history textbooks. In all five of the selected U.S. history textbooks, American Indians are portrayed revering the lives of others, including their enemies. But the same value was not demonstrated without the context of a community. The examples provided by the textbook shows the growing contempt for life, demonstrated by the alcoholism that develops as the traditional ways of life deteriorate.

The selected textbooks portrayal, or lack thereof, of alcoholism is consistent with public perception. All of the selected textbooks mention alcohol abuse in American Indian communities, but only one of the books examined the causes and effects of alcohol use in traditional American Indian communities. The supplying of alcohol to tribal nations in order to cause social and political disruption is part of the colonizing process, and its origins need to be discussed within the historical narrative. One argument for not including a deeper analysis of American Indian alcohol abuse is the fact that non-natives were also abusing alcohol in the regions, however “Although a high rate
of alcohol consumption was common among colonists as well, the prevalence of the problem in both communities does not diminish its effect on Native peoples.” (Perdue, p. 77) And while non-natives were also abusing alcohol, the demand for alcohol and the illegal selling of alcohol to American Indians demonstrates a systemic policy of interaction with American Indians that characterized an entire period of history. Historically, “Only an insatiable demand for alcohol kept the Indians providing a constant supply of skins.” Alcoholism “disrupted [American Indian] society as a whole. Self-inflicted injuries, fights, and murders frequently resulted. Violence increases; wrongs had to be avenged; further violence occurred.” (Perdue, p. 77) Alcohol abuse disrupted traditional life styles and led to the slaughter of many fur bearing animals.

Within the communities, the limited role of American Indian women “in the trading economy shielded most of them from addiction to alcohol”, but “women were more likely to have an unpleasant association with liquor, for often alcohol was the catalyst for sexual abuse.” (Perdue, p. 77-78) The idea that women were shielded from alcohol addiction due to their economic roles is not discussed in the selected textbooks, nor is that fact that women suffered physical and sexual abuse due to the alcoholism. Alcohol abuse rates are very high in American Indian communities, and are still often directly related to drug and alcohol abuse. This is a topic that needs to be addressed. The portrayal of alcohol abuse does not present a good image of American Indians, nor does it help to prevent negative stereotypes. However, a community driven curriculum could help to provide information about the long history of the abuse of drugs and alcohol in American Indian communities while remaining respectful and presenting much needed solutions to this problem.
American Indian Humor

While analyzing the five selected U.S. history textbooks, I was filled with a sense of despair. American Indians have suffered horribly due to policies of colonization and assimilation. An analysis of the selected textbooks points out that even though there was horrible suffering, it is not always presented within the historical narrative. The can present the idea that American Indians have suffered greater than anyone, and that their unique contributions are ignored by the larger world. Sam Deloria (2012) addresses this by asking, “Is it better to direct the young people’s attention to the fact, historical fact, that many people today have more serious problems than they do; that down through history many people have overcome worse handicaps; and that there are numerous opportunities for them to make the lives they want? Or is it better to make them feel that they are ‘absolutely’ unique in the world and unique in history, that no one has been as abused and neglected as they and their people and that the world is out to get them?” I agree with Sam Deloria that it is better to point out that American Indian students can overcome the problems that they are facing, and one of the aspects I sought to analyze was the concept of American Indian humor. American Indians are stereotyped as a stoic group that does not laugh or smile. The truth is, American Indian life is full of humor and laughing. After a thorough analysis of the selected textbooks, this side of American Indian life could not be found. No mention of American Indian comedians was found, nor is the idea that humor is what has helped American Indian communities survive over five hundred years of contact with a colonizing force presented in the five selected U.S. history textbooks.
Traditionally, humor has always been a part of American Indian life. The Cherokee langue is “full of puns. Humorous comparisons occur when an accent or an inflection is changed, altering a word, and of course this play on words does not translate into English.” (Duncan, p. 18) Examples of this are not included in the five selected U.S. history textbooks, but some examples of this within the Cherokee language are the words for fight and dance, the phrase “windy month” and “strawberry time”, and the words for flowering and duck. In English the puns may not seem amusing, but when someone mispronounces the dance, and instead asks for a fight, it can result in something to laugh about later.

When analyzed from an American Indian perspective, native humor takes on a new meaning. This is particularly true due to the difficulty in translating concepts between languages, and non natives may not be able to appreciate the humor when it is translated into English. However, the use of American Indians stories can help to bridge the cultural and language gaps. For modern American Indian humor, these stories come from comedians that relate the real lived experience of American Indians into a humorous format. Some of the more well known American Indian comedians that can be used for this are Will Rogers, Charlie Hill, Vincent Craig, Don Burnstick, the 49 Laughs comedy group, The 1491s comedy group, and Another Indian Uprising comedy group. A group of writers that can also be used for demonstrating American Indian humor are Vine Deloria, Jr., Gerald Vizenor, Louise Erdrich, Thomas King, Sherman Alexie, and Drew Hayden Taylor. (Gross, 2012) This list of American Indian comedians and writers is just a small list of the humorous talent that exists within American Indian communities, but it demonstrates that American Indians are not without a sense of humor.
Analysis and Recommendations

Analysis

The portrayal of American Indians in textbooks has changed over the last one hundred years. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two shows that over time, there has been a growing awareness of the negative portrayal of minority groups in U.S. history, and this includes American Indians. However, the literature was almost exclusively quantitative and was not analyzed from an indigenous viewpoint. The data presented in Chapter Four used an indigenous qualitative method that looked at the text from a different perspective. Rather than focusing on word usage, this method focused on the subtle portrayal of family, the Earth, and other shared concepts.

These shared concepts are the basis for an American Indian identity, and their inclusion or exclusion says much about how American Indians are portrayed and interpreted. Tribal Critical Race Theory states that educational policies are intended to focus on assimilation and the data presented in Chapter Four supports this. As I gathered this data, I saw the distance between what was presented regarding American Indians and what is reality grow as the historical narrative moves towards contemporary times. The overt racism of times past has improved, but the cultural genocide that has become institutionalized is still alive and well. This can be seen in all five of the selected U.S. history textbooks.

From an indigenous perspective, women are the backbone of culture, tradition, and community life. Traditionally, women are to be respected and their roles are vital to
not only the continuation of American Indian life, but life in general. In many American Indian cultures women enjoyed personal and sexual freedoms that were unheard of by their European counterparts. In modern times, American Indian women are still the backbone of communities and serve as cultural repositories. To ignore their historical contributions and inherent importance is to sever a key component of American Indian life.

Grande (2004) writes that what is needed is a red pedagogy, a critical indigenous pedagogy that works towards decolonization. One component of her red pedagogy is a strong indigenous feminist approach. This component is definitely needed when analyzing U.S. history textbooks. The data collected and analyzed shows that as part of the assimilation process, a European historical model is imposed on American Indian history that focuses on the activities of males and relies on males to depict the lives of women. Not only is this contradictory to tradition, it is at best going to relay inaccurate information.

Current critical feminist methods have been developed from a female perspective, but not from a native female perspective. Grande (2004) mentions this as well, and calls for a method that helps to deconstruct what she calls a whitestream feminist approach. She is correct in her assertions, and the data supports this. A female indigenous perspective is necessary in order to provide an accurate view of the true lived experiences of American Indians.

As an enrolled Cherokee tribal member, women have played an important role in my life from family, to religion, to community relations. As an American Indian male, American Indian females have had a direct impact on my life and my cultural identity.
From this perspective, it is impossible to separate the history of women from my own history. When the history of women is separated from the history of men, as is depicted in the five selected U.S. history textbooks, the historical narrative is changed. An American Indian viewpoint that does not include this feminist perspective is an altered viewpoint that does not accurately reflect Americans Indians or history. One of the goals of Tribal Critical Race Theory is to change how American Indians view schools, but that is an impossible goal when American Indian students cannot see their mothers, sisters, and grandmothers portrayed in the textbooks.

As an American Indian male I cannot accurately portray the lived experiences of the women in my community, nor can I accurately depict their activities or customs due to the traditions that separate the lives of men and women. The selected textbooks also cannot achieve this goal without including this feminist perspective. All five of the selected U.S. history textbooks include female authors, but none employ an American Indian woman. This does not mean, however, that only American Indian women can, or should, work towards improving the portrayal of American Indian women. As an American Indian male, what I can contribute is the opportunity to give a voice back to American Indian women and include their thoughts, perspectives, and history in the larger narrative.

