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## A Critical Case Study of Selected U.S. History Textbooks from a Tribal Critical Race Theory Perspective

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## A Critical Case Study of Selected U.S. History Textbooks from a Tribal Critical Race Theory Perspective

### 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 and analyzed how that information was portrayed. The exploratory question that guided this study was, 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 (Janesick, 2004; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The Five Great Values, as developed by Sanchez (2007), are Generosity and Sharing, Respect for Women and the Elderly, Getting Along with Nature, Individual Freedom, and Courage and 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.

### Keywords

Tribal Critical Race Theory, Textbook Bias, American Indians, Critical case Study, Assimilation.

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## A Critical Case Study of Selected U.S. History Textbooks from a Tribal Critical Race Theory Perspective

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*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 and analyzed how that information was portrayed. The exploratory question that guided this study was, 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 (Janesick, 2004; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The Five Great Values, as developed by Sanchez (2007), are Generosity and Sharing, Respect for Women and the Elderly, Getting Along with Nature, Individual Freedom, and Courage and 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. Keywords: Tribal Critical Race Theory, Textbook Bias, American Indians, Critical case Study, Assimilation.*

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### 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.

### **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 also makes use of critical discourse analysis. According to Teun van Dijk (1993), 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” (p. 279). 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 Question

The following exploratory question guided this study:

1. 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 Race 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” (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001, p. vi). By researching American Indian 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 (Appendix A) 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 as well. 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, pp. 312-313) 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” (as cited in Kendall, 2007, p. 8). This is important for even non-indigenous researchers to understand my research methods and how the results of my analysis were reached.

### **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 supposed to be the great equalizer, teaching everyone English and giving them a common cultural background.

Today, educational policies are shifting, and in some places 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.

## **Methods**

### **Research Design**

The research design for this study was a critical case study. As such, this critical case study was 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 this critical case study, I answered the questions who, why, how, and where. Janesick (2004) 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, pp. 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*
4. *Data Analysis* (Mukhongo, 2010, pp. 51-53)

Like Mukhongo (2010), Rubin and 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 and Rubin (2005) and illustrated in Table 1, capture my approach:

**Table 1:** Rubin & Rubin Steps toward Data Analysis

Step	Action	Purpose
1	Recognize	Find the concepts, themes, events, and topical markers in the interviews.
2	Examine	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.
3	Code	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.
4	Sort	Group all of the data units with the same label together. Then, look for how the concept was seen overall and examine for nuances.
5	Synthesize	Put the concepts and themes together and show how they answer my research questions and produce broader implications.

(Rubin & Rubin, 2005, pp. 206-208).

## 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. This study focused on textbooks designed to be used in high school 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 was 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. Appendix A 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 consisted 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 (see Table 2).

**Table 2:** United States History Textbooks

Publisher	Publication Date	Lead Author	Title
Longman.	2011	Divine, R.	<i>America: Past and Present.</i>
Prentice Hall	2011	Faragher, J.	<i>Out of Many: A History of the American People.</i>
Bedford/St. Martin's.	2011	Henretta, J.	<i>American History</i>
Wadsworth.	2011	Boyer, P.	<i>The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People.</i>
W.W. Norton & Company.	2011	Foner, E.	<i>Give Me Liberty: An American History.</i>

**Why.** Case studies are usually selected “because they are highly effective, not effective, representative, typical, or of special interest” (Neale, Thapa, & Boyce, 2006, p. 3)



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 former 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 also 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 States' population. 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 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 can 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 in 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 (1993), 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” (p. 279). 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 allowed 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, which gave me access to the universities research library, and professors.

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. 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 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 former 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.

### **Analysis: Interpretation and Recommendations**

#### **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 (2005), 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.

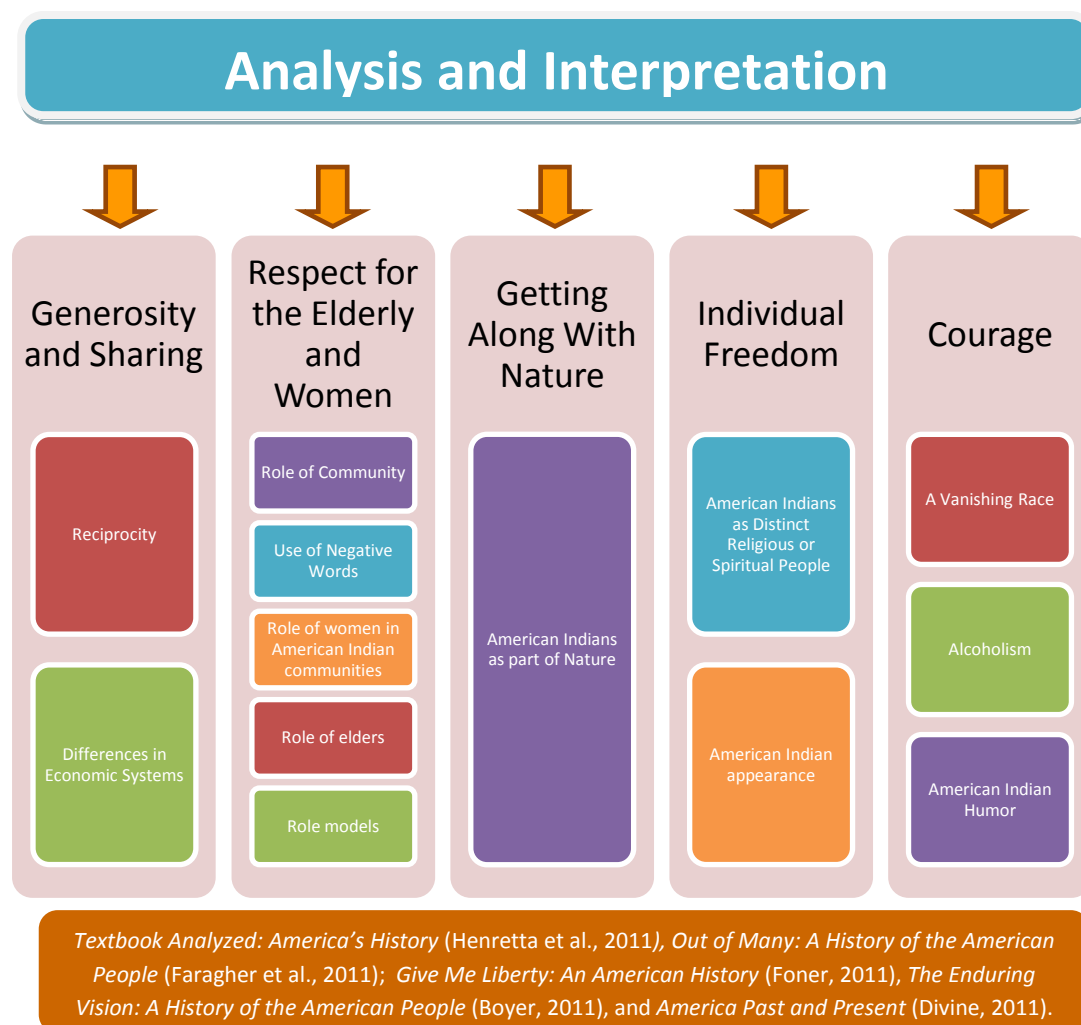
9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change. (Brayboy, 2005, pp. 429-430)

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, Edwards, & Self, 2011), *Out of Many: A History of the American People* (Faragher, Buhle, Czitrom, & Armitage, 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 guided this analysis by providing an indigenous way of seeing these influences and how they are incorporated. These influences were 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

I used the Five Values to organize my analysis of the data that was presented in the textbooks. 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. This is illustrated in Figure 1, Analysis and Interpretation.

**Figure 1.** Analysis and Interpretation



## Analysis and Recommendations

### Analysis

The portrayal of American Indians in textbooks has changed over the last one hundred years. 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. I 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 white stream 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 American 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 represented the extremes from the mound building Natchez and their Great Sun to the 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 analyzed through a Tribal Critical Race Theory lens 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 a former educator in the state of Florida, it has been my experience that many of my students had 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 this study. This study focused 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" (Duncan, 1998, p. xi). 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, 1998, 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 that 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 et al., 2011), *Out of Many: A History of the American People* (Faragher et al., 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 question that guided this study was:

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

The 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.

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## Appendix A

List of United States History Textbooks Considered for Adoption in Hillsborough County, Florida for the 2012 textbook adoption.

Publisher	Publication Date	Lead Author	Title
Longman.	2011	Divine, R.	<i>America: Past and Present.</i>
Prentice Hall	2011	Faragher, J.	<i>Out of Many: A History of the American People.</i>
Bedford/St. Martin's.	2011	Henretta, J.	<i>American History</i>
W.W. Norton & Company.	2010	Tindall, G.	<i>America: A narrative history.</i>

McGraw-Hill	2012	Brinkley, A.	<i>American history: Connecting with the past.</i>
Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company.	2013	Danzer.	<i>The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st century.</i>
Wadsworth.	2010	Kennedy, D.	<i>The American Pageant.</i>
Wadsworth.	2011	Boyer, P.	<i>The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People.</i>
Wadsworth.	2010	Kennedy, D.	<i>The American Spirit: United States History as seen by Contemporaries, Volume I.</i>
Wadsworth.	2010	Kennedy, D.	<i>The American Spirit: United States History as seen by Contemporaries, Volume II.</i>
Wadsworth.	2012	Wheeler, W.	<i>Discovering the American Past: A look at the Evidence, Volume I.</i>
Wadsworth.	2012	Wheeler, W.	<i>Discovering the American Past: A look at the Evidence, Volume II.</i>
W.W. Norton & Company.	2011	Foner, E.	<i>Give Me Liberty: An American History.</i>
Pearson Education, Inc.	2013	Lapsansky-Werner, E.	<i>United States History: 1850 to the Present.</i>

## Appendix B

### 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 storytelling?
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 C**

### **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**



4/5/2012 12:28:34 AM

### **Author Note**

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