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Indigenous Metaphysics: Challenging Western Knowledge Organization in Social

Studies Curriculum

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Dolores Calderon

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The dissertation of Dolores Calderon is approved.

Duane Champagne

Sandra Harding

Peter McLaren

Daniel G. Solórzano, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

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DEDICATION

For my mother and father, Yolanda Estrada Calderón and Raymundo Calderón. For my siblings, Gerardo, Pat, Susy, and Cecy, and their children, April, Heather, Josh, Martin, Denise, and Elena. For all my aunts, uncles, cousins, husband, and friends.

And for the *Abuelos*. I am of you.

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VITA

Texas Tech School of Law, Lubbock, Texas J.D. conferred, 8/1996 – 5/1999

Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York B.A. conferred, History and Latin American Studies, 8/1992 – 5/1996

UCLA Graduate School of Education Graduate Student Researcher: Latina Equity in Education Project, 2002-2004

Teaching Fellow: "Chicano/a Studies 101- Theoretical Concepts in Chicana/Chicano Studies", Spring 2006. UCLA, Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies Instructor: Eric Avila

Teaching Fellow: "Chicano/a Studies 10B- Introduction to Chicana/Chicano Studies: Social Structure and Contemporary Conditions," Winter 2006. UCLA, Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies. Instructor: Otto Santa Ana

Teaching Associate: "Chicano/a Studies 10A-Introduction to Chicana/Chicano Studies: History and Culture," Fall 2005. UCLA, Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies. Instructor: Alicia Gaspar de Alba

Teaching Assistant: "Chicano/a Studies 101-Theoretical Concepts in Chicana/Chicano Studies," Spring 2005. UCLA, Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies. Instructor: Reynaldo F. Macias

Teaching Assistant: "Chicano/a Studies 10B-Introduction to Chicana/Chicano Studies: Social Structure and Contemporary Conditions," Winter 2005. UCLA, Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies. Instructor: Maylei Blackwell

Teaching Assistant: "Chicano/a Studies 10A- Introduction to Chicana/Chicano Studies: History and Culture Chicano/s Studies, Fall 2004. UCLA, Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies. Instructor: Maria Cristina Pons

UCLA Academics in the Commons Student Retention Program Teaching Associate: "Education 80-Understanding the Collegiate Experience," Summer 2005 Instructor: Bruce Barbee

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

- Calderón, D. (2008). "The White Settler-State and its Legal Devices: After all this time why do "we" think the "master's tools" will help?" at the Second Annual Critical Race Theory in Education Conference, Chicago, Illinois
- Calderón, D. (2007). Social Studies Curriculum, Multiculturalism, and Indigenous Education" at *American Educational Studies Association*, Cleveland, Ohio
- Calderón, D. (2007). "Indigenous Disruptions of 'Colonial-Blind' Discourses in Multicultural Education" at the Native American Students in Advanced Academia (NASAA) Symposium at the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington
- Calderón, D. (2007). "Multicultural Education as Colonial Education: Indigenous Disruptions of 'Colonial-Blind' Discourses" at the *Third International Globalization, Diversity, and Education Conference*, Spokane, Washington
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Indigenous Metaphysics: Challenging Western Knowledge Organization in Social Studies Curriculum

by

Dolores Calderon Doctor of Philosophy in Education University of California, Los Angeles, 2007 Professor Daniel G. Solórzano, Chair

Researchers have found that the K-12 system is actively inculcating students with Western metaphysical constructs that are antithetical to Native culture and knowledge organization. Daniel Wildcat (2001) argues that education in the U.S. "bears the largest imprint of Western metaphysics..." and that the "the hope for American Indian education lies first in the explicit identification of features of the Western tradition or worldview that produce many of the problems we are immersed in today; and second, in the active reconstruction of indigenous metaphysical systems..." (pp. 1,10). In my dissertation I identify the explicit features of the Western

tradition in social studies curriculum. Specifically, my research examines how curriculum transmits systems of knowledge that are antithetical to Native world-views. Through a text analysis of history-social science content standards and U.S. History textbooks, I analyze how these texts disseminate information that affirm western world views, and in turn disaffirm Native world-views. I utilize a transdisciplinary theoretical framework that draws from Smith's (2002) decolonizing methodologies, Calderon's (2006a, 2006b) Critical Interstitial Methodology, and Strauss and Corbin's (1998) Grounded Theory to capture how Native themes are explicitly dealt with in the texts in order to establish what types of learning students are explicitly intended to receive; how these lessons reaffirm western knowledge organization and conflict with Native world-views; analyze texts in order to recommend where Native issues should be included, in order to make curriculum organization receptive to multiple knowledge systems; and link up how current treatment of Native peoples in social studies curriculum reproduce removal and termination period ideologies.

My findings demonstrate that curriculum standards and textbooks are not neutral transmitters of information. Rather they export specific world-views that are detrimental to the continuance of Native views and culture. Truly pluralistic curriculums that incorporate multiple world-views benefit all as we find ourselves in a historical moment where important paradigm shifts are needed if we are to survive globally.

CHAPTER-ONE MAPPING IDEOLOGY ALONG THE CURRICULUM PIPELINE

I. Introduction

Throughout this dissertation, I argue that in order to truly understand why curriculum is produced the way it is, it is essential to understand the framework within which it is produced. Curriculum, particularly social studies curriculum, is an important component of what I name the Colonial Model of Education (CME).¹ In the United States, the CME represents a key pillar supporting the structure of a white settler-state.² In turn, the structure of the white settler-state is firmly embedded in foundations that need to be explored as well. I contend that situating social studies curriculum as a product of the white settler-state illuminates why social studies curriculum is produced the way it is. It also exposes deeper foundational issues that are otherwise left unexplored. Vine Deloria (1979, 1992, 2006) identifies this foundation as western metaphysics³ or worldviews. Therefore, in order to understand the types of curriculum prominent in public schooling, including textbooks and the standards that shape them, I

¹ I define the Colonial Model of Education as the education practices, discourses and policies prominent in settler states that promote assimilatory curriculums and educational practices. I provide a more detailed definition in chapter two.