Brayboy (2005) and Grande (2004) call for more attention directed at indigenous lifestyles, and this need is seen in the portrayal of American Indian economic systems. The authors of the selected U.S. history textbooks depict Western economic systems, their development, and their implementation throughout Europe and colonial America. These models, however, cannot explain the economic systems that were employed by
tribal nations or the traditional value systems still practiced by many American Indian communities. The capitalist model, which encourages individualism and the pursuit of monetary wealth, does not work from a traditional American Indian viewpoint. Resources are not to be exploited for profit, and the well being of one’s family and community are one factor by which people are judged in American Indian communities. Traditional stories teach about protecting natural resources of food and water, and the impact a culture of disrespect can have. When compared to the capitalist model which is portrayed in the selected textbooks, the differences become evident. The textbooks are presented from a Western viewpoint, which does not have a similar economic model to relate American Indian economic systems to other than communism or ancient systems of barter. Neither model correctly explains indigenous economics or the differences among the various tribal nations. What is needed is a deeper analysis of the values that explain economic systems, including capitalism. This would allow students to relate economic decisions to the values of the community and to be able to draw comparisons between Western and American Indian economic models. In order to this, the American Indian voice would have to be included, which would be beneficial in not only explaining economics but also culture.

The realities of American Indian politics were also not explored in the five selected U.S. history textbooks. Different political systems were explored, and they the extremes from the mound building Natchez and their Great Sun to confederation of six tribal nations that comprise the Iroquois to the decentralized groups of families that no longer exist as independent groups. These examples provide a glimpse into how American Indians were organized in a variety of places, but they do not answer the
deeper questions of how and why. They also do not provide a context for American
Indian political systems that will allow students to explore the evolution of tribal
governments and their relationship to individual states, the federal government, and even
international bodies such as the United Nations.

The process of assimilation works toward erasing tribal identities and making
“Americans” out of American Indians. By not including modern tribal governments in
the textbooks, the idea that tribal governments no longer exist is perpetuated. The
struggles over the last one hundred years are ignored, as are the success and failures of
tribal governments in preserving treaty rights and attempting to enforce agreements made
between them and the U.S. federal government. I have spoken with elders from many
tribal nations and communities, and modern American Indian history contains many of
the same elements as the ancient history that textbooks are used to including. However,
bringing modern American Indian history into the curriculum would mean that the
process of assimilation has failed, that American Indians still exist, and that tribal
governments that have existed before contact with colonial America are also capable of
efficiently serving communities and tribal nations.

As an American Indian male, I have been taught that my responsibility is to my
family, including and especially the female members of my family; to my community,
both economically and politically; and to my God. The five selected U.S. history
textbooks do include information regarding American Indian religions, but it is a
generalized description that does not convey the differences between the many
indigenous religions nor the subtle differences within the religions. As the historical
narrative moves towards modern time, the differences in religions continue and the
inclusion of new religions that include elements of Christianity need to be included.

From a Cherokee perspective, the distinctions among religions can be seen between the stomp grounds and the various Protestant churches. A deeper analysis would show that many Cherokees attend both the stomp grounds and church, and see no conflict in doing so. There are differences within and among Cherokee communities, and not all see attending stomps and church services as compatible or advisable. These situations are not confined to Cherokee communities and take place throughout tribal communities. In order to include these differences, or to even expand upon the similarities, American Indians would have to be consulted and their voices included in the narrative. This too would illustrate that the assimilation process has failed and American Indian religions are thriving in the communities in which they originated.

**Recommendations for Further Study**

The data presented in Chapter Four was analyzed in Chapter Five through a Tribal Critical Race Theory lens, which indicates that while there have been improvements in the portrayal of American Indians in textbooks, the policies of colonization and assimilation are still being employed. After analyzing the data, questions have been raised that warrant more research. Solutions to including more and/or more accurate data relating to American Indians need to be developed. Modern American Indian history needs to be addressed, and further research needs to be conducted on American Indian women’s history and the various definitions of who constitutes an American Indian. Using Tribal Critical Race Theory, further research must be directed from a community based perspective.
As an educator, I would recommend the inclusion of not only more information regarding American Indians, but more information containing a deeper analysis of American Indian cultures. The framework has already been provided in the selected textbooks that highlight various American Indian communities and tribal nations. Instead of only highlighting the various communities, I would suggest more study on the subtle distinctions between the communities such as kinship, religion, and economic systems. However, I would not end the study with only the differences. I also suggest more study on the interaction, both politically and socially, among the many American Indian communities and tribal nations. As the curriculum becomes more globalized, the interactions among the original nations of this continent can provide a new insight into how an international system can work. As an educator in the state of Florida, it has been my experience that many of my students have family members in other countries and have family members that speak other languages and have different customs. This is particularly true of my American Indian students, who often have relatives that live on more than one reservation. I suggest a deeper analysis of American Indian communities in order to demonstrate how tribal communities incorporated others, and how tribally mixed families handle the cultural differences and relations in the past and in modern times. This would be beneficial to students who are experiencing the same situation.

As an educator, I would also suggest expanding my study. My study focuses on the portrayal of American Indians in selected U.S. history textbooks in Hillsborough County, but each of these populations could, and should, be expanded. For the purpose of my study, I defined American Indians as the indigenous people of what is now the United States. If that definition was expanded to include the indigenous people of what is
now Canada or any of the countries of the Americas, the analysis may reveal different and interesting results. Similarly, expanding the geographic boundaries from Hillsborough County, Florida to include the entire United States or focusing on a county that includes a larger reservation population may also produce a different analysis.

I would also suggest expanding this study to include not just U.S. history books, but to also include textbooks from other subject areas. Similar research has already started with the analysis of science textbooks for the inclusion of traditional American Indian knowledge. However, social studies textbooks should have more information regarding American Indians and I would suggest conducting research on how American Indians are portrayed in world history textbooks to include an analysis of the portrayal of indigenous people globally, and an analysis of the Florida history curriculum to see how Florida’s first people are portrayed.

As an American Indian, I would suggest conducting a textbook study from an indigenous female perspective. As an American Indian, the absence of our women in the textbooks is troubling. International bodies are calling for investigation into the abuses of indigenous women in almost every country in the Americas, but it is hard to change the mind of the youth when American Indian women are either not portrayed or portrayed inaccurately. An analysis of how American Indian women are portrayed would probably produce different results when they are examined independently, and these results would be beneficial to improving the overall portrayal and teaching about American Indian women. A feminist approach would also be beneficial in that a feminist lens would provide insights that a male perspective would not. An indigenous feminist lens would
be the best, allowing for the subtle aspects an American Indian woman’s life to be analyzed as part of the greater narrative.

As an American Indian, I would also suggest including American Indian authors in the construction of textbooks. It is important to have American Indians either write or assist in the creation of U.S. history textbooks. It is important to include American Indians in the textbook process because American Indians desire “to have an opportunity to tell our own stories – not recited from a history text but told through the voices of our own members.” It is important to help “the outside world understand that these legends are important because they belong to [American Indians], not because someone outside our community can recite them.” (Duncan, p. xi) These are concepts that are echoed by many different ethnic, racial, linguistic, and gender groups throughout the years, and American Indians are no different in this respect. Tribal Critical Race Theory points out the aspects of colonization, assimilation, and white supremacy are institutionalized and not including American Indians in at least the consulting process of creating a U.S. history textbook clearly illustrates these policies.

As an American Indian, I would also suggest the inclusion and analysis of modern American Indian history. American Indians have proven they are not a vanishing race, as they were thought to be for so many years. Modern American Indian history tells the stories of our grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. It allows American Indian students to see that their families, the basis of their identity, are valued by the school. It also allows the schools to acknowledge the contributions of the current generation of American Indians, allowing the schools to view American Indians as an integral part of the United States. An analysis of the portrayal of modern American
Indian history would probably produce different result than examining the entire historical narrative, and the results could be used to press for the inclusion of American Indians in contemporary times.

As a male American Indian educator, I call for any research that will lend itself to the accurate portrayal of American Indians and tribal communities. I particularly call for more research with a feminist perspective that will help to honor and protect our mothers, wives, and daughters while instructing ourselves and our sons. I also call for more research on modern American Indian issues, so that our children know that we still exist, and that their grandparents are real people and not stereotypes or sports logos.

What It All Means

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in U.S. textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. The study identified which of the textbooks under consideration contained the greatest amount of information dedicated to American Indians. The five textbooks analyzed in this study were America’s History (Henretta, 2011), Out of Many: A History of the American People (Faragher, 2011), Give Me Liberty: An American History (Foner, 2011), The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People (Boyer, 2011), and America Past and Present (Divine, 2011). The exploratory questions that guided this study were:

1. How are American Indians portrayed in five selected U.S. history textbooks?
2. Under what conditions can Tribal Critical Race Theory help illuminate how American Indians are portrayed in textbooks?

The first exploratory question, how are American Indians portrayed in five selected U.S. history textbooks, is not answered positively. Chapter 4 provided examples of how American Indians are portrayed, and this chapter analyzes that data. What is found is that overt racism has declined in comparison to other studies. However, the policies of assimilation and colonialism are still in use. American Indians communities are not described in detail, but rather in general. The same can be said of the depiction of American Indian males, who are portrayed as warriors and diplomats without domestic responsibilities. The portrayal of American Indian women particularly demonstrates colonialism and assimilation in that the female perspective is missing from the narrative. American Indian elders are also colonized, as they are excluded from the nuclear family and are not portrayed as teaching the young or being accorded the respect they deserve.

The second exploratory question, under what conditions can Tribal Critical Race Theory help illuminate how American Indians are portrayed in textbooks, can be answered positively. Rather than focusing on word usage and frequency, Tribal Critical Race Theory allows an analysis of the deeper underlying meaning of words and depictions. The focus on assimilation and colonization, rather than race, allows for the portrayal of American Indians to be analyzed within the political realities of American Indian identity rather than race based concepts developed by colonial leaders.
Summary

In Chapter One, I described the context and purpose of the study: to describe and explain the portrayal of American Indians in five U.S. textbooks selected for review in Hillsborough County’s 2012 textbook adoption. I also explained the theoretical framework, Tribal Critical Race Theory. I described how my personal and professional experiences have led me to research this topic.

In Chapter Two I reviewed the literature regarding textbook bias through the lens of the Five Values. Overall, a study of the research regarding textbook bias, especially that concerning American Indian, is not very uplifting. Secondary sources point out the huge gaps in research and the obvious biases that are evident in textbooks. Primary sources provide evidence that people are taking notice of these biases and would like for a change to occur. The literature also shows that there is a lack of research from an indigenous perspective and using indigenous methods.

In Chapter Three I explained the methods I used in describing the portrayal of American Indians in five selected United States history textbooks. I also explained the methodology influencing my choice of methods and my use of them. I used critical case study and I used the guiding questions of qualitative content analysis as my method. Tribal Critical Race Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis are the theoretical perspectives that lie behind my methodology. I explained their significance to the researcher and there contribution to the field. I also described my role as a researcher as well any ethical issues related to this study.
In Chapter Four I presented the data. I have conducted a critical case study of the five selected United States history textbooks and presented the data that has resulted from this analysis. The data has been gathered using the guidelines developed by Sanchez (2007) and organized using those Five Values.

In Chapter Five I have analyzed the data. I analyzed the data presented in Chapter Four through the lens of Tribal Critical Race Theory. This lens yielded results that other theoretical frameworks have not, in particular revealing aspects of colonization and its impact on selected textbooks portrayal of American Indians.
References


Ahuvia, A. (2000). Traditional, interpretive, and reception based content analysis: Improving the ability of content analysis to address issues of pragmatic and theoretical concern. *Social Indicators Research, 54*(2), 139-172.


Mark, R. (1985). "The Role of Elders in Contemporary Native Education" (manuscript), University of Calgary.


Medicine, B. (2001). "My Elders Tell Me", *Learning to Be an Anthropologist & Remaining 'Native': Selected Writings*, p.73


NAACP (1939). *Anti-Negro Propaganda in School Textbooks*


Appendix A: List of United States History Textbooks Considered for Adoption in Hillsborough County, Florida for the 2012 Textbook Adoption.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Publication Date</th>
<th>Lead Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bedford/St. Martin's.</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Henretta, J.</td>
<td><em>American History</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadsworth.</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Kennedy, D.</td>
<td><em>The American Spirit: United States History as seen by Contemporaries, Volume I.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadsworth.</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Kennedy, D.</td>
<td><em>The American Spirit: United States History as seen by Contemporaries, Volume II.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Sample of Index Analysis

Out of Many: A History of the American People

abenakis Indians
cayuse Indians
acoma Indians
cherokee Indians
adena culture
cherokee nation v. Georgia
aleut Indians
english-indian encounters
algonquian Indians
cheyenne Indians
american indian defense association
chichimec Indians
american indian movement
chickasaw Indians
american revolution: indians and
children: Indian
anasazi Indians
chinook Indians
apache Indians
chippewa Indians
arapahoe Indians
choctaw indains
assiniboin Indians
civil war: in indian territory
athapascan Indians
clovis tool trade
bannock Indians
king philips war
big foot, chief
new netherland: relations with Indians
black elk, chief
comanch Indians
black elk speaks
creek Indians
blackfeet Indians
creek warcrow indians
black hawk
culture: indian america
black hoof, chief
curtis act
black kettle, chief
custer died for your sins
board of indian commissioners
dawes plan
brant, hoseph (chief)
dawes severalty act
bureau of indian affairs
deganawida, chief
cahokia
delaware indians
cayuga Indians
deloria, vine jr.
Appendix C: Further Readings on Textbook Bias Towards Other Racial/Ethnic Groups

African American Textbook Bias


Asian American Textbook Bias


Hispanic Textbook Bias


Gonzalez, A. (2011) Knowledge, skills, and dispositions influencing middle school teachers’ decision making in planning social studies instruction in a Hispanic serving school

http://hdl.handle.net/2152.2/448

200
## Appendix D: Contribution Per Book Per Value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E: Cherokee History

Cherokee history before colonial times is debatable, but it is known that Cherokees inhabited parts of what is now the Southeastern United States before European explorers arrived in the Americas. A history of interaction and intermarriage binds Cherokee history to that of the Southeast, linking tribal communities to colonial expansion, the American Revolution, and the Indian Wars in the South. Cherokee communities were divided over colonial, and later American, demands for land and assimilation, but Cherokee resistance peaked during the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the Trail of Tears.

Westward migration and the Trail of Tears physically split an already divided Cherokee people into those remaining in the East, mostly in North Carolina, and those in the West, most residing in Oklahoma. Continuous loss of land and civil rights plagued Cherokee communities regardless of their location. The federal government of the United States attempted to end Cherokee self governance in Oklahoma with the Dawes Act of 1887.

Despite these attempts, Cherokee communities have survived into modern times. There are three federally recognized Cherokee tribes; the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma, the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians; and a number of state recognized Cherokee tribes. The diversity within these communities reflects the histories and interactions Cherokee people had and
have with outside groups. The conflict between these communities also reflects the history of differing political opinions and degrees of assimilation.

Despite these differences, a common Cherokee culture has endured that continues to link Cherokee people together, regardless of their political affiliations. This can be seen in many of the cultural activities and tribal issues that bring people together. Today, Cherokee leaders and researchers are working to preserve Cherokee culture and language while attempting to provide Cherokee youth with a better future.
Appendix F: Peer Reviewer Form

I, __________________________, have served as a peer reviewer for “A Critical Case Study of Selected United States History Textbooks from a Tribal Critical Race Theory Perspective” by Gary Padgett. In this role, I have worked with the researcher throughout the study in capacities such as reviewing transcripts and assisting in emerging issues.

Signed: ____________________________________________

Date: ______________________________________________

(Janesick, 2004)
Appendix G: The Five Great Values Authenticity Guideline

Value 1: Generosity and Sharing

1. Do the Native American people share their possessions?
2. Do they give/share selflessly and humbly?
3. Is the revered bounty of Mother Earth shared?
4. Are they encouraged by family, friends, or tribe to develop and share their talents for the good of all?
5. Are they represented as uniquely separate individuals as well as members of the group?
6. Are children portrayed as “lovingly taken care of” by family, relatives, and non-relatives?

Value 2: Respect for the Elderly and Women

1. Are male/female elders shown proper respect for their wisdom?
2. Are they portrayed as appropriate role models with whom the young can identify?
3. Are women portrayed as integral, respected, and important, instead of detached and subservient?
4. Are the younger depicted learning from elders, especially through story-telling?
5. Are elders portrayed speaking to the younger without interruption?
Value 3: Getting Along with Nature

1. Are Native Americans depicted as respecting the natural harmony of nature, but not as compulsive environmentalists?

2. Are there references to entities possessing a spirit or power to be respected?

3. Is the family unit depicted, teaching children love, responsibility, and life?

4. Is the humanness of Native Americans recognized, i.e., laughing, playing games, having fun, being with family and friends, etc.?

5. Is a language of respect utilized in referring to Native Peoples, i.e., avoidance of offensive and stereotypic terminology?

6. Are they portrayed as speaking “broken” English?

7. Is their spirituality/religion respectfully portrayed via ceremony, or is it referred to as superstitious, heathen, meaningless, or trivialized ceremonies, dances, songs, or “war whoops”?

8. Are they depicted with a wide range of physical features, avoiding the “Red Man” stereotype?

9. Are they dressed in culturally authentic garb, or are they all wearing feathers and headdresses regardless of the culture?

10. When depicted in contemporary times, are they dressed in “mainstream” garb depending upon the setting?

11. Do they have stereotyped surnames, or authentic translations, including “European” names?
12. Are ceremonial artifacts correctly depicted and explained, such as fetishes, medicine bundles, the wearing of turquoise and silver, the medicine pipe or calumet (not “peace pipe”), etc.?

13. Are they portrayed eating a diverse diet, and using utensils or just their hands?

14. Is accurate information provided concerning dwellings (or do they all seemingly live in tipis?), duties of adults and children, ceremonies, and practices?

15. Are they portrayed as contemporary people and not a past people who mysteriously disappeared and no longer exist?

**Value 4: Individual Freedom**

1. Are the Native American people depicted as accepting responsibility for the consequences of a chosen action or decision?

2. Are they portrayed as not imposing their individual will upon others because of a chosen action?

3. Is the leadership of the tribe properly depicted via multiple chiefs, the role of women in leadership, the Tribal Council, and the leadership operations for the good of the tribe?

**Value 5: Courage**

1. Is the courage of individuals heroically depicted as an effort to give to or protect one’s people, or is it referred to as “fanatic,” “savage,” “massacre,” or other terms that give the impression of a totally warlike culture?
2. Are they humble in their exploits and never personally boasting?
3. Are they portrayed as stoics, unable or unwilling to express emotion (unless around strangers)?
4. Do they show proper reverence for the gift of life?
5. Is there a distorted impression that non-Native Americans brought a “superior” civilization to Native Americans such that Native cultures and achievements are demeaned, or are Native civilizations depicted as complex and sophisticated?

Additional Considerations

1. Is the author(s) a true Native American?
2. Is there evidence that the author(s) consulted a Native American?
3. Do the photos/illustrations accurately reflect specific tribal/cultural traditions, symbols, and/or art forms?
Appendix H: IRB Certificate of Completion

Certificate of Completion

Gary Padgett

Has Successfully Completed the Course in

Foundations in Human Research Protections at USF

On

Monday, September 12, 2011
About the Author

Gary Padgett is a native Floridian and enrolled Cherokee tribal member. He has earned a Bachelor’s Degree in Secondary Social Science and a Master’s Degree in History. He has also earned graduate certificates in Cuban Studies and Diversity. His research interest during these years involved the teaching of history, traditional Cherokee culture, and the international indigenous struggle. His Doctoral work focused on the portrayal of American Indians in textbooks and other forms of media.

Gary Padgett has experience working in the field of education in both teaching and administrative roles. He has also worked at the college level as an adjunct history instructor. He has worked in magnet schools, Title I schools, renaissance schools, and in tribal education systems.