² I briefly define a white settler-state as a state founded by European immigrants as a result of colonial expansion. The white settler state promotes a narrow brand of nationalism that is built upon a series of mythologies and assumptions. I provide a more detailed definition in chapter two.

³ I briefly define western metaphysics as the set of Eurocentric assumptions and system of knowledge, or western world-view. This concept is explored in greater length in chapter three but for now I am referring to the concepts associated with Western Metaphysics such as dualism, linearity, and origins.

look to the metaphor of the structure described above, beginning with the notion of the curriculum pipeline.

In this chapter, I introduce the concept of *the curriculum pipeline* in order to situate my examination of social studies curriculum. In particular I examine social studies curriculum because I offer it provides the clearest examples of the CME. In this regard, I outline how my own background influences this project, including how I utilize the notion of cultural intuition (Delgado-Bernal, 1998) to guide my study. I also provide a detailed description of the issue I examine in this dissertation—namely the manner in which educational discourses, in this case social studies curriculum, promote western worldviews at the expense of indigenous worldviews. In order to do this, I ask a series of questions that aid me in this investigation. I make the argument that this dissertation is highly significant because it critically examines foundations often absent or overlooked by other research, including research claiming to promote multicultural perspectives.

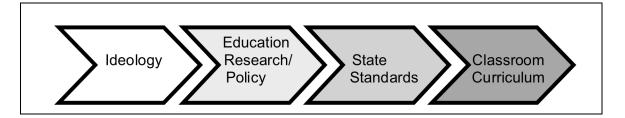
In chapter two, I situate this project within the broader sweep of Indian education in the United States, including a review of the changing nature of federal Indian policy and the development of Indian education programs. By doing this, I offer a series of concepts, informed by the history and development of Indian policy and education, that aid in the investigation of social studies curriculum. These concepts include the white settler state and the Colonial Model of Education (CME). In chapter three, I examine the idea of metaphysics, particularly Vine Deloria's framework of western metaphysics and the extensive literature on indigenous metaphysics. This foundational work is necessary, I argue because it illuminates how education today, indeed social studies curriculum, is a direct product of western metaphysics and its structural purveyor—the settler state. Chapter four is a description of the methodological and theoretical approaches used in this dissertation. In this fourth chapter, I describe how I utilize indigenized perspectives that allow for the critique of western metaphysics in curriculum.

In chapter five I examine previous research on representations of Indians in history textbooks, finding that these representations affirm settler-state ideologies and perpetuate western metaphysics. In chapter six, I outline my findings, which are based upon the examination of high school history textbooks in current use. I also provide a narrative analysis demonstrating how these textbooks maintain western metaphysical approaches, reify settler state ideology, and thus maintain the CME. In the following chapters seven and eight, I examine the accompanying content standards, in order to trace how standards shape and influence what I found in the textbooks I examine. Finally, in chapter nine, I provide an alternative curriculum that demonstrates useful ways to introduce indigenous informed perspectives missing from the history textbooks I examine, drawing from an indigenous informed curriculum pipeline.

II. The Curriculum Pipeline

This dissertation represents an investigation of what I refer to as the *curriculum pipeline*,⁴ which I conceptualize as the path ideology takes to become the official knowledge (Apple, 2000b; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991) used in the public classroom. As the illustration below represents, there are a variety of locations or processes within this *curriculum pipeline*. This *curriculum pipeline* is a simple diagrammatic representation; it can be further divided to represent more detailed locations and processes along this pipeline. However, I choose this simple representation because it best captures my intent: to trace the genealogy and trajectory of very specific ideas, ideologies, concepts, etc., as they are transformed into classroom curriculum.

Diagram 1: The Curriculum Pipeline



In my dissertation, I examine this curriculum pipeline beginning in the classroom. In this location, a variety of processes and artifacts are found, including teacher practices,

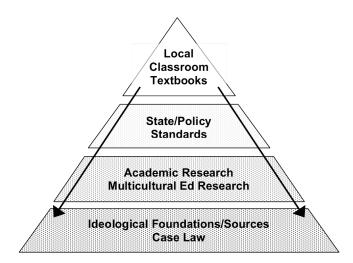
⁴ My definition of the curriculum pipeline represents an extension of the concept of the educational pipeline. Huber, et al. describe the education pipeline: "Within educational research, the pipeline metaphor is often used to describe how students move through the primary, secondary, and postsecondary levels of education. The educational pipeline functions well for some groups of students, allowing them to flow smoothly through the various levels of education and yielding a fairly proportionate number of high school and postsecondary graduates" (Perez-Huber *et al.*, 2006). I use the pipeline metaphor to describe how ideas move through a variety of locations to become official curriculum. The curriculum pipeline serves to funnel information in a selective manner, favoring particular ideas, and excluding others.

student learning, textbooks, testing, and so forth. I focus on one of the central and most important artifacts for building knowledge found in classrooms—the textbook. Utilizing the textbook as a source for locating, identifying, and analyzing ideologies, or more precisely particular worldviews, contained in the textbooks, I retrace these perspectives in reverse along the curriculum pipeline, moving back towards curriculum standards.

Diagram 2 below represents the broader conceptual path I took, beginning with textbooks, moving to standards, and tracing the ideological sources of what I found in textbooks.

Diagram 2: From Textbooks to Ideology

Diagram 2:



To restate, the curriculum pipeline is a key component of the CME prevalent in the United States, and parallels the structural metaphor I identify earlier.

In particular, I am interested in examining the multicultural content of the curriculum pipeline as it pertains to American Indians. Therefore, I examine what textbooks have to say about American Indians and just as importantly what they are not saying. Using these findings, I then look at standards to assess how the textbook findings are framed within content standards. To this project I bring a variety of lenses with which to explore this pathway. These lenses are informed by the projects of indigeneity in research, policy, and most importantly culture. This project affirms previous research and it builds on the important work of a variety of people, communities, and institutions working from or towards indigenous education. Likewise,

this project begins from my own experiences, which are shaped by community, place, and ultimately indigeneity.

A. Researcher's Background & Interest

...American Indian educators, in particular, unlike their non-Native counterparts, are better prepared and well suited by experience to critically look at the deep roots of Western-inspired institutions and practices. Because of their bi- and often multicultural experience we can and should explore creative ideas and ways of establishing healthier Indian communities and sovereign Indian nations (Daniel Wildcat in Wildcat & Deloria, 2001; 19).

I began this project before I read Vine Deloria and Daniel R. Wildcat's *Power and Place: Indian Education in America*. However, Wildcat's (2001) statement strongly resonates with the reasons I undertook this project. In navigating my own schooling, I utilized a variety of resistance strategies (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998) to negotiate this challenging terrain. One of the most powerful strategies was simply going home, although in undergraduate this was mitigated by distance and economics.⁵ Place, or home, was therefore a part of this strategy of both resistance and renewal. This strategy conflicts with the calendar expectations of educational institutions that require above all, attendance. This conflict reated great anxiety and stress for me, as it was clear the institution and its agents did not understand my need to go home during times not officially sanctioned by the institution. Schooling has proved to be a one-way relationship, providing little room

⁵ Despite not being able to go home (El Paso, Texas) as desired during my undergraduate years at Vassar College in New York, I had the fortune to have a number of students from my local community in the same undergraduate institution. In a way, we recreated home, by gathering and cooking familiar foods, telling stories about home; in essence maintaining our ties to our home despite being so far.

for my own cultural needs to be fulfilled, and indeed for many indigenous students (90 percent attend public schools), who are simply not retained because educational institutions do not understand the pull of home, of place, of the diverse obligations indigenous students have to community and place.⁶ It is this tension that I draw from in order to examine public schooling and particularly curriculum.

A large part of this project has been guided by the notion of cultural intuition, which Dolores Delgado-Bernal (1998) conceptualizes as the unique perspectives and understandings of the world that, in her work, Chicana researchers bring to their research. This cultural intuition is informed by four sources that Chicana researchers utilize in educational research: personal experience, including collective experience and community memory; the existing literature on the topic; professional experience; and the analytical research process itself (Delgado Bernal, 1998). For me cultural intuition is shaped by my subjectivities as a Pueblo/Mexican/Legal/Education researcher. Looming large in my life, and centrally influencing this process of cultural intuition is the notion of place. For my part the first aspect (personal experience) of Delgado-Bernal's (1998) cultural intuition is shaped by place and this in turn, informs the other aspects of my own cultural intuition. For instance, I grew up navigating multiple borders, including cultural, geographic, economic, and political. Existing

⁶ Duane Champagne (2003) describes a successful model: "At UCLA we work directly with Native communities on a variety of issues such as health, Native theater, tribal court development, social welfare concerns, student recruitment, as well as political issues such as campaigns concerned with Native rights to engage in casino style gaming. Our strategy has been to develop a network of students, staff, tribal community members, and faculty directed toward Native cultural and contemporary issues. We believe this method has resulted in considerable student retention..." (p. xxiv).

literature concerning, for example western metaphysics is central in this project, as is my professional experience as a high school social studies teacher, outreach worker, and public defender.

My personal experience, as stated draws not only from collective experience and community memory, but from place as well. I was raised walking distance from the border with Mexico and the Ysleta Pueblo del Sur reservation, immersed in my father's Tiwa/Piro culture as well as my mother's Mexican culture. In a more recent context, for example, through a specific geography and relationship to geography, I have understood, from a very early age, the oscillating nature of the politics, policies and practices of Nation-State, the legal landscapes (Delaney, 1998) of nation-states.⁷ This knowledge is not unique to me. Without a doubt, this knowledge is part of a larger cultural knowledge. Vine Deloria's (1991, 2001) notion of power and place ads a different dimension to Delgado-Bernal's (1998) cultural intuition, which I explore in further detail in the following chapter.

Both my own personal experience and the collective experience and "community memory" (Delgado-Bernal, 1998) reveal, for example, a history of globalization that begins with European contact, challenging current notions of globalization as a recent phenomenon. It also challenges the notion that indigenous peoples have been passive actors in this relationship. For instance, Shepard's (2008)

⁷ Delaney, in Clark & Powell (2008), concept of legal landscape refers to "the complex ensemble of lines and spaces—territorial configurations—that give legal meaning to determinable segments of the physical world or actual lived-in landscapes." (p. 13).

work with the Hualapai describes that for indigenous communities these more recent narratives relating to colonization serve important purposes:

But these acts of commemoration and storytelling about racial violences and conquests serve a purpose beyond reminding people about morality and behavior: they stand as acts of defiance and decolonization. Stories told by the elders about the Long Walk from La Paz and the contemporary retracing of that moment of Indigenous resistance play a part in redefining and rescripting the narrative of colonization in northwestern Arizona (p. 17).

While Shepard (2008) highlights indigenous narratives of colonization, he never the less frames narratives within the western history. I argue, that instead of "rescripting and redefining the narrative of colonization" indigenous peoples maintain their own narratives of colonization that affirm their own perspectives, or worldviews. Better stated indigenous resistance and narratives of colonization can compel westerners to "rescript and redefine" their narratives of colonization.

For example, my own family and community's narratives tell of the relationships with Europeans that brought, for instance, the recessive trait of red hair; they tell the story of how the Rio Grande has been a central figure in shaping our lives. The river often changed course, creating islands that figure prominently in narratives. They tell how the countries of Mexico and the United States impact peoples' lives. Following the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the Mexican government feared loosing more territory and gave away free land to folks now finding themselves in a different nation, of which many families took advantage of, the result of which you have relatives on the Mexican and American side. They tell the story of how the

communities along the river and also were used to maintain cultural continuity. From the Pueblo Revolts of the late seventeenth century, the 1871 illegal incorporation of Ysleta by Texas, to Gaming, and the Narco wars of contemporary times, a multitude of actors and events have shaped my community. But more importantly they tell stories of resistance, renewal, and adaptation.

In such a context, the experience of place leads me to understand very intimately how the changing nature of the settler-state, its laws, economics, politics, and cultural practices impact communities' lives. It also reminds me that the community memory and collective experience of my own community serves as a witness to the recent history of the settler-state and thus has intimate knowledge and understanding of its processes. However, because place informs the process of cultural production and maintenance, these narratives do not focus solely on the material consequences of this history (Shepard, 2008). Instead, as Shepard (2008) explains regarding the Hualapai: "This Indigenous...line of vision rejects and critiques Enlightenment assumptions about time and space, the colonizing goals of the American nation-state, and the alleged separations between memory, place, and history" (p. 19). As such, it does not figure prominently in the day-to-day activities of community life, which are many times more concerned with familial and larger communal obligations.

However, public education has played a primary role in accomplishing the colonizing goals of the United States, and as a result formal education has consistently

been at odds with indigenous cultural, educational needs and desires. Gregory Cajete (1994) explains that educational processes in the United States "emphasize objective content and experience detached from primary sources and community" and is a "foundational element of the crisis of American education and the alienation of modern man from his own being and the natural world" (p. 26). I name this educational process, history, and practice as the Colonial Model of Education (CME). While public education has been an alienating force in my life, the lessons and knowledge gained from my community are also prominent. In this way, place serves as a powerful force against the process of alienation produced by schooling. Understanding these tensions between western and indigenous forms of education provides me a perspective "to critically look at the deep roots of Western-inspired institutions and practices..." in education, drawing on my multicultural experiences, in order to "...explore creative ideas and ways of establishing healthier Indian communities and sovereign Indian nations" (Wildcat, 2001; p. 19). In particular, these subjectivities allow me to critically engage the discourse of multiculturalism within which the needs of American Indian students are many times addressed. Like many other indigenous researchers before me, I celebrate multicultural education practices, but also point out the limitations of multicultural education in addressing particular Native educational needs as it continues to operate within CME.

B. Statement of the Problem

As Native peoples are becoming more prominent in different fields of social, political, and economic life, their distinctive voices calling for the maintenance of Native traditions, knowledge, and sovereignty must be recognized in the broad field of education. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2002)

Linda Smith (2002) challenges the field of education to listen to indigenous voices. This challenge is imperative as indigenous educational issues are usually placed in the same context as the challenges faced by Black, Asian-American, and Latino/a communities. While this framing generates important insights, it is also blind to others. This collapsing of "minority" educational issues into a standardized discourse ignores Native self-determination, its accompanying nation-building projects, and it does not take into account the importance of Native culture and knowledge in maintaining Native sovereignty.⁸ In fact, I argue multiculturalism is an outgrowth of the settler-state, and as such is poorly equipped to address needs of communities that challenge settler-state legitimacy. Therefore, I situate this project within the discourses of multiculturalism because it is a key discourse within which the educational needs of communities of color, including American Indians, are discussed, developed and implemented (McKenna, 1981). Because educational discourses, including multiculturalism, are informed and shaped by western metaphysics, or worldviews, indigenous metaphysics

⁸ There is also literature that examines how the standardizing discourses of multiculturalism do little to capture the complex identities and subjectivities of immigrant/transnational/diasporic communities (Bhabha, 2004; Lukose, 2007). In addition Peter McLaren's (1997; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005) texts *Revolutionary Multiculturalism: Pedagogies of Dissent for the New Millennium* and *Teaching Against Global Capitalism and the New Imperialism: A Critical Pedagogy* challenges normative formations of multiculturalism, asserting that the dominant trope of multiculturalism seeks "...to legitimize the social order through racial harmony, and a national identity based on the "Americanization" of marginalized cultures" (2005; p. 147).

are equally excluded. Therefore, I contend that a major issue facing educational research in the United States in general, and multicultural education in particular, is a lack of interrogation of the western metaphysics that both shape education and define the parameters of how we conceive and talk about education, continuing the CME. Duane Champagne (2007a) describes the reasons for this lack of awareness:

Many academic disciplines generate knowledge and techniques for solving issues and problems confronted by complex, highly specialized, and compartmentalized contemporary nation-states and communities. While there is some emphasis on multicultural orientations and gaining understanding of other cultures, most students are taught to confront issues and ideas within U.S. society or Western civilization. Academic disciplines collect and interpret data and generate theory with the idea of contributing to human knowledge, but knowledge is generally understood within Western world views or epistemological understandings (p. 355).

Extending Champagne's (2007a) insight, I argue that the organization of educational discourses and practices, as evidenced in social studies curriculum, in the U.S. preclude inclusion of Native knowledge systems and instead reproduce colonial education goals that seek to dismantle Native self-determination and ultimately assimilate Native peoples. Champagne (2007a) also charges that because knowledge is generated within the context of the nation-state this limits the scope of possible discourses. For this reason the operationalization of the nation-state, more specifically the settler state is an important analytic component in this dissertation.

For example, while racism and issues of access to education impact Native peoples this problematic does not incorporate Native peoples' desires to promote educational models that instead build upon sovereignty and cultural autonomy. Furthermore, current educational practices promote integration into larger U.S. society, do not encourage or promote Native self-determination. They are framed from significantly different assumptions about the world that many times run counter to Native metaphysics, or world views, maintaining the Colonial Model of Education (CME). While many scholars recognize the Eurocentric nature of schooling (Ladson-Billings, 1997; Swartz, 1992), the solutions or models many propose to challenge this Eurocentrism, such as multicultural education, do not take into account Native issues of sovereignty and culture. However, many proponents of multicultural education are also aware of this conflict. Geneva Gay (2004) calls attention to the fact, "[m]ulticultural education is essentially an affective, humanistic, and transformative enterprise situated within the sociocultural, political, and historical contexts of the United States." This accurate description of multicultural education (MCE) provided by Gay (2004) deserves further inquiry. I offer that understanding the United States as a settler-state clarifies the limitations of MCE, specifically within the CME, in which it is produced.

MCE research argues that the unidirectional flow of education in the United States brings antithetical and oppressive curriculum to indigenous and other disenfranchised communities. Contemporary education's implicit and explicit goals, in line with its historical legacy,⁹ I add, are to assimilate communities into western metaphysical norms (Foreman, 1987). Current educational practices and discourses are

⁹ Lomawaima (2001) defines this legacy: "Historically the goals of the colonial education of American Indians have been to transform Indian people and societies and to eradicate Indian self-government, self-determination, and self-education" (p. 5).

shaped by western metaphysical understandings of the world. This content serves to reproduce a master script¹⁰ of Eurocentric¹¹ ideology that scholars identify as white supremacy¹² (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Leonardo, 2004; Martinez, 1998; 341). Furthermore, extending Derrick Bell's (1994) interest convergence theory¹³ to education and coupling his insights with Champagne's (2005b) claim that the United States is ill-equipped to deal with the political demands of Native nations is revealing. In other words, current discourses of equity and access, multiculturalism, and other diversity initiatives cannot fully address the specific needs of Native peoples because ultimately indigenous peoples desires are incompatible with the underlying tenets of the nation building project of the United States (Champagne, 2005b). In fact, multicultural discourses may actually produce narratives and practices that are antithetical to native nation-building (McKenna, 1981). While discourses of equity and multiculturalism are relevant and

¹⁰ Swartz (1992) defines the master script as follows: "In education, the master script refers to classroom practices, pedagogy, and instructional materials—as well as to the theoretical paradigms from which these aspects are constructed—that are grounded in Eurocentric and White supremacist ideologies. Master scripting silences multiple voices and perspectives, primarily by legitimizing dominant, White, upper-class, male voicings as the "standard" knowledge students need to know" (p. 341).

¹¹ Swartz (1992) continues: "The term 'Eurocentric' refers to an ideology of body of myths, symbols, ideas, and practices that exclusively or predominantly values the worldview and cultural manifestations (e.g., history, politics, art, language, music, literature, technology, economics, etc.) of people of European origin, and that denigrates and subordinates the cultural manifestations of people from all other lands of origin" (Swartz, 1992; 342).

¹² White supremacy, I argue, is the central and organizing ideological component of advanced industrial society in the United States and is the concrete manifestation of western metaphysical structures. It is not a static ideology, as it has shifted and been historically redefined to maintain the patriarchal, economic, political, and cultural advantages that whiteness has provided in the United States and globally. See Charles W. Mills for a provocative and on point analysis of white supremacy.

¹³ The efforts of communities of color to achieve equality are mitigated by whites' interests and fears. In other words only when the interests of whites converge with those of communities of color are people of color's interests addressed.

necessary discourses, the assumptions and methods employed largely come from a perspective founded in western metaphysical norms that ultimately embody and perpetuate white supremacy. This echoes Derrick Bell's (2004) provocative claim that the fight for civil rights which took place within the courts served to legitimate a racial hierarchy in the United States. This legitimation occurs, Bell (2004) contends because the law functions as a tool to "induce both the dominant and dominated classes to accept the hierarchy" (p.188). Therefore African-Americans' marginalized status in society is permanent, and that by acknowledging this reality, blacks can move towards thinking and strategizing about how to shape their future as a community within these confines (D. A. Bell, 1995). It is not a coincidence that Derrick Bell's (1995, 2004) claims and Duane Champagne's (2005b) argument both touch upon underlying contradictions and limitations of the United States as currently organized. I believe that both Bell and Champagne expose the same contradictions because ultimately they expose some of the foundational characteristics of the United States as a settler-state.

Thus, education as it is currently conceived, proposed and practiced, for the most part does not serve the needs of Native peoples and their legitimate claims and continuance of self-determination, cultural autonomy, and sovereignty. Public education in the United States, I am arguing, must be understood as directly linked to a western metaphysical view of the world. Western metaphysic represent what American Indian philosopher Ann Waters (2004) describes as "the continued colonization of global resources, including humans, by participating as a beneficiary of that colonial capitalist

regime" (p. 169).¹⁴ On the other hand, Waters (2004) continues, Native peoples metaphysics support "sustainability of land and culture" (p. 169). Considering the scope of this dissertation, I believe the best way to demonstrate this is to examine social studies curriculum. Thus I argue that indigenous metaphysics, or worldviews, have a distinctive vantage point from which to begin, or continue, critical interrogations of educational practices in the United States.¹⁵

C. Research Questions

Thus in order to explore this problematic, I pose the following questions:

- How does education (social studies curriculum) embody western metaphysics?
- How does education (social studies curriculum) in the United States reproduce a Colonial Model of Education (CME)?
- How is education (social studies curriculum) antithetical to indigenous cultures and sovereignty?
- > What are the sources of western metaphysics in education?

By attempting to answer these questions through an in depth analysis of social studies curriculum I demonstrate that these current discourses leave little room for Native informed educational projects that promote Native nation building.

In order to answer these questions I provide a review of the literature on

education and western metaphysics. From this review I generate concepts that I use in

¹⁴ See also (Apple, 2000b; Darder, 1991; Giroux, 2001; McLaren, 1997, 2003)

¹⁵ I am not arguing that other projects that challenge western dominance and capitalism be dismissed and dismantled. Western peoples also have the duty to engage the system their forefathers created for them. I do want this project to remind Western peoples that in their own revolutionary projects they become, or continue to be colonizers, if they insist that their western methods should be taken up by all. In this way, this project encourages a multiplicity of movements that can strive together towards community, mutuality, and sustainability.

my analysis of the data, demonstrating how public education in the United States has been shaped by western metaphysics and continues to embody this paradigm. I also review the literature on indigenous metaphysics and elaborate on how indigenous metaphysics lead us to thinking about education differently than currently conceived and practiced. Then I examine social studies texts adopted by the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). Specifically, I examine how textbooks adopted for use reproduce western metaphysical ideas. Next, I analyze curriculum standards that shape and define textbook content in order to trace and map out how western metaphysical concepts and narratives find their way into textbooks. Extending this examination of the genealogy of western metaphysics in curriculum (textbooks and standards) demonstrates how central western metaphysical constructs are in social studies curriculum.

D. Significance of the Problem

Like the miner's canary the Indian marks the shift from fresh air to poison gas in our political atmosphere; and our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall of our democratic faith Felix S. Cohen (1953)¹⁶

Undeniably, the treatment of American Indians and Alaska Natives in the United States reflects most vigorously upon the strength and viability of democracy in the United States. Indian-U.S. relations expose a much deeper cultural conflict. This

¹⁶ From Lomawaima and McCarty (2002, 2006). Felix Cohen was Assistant Solicitor in the Department of the Interior in F.D.R. administration

cultural conflict I argue is one of worldviews, of metaphysics, or a people's first principles. Many times the more narrowly tailored needs of Indian education produces a disconnect between larger schooling discourses and practices, including those that aim at incorporating American Indian student needs. Yet as Felix S. Cohen's statement above demonstrates, this misunderstanding has larger implications. Unquestionably, as Lomawaima and McCarty (2002) make the case, education cannot be "merely a homogenizing and standardizing machine, unable to draw strength from diversity" (p. 281). Rather diversity, they insist, implies active engagement with the following paradox: How the U.S. government and its non-indigenous citizens have treated American Indians in the past and how they continue to wrestle with their relationship with tribes lie at the core of "... whether social justice and democracy can coexist" (p. 281). Echoing Cohen (1953), Lomawaima and McCarty (2002) ask: "If our nation cannot tolerate American Indians living as they might choose, both as Native people and as U.S. citizens, what does that mean for the democratic ideals of equality and freedom?" (p. 281). Correspondingly, if educational discourses such as social studies curriculum aimed at addressing and investigating the needs of diverse students gloss over or omit issues of Indian world-views and insistence to sovereignty, what does this mean for those discourses that claim to be multicultural?

This type of omission also has larger implications for the nation-state, more appropriately identified in the case of the U.S. as a white settler-state. Lomawaima and McCarty (2002) highlight:

If the nation-state cannot forge itself as a healthy, productive, and diverse society in its relations with American Indians, what hope can other citizens hold that their rights, beliefs, practices, and values will be respected and

protected?...American Indians are more than the miner's canary, whose full utility is realized only in its death. Indian experience and survival point the way toward the best possibilities inherent in the critical-democratic ideal: a democracy not balancing precariously on the adversarial see-saw of "majorities" versus "minorities" but rather flourishing from the roots of liberty, equality, justice, and respect for all" (pp. 281-282).

Education, according to Lomawaima and McCarty (2002), is a key component in this process. Therefore the dominant Colonial Model of Education (CME) in the United States needs to be engaged and wrestled with, and the specter of western metaphysics must be opened up to critical examination. This must be done in such a way that leads to important and necessary paradigm shifts in the way that education is thought of and how it is defined in the multicultural classroom. With the recent attention paid to the human created phenomena of global warming, its accompanying climate change, mass species extinction, and other catastrophic challenges to the maintenance of life systems, the miner's canary from the indigenous standpoint is the system of thought that has so carelessly brought us to this point.

Duane Champagne (2005) argues, similar to Lomawaima and McCarty (2002), that any "...state fully capable of recognizing the long-standing issues of indigenous peoples will need to recognize their claims to land; their different understandings of land, community and government; and their different cultures and values" (p. 4). He continues, "[o]nly a state that **can include and respect the Native rights to land, self**- government, and culture without direct coercion can achieve the goal of an open and democratic state" [emphasis mine] (p. 4-5). Departing from Lomawaima and McCarty (2002, 2006) Champagne's (2005) charges that the current form of the nationstate is not equipped "to meet the democratic and consensual needs of indigenous peoples for inclusion within the state" (p. 4). He argues, because "Nation-states and multicultural nation-states do not extend their definitions of inclusion to bring in Native communities in a voluntary manner," the nation-state therefore denies "...the foundation of consensual inclusion critical to the definition of a democratic state" (p. 4). Champagne (2005) suggests, that instead a state equipped to deal with indigenous realities

...must be defined as a *multinational* state, where indigenous rights are recognized; their institutions, claims to territory, and cultures are respected; and they are allowed a mutually agreed measure of self-government according to their own understandings. Such a multination state would better achieve the consensual basis of society of all groups—indigenous, immigrant, ethnic, gender, and racial—and would better achieve the ideal of a democratic and consensual-based state government (p. 4-5).

Champagne's (2005) insightful argument, along with Lomawaima and McCarty's (2002, 2006) vision of critical democracy represent the larger types of paradigm shifts that need to take place. In order to engage this shift, though, there needs to be serious analytical inquiries that begin to conceptualize education in the United States within the context of the settler-state, specifically the white settler-state. While this literature is rich in countries such as Australia, Canada, Mozambique, and New Zealand (Anderson, 2000; Bishop, 2003; Errante, 2003; Moran, 2002) and not absent in the U.S. context

(Champagne & Abu-Saad, 2005; Falcon, 1995) it has yet to seriously enter the debates in education circles in the United States, and if it does, these investigations normalize and leave western metaphysics unchallenged.

My dissertation represents a significant entry into researching education as a function of the settler-state. Intimately related, this dissertation engages the notion of western metaphysics, which, outside of Indian education circles, has not garnered the serious attention this foundational issue requires. Education represents a site, which at once, blindly produces western metaphysical assumptions, yet also represents a space in which these specters can be met head on, as is evidenced in the curriculum pipeline. Social studies curriculum, I argue represents an area in which these limitations are most visible.

In order to properly frame social studies curriculum, the notion of the curriculum pipeline, and the related ideas of the settler state and the Colonial Model of Education, I provide a brief review of the history of Indian education and policy in the following chapter. Indian education provides an eye-opening backdrop that clearly illustrates education as a function of the white settler state.

CHAPTER TWO: INDIAN EDUCATION: HISTORICAL & CONTEMPORARY TRENDS

While I focus on specific aspects of the social studies curriculum pipeline in this study, it is nevertheless important to situate this work in the broader context of Indian Education within the historical sweep of U.S. practices. In this chapter I offer a brief review of the history of Indian Education, demonstrating that education in the U.S. is a key pillar of the settler-state. Similarly, I outline the key issues in contemporary Indian education including schooling, policies, standardization & assessment. From this review of Indian education I generate a series of concepts that help ground my analysis. Significantly, the history of Indian Education provides a roadmap of how western metaphysical structures have informed schooling. Situating this project in both the historical and contemporary trends of education as it relates to indigenous peoples in the United States, demonstrates that western metaphysics are indeed omnipresent. Specifically, this type of survey provides ample evidence demonstrating how Colonial Models of Education (CME) have evolved over time, responding to the needs of the white settler state.

I. Demographic Overview

Approximately 90 percent of American Indian students in the United States attend public schools controlled by the states and 7 percent attend Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) administered schools (Freeman & Fox, 2005). In addition, the "federal government has major financial responsibility for the education of American Indians" (Tippeconnic, 2001; 41). Most indigenous students in the United States are not enrolled in schools in which tribes control and define the types of educational curriculum being taught to students. As of 2002, only 1 percent, or 624,000, of public school students are American Indians/Alaska Natives, which represents 93 percent of the total Indian student population (Freeman & Fox, 2005).

Freeman and Fox (2005) explain that there are three different types of schools affiliated or administered by the BIA. Those schools operated by the BIA are generally called BIA-administered schools and are operated by the Office of Indian Education Programs (OIEP) housed within the BIA. Schools funded by contracts made with the BIA are referred to as contract schools and are tribally operated. Schools funded by BIA grants are referred to as grant schools and are also tribally operated. According to the Office of Indian Education Programs (OIEP), there are currently 185 BIA-funded schools, of which, the BIA operates 63, and 122 schools are operated by tribes through contracts or grants. These schools are located on 63 reservations in 23 states, and serve approximately 60,000 students, and to date, 60 percent of these schools serve 250 students or less.

Although American Indians and Alaska Natives represent a small portion (1 percent) of the total number of students enrolled in public school, it is nevertheless important that their needs are brought to the forefront of educational discourses and practices (Freeman & Fox, 2005). Moreover, American Indian/Alaska Native

populations are only expected to grow. As indicated in Freeman and Fox's (2005) report published by the National Center for Education Statistics the "Census Bureau projects that by 2050 the non-Hispanic American Indian/Alaska Native alone population will grow to 3.2 million" (p. 4). The American Indian/Alaska Native population increase of 55 percent between the years 2000 and 2050 will exceed the estimated population increase for Whites (9 percent), compared to the population increase for Hispanics (178 percent), Asian/Pacific Islanders (233 percent), and Blacks (56 percent) (Freeman and Fox, 2005). Despite this growth in indigenous populations, they will continue to represent approximately 1 percent of the U.S. population (Freeman & Fox, 2005). Interestingly, despite this rapid growth for people of color, whites in the year 2050 will continue to be a majority, although a slim one at 53 percent.

While 71 percent of the American Indian/Alaska Native population has a high school diploma or equivalent, the national graduation rate for American Indian/Alaska Native students for the 2003-2004 year is 49.3 percent (44.6 percent males and 50 percent of females), which has remained largely unchanged in the last decade (National Indian Education Association, 2007). The discrepancy between these two figures, diploma/equivalency and graduation rates, has to do with the sources of the data. For instance, the data for high school diploma or equivalent is taken from the U.S. Census 2005. This aspect of U.S. Census data does not account for "on-time" high school completion (C. B. Swanson, 2004), and it reports both high school diplomas and GEDs or equivalencies (Warren & Halpern-Manners, 2007). In addition this data reflects both

private and public high school completion information (Warren & Halpern-Manners, 2007). The latter data reporting graduation rates is drawn from the Common Core of Data (CCD) which is made up of enrollment and diploma data reported by school districts to states (Mishel & Roy, 2006). The CCD relies only on public school data (Warren & Halpern-Manners, 2007). Further characterizing educational attainment, Snipp (2005), relying on U.S. Census 2000 data (18 to 24 years), describes that only 64.1 percent of the population that identifies as single race American Indian/Alaska Native population has a high school diploma or equivalency, versus 71 percent of the mixed race American Indian/Alaska Native. Because Snipp (2005) relies solely on U.S. Census data he cannot provide disaggregated data on graduation rates.

Clearly, even demographic data fails to reveal the complex nature of schooling and indigenous students. For instance, looking at only one aspect of data and/or looking at only one data source may conceal important issues, including how and why graduation rates for American Indian/Alaska Native students are so low? Additionally, if significant numbers of American Indian/Alaska Natives are dropping out, or being pushed out of high school as seems to be indicated by graduation rates, additional types of information and research may help reveal why is this happening. And it may help reveal the pathway these students take to receive their high school equivalency. Moreover, there is evidence suggesting that high school equivalency does not provide the same economic capital as a high school diploma (Cameron & Heckman, 1993). As Snipp (2005) illuminates below, this demographic information also needs to differentiate single race American Indian/Alaska Native and multi-racial American Indian/Alaska Native as this may provide important insights into the complex histories and realities of American Indian/Alaska Native populations. Snipp (2005) explains:

About 2.5 million people were identified as nothing other than "American Indian" or "Alaska Native" in the 2000 Census. But another 1.6 million people were identified as American Indian or Alaska Native along with one or more other races, making a total of 4.1 million people who claim some connection with an American Indian or Alaska Native heritage. And clear differences distinguish children who are identified as American Indian or Alaska Native "alone" from those who are identified in connection with another race. In particular, multiracial American Indian or Alaska Native children are more likely to live with both parents, less likely to be in the care of grandparents, and more likely to live in households with higher incomes than single-race American Indian and Alaska Native children (p. 16).

To be sure, demographic data, while providing a snap shot of populations, can only provide so much information. Nevertheless, conscientious use of this information can provide important insights to state of education in the United States.

II. Federal Indian Policy & Indian Education

Indubitably, the history of Indian education is complex and unpredictable. From the traditional educational practices of the diverse tribes that precede contact with Europeans and the expansion of settler-states, to the more contemporary manifestations of state-controlled schooling, indigenous peoples have millennia of experience, insight and knowledge concerning teaching and learning. I concentrate here on the advent of "Indian education" in the United States. Donna Dehyle and Karen Swisher (1997) explain that Indian education in the United States is, in part, shaped by trust responsibility established between the U.S. and individual tribes and tribal sovereignty.

For these reasons, they point out that "...the history of Indian education is unique, complex, and not clearly understood by the majority of mainstream America" (p. 114). Part of this complexity has to do with the fact that, as Carol Ward (2005) reminds us, education programs have been central tools for assimilation in the United States. As this survey below demonstrates, both the historical and contemporary manifestations of Indian education, have vacillated according to the political, economic, and social currents of the settler-settler. In essence, Indian education is swept up in the interest convergence dilemma (Bell, 2004), more aptly identified by Williams' (2005) singularity thesis. Williams (2005) singularity thesis maintains that the interests of Indians in maintaining sovereignty are accommodated when these interests align with those of whites. Similarly, Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) argue because the interests of Indians are perceived in varying degrees of danger to whites, federal Indian policy responds, maintaining a perceived safety zone for whites. American Indians and Alaska Natives, in turn, have responded to the fickle nature of the CME in the United States with resilience, fortitude, and tenacity.

The history of Indian education has been broadly categorized within three periods:

- 1. Mission boarding school era, funded by settler governments (16th-19th century);
- 2. Federal control (late 19th-mid 20th century); and the
- Self-determination period (mid 20th century-present) (Grande, 2004; Lomawaima, 2001; Szasz, 1974; Tippeconnic, 2001).

However, I divide the third period into two, shortening the self-determination period (mid 20th century- late 20th century), adding a fourth period: Period of standardization (current). These four broad historical periods of Indian education developed under the larger historical sweep of federal Indian policy, which I examine in further detail below. I must address here that the history of Alaska Native education, follows somewhat different trajectories, and I also address these difference below.

As described, federal Indian policy oscillates between conquest, assimilation, termination and self-determination (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). During the first historical period of Indian education, characterized by the mission boarding school, federal Indian policy went through two major policy developments. These policy developments are labeled as follows:

- 1. The formative years (1775-1820s) and
- 2. The Indian removal, relocation, and establishment of reservations years (1830-1880s) (Wilkins, 2002).

Throughout the second historical period of Indian education (federal control), federal Indian policy was influenced by three policy development periods. These were:

- 3. The period of allotment, assimilation, and Americanization (1880-1920s)
- 4. Limited tribal self-rule (1920s-1940s), and
- 5. Termination and relocation (1940-1960s) (Wilkins, 2002).

The third historical period of Indian education (self-determination) is characterized by one policy development:

6. The federal Indian policies of self-determination (1960s-1980s) (Wilkins, 2002).

The fourth and current period of Indian education (Standardization) is characterized by what is the most current policy period:

> 7. Tribal self-governance in the era of new federalism (1980scurrent) (Wilkins, 2002).

Within these various periods of federal Indian policy, there are important legislative acts and government reports that give voice to the policy of the time. Likewise, education initiatives during these policy periods reflect the policy goals of the times.

First Policy Period: The Formative Years (1775-1820)

The seventeenth century witnessed the birth of mission schools, established by competing colonial powers in the Americas—the French, British, and Spanish (Grande, 2004). The shared educational impetus centered on civilizing and Christianizing indigenous peoples (Grande, 2004). As colonial American history describes, from the competing interests arose the United States as a new nation-state, more aptly identified as a white settler-state, intent on creating and asserting its own identity, apart from the British metropole, and the education of the Indian was central in this project. The formative years (1775-1820s) of federal Indian policy, as defined by David E. Wilkins (2002), of U.S. Indian policy included a series of Supreme Court decisions, territorial expansions, schooling models and policies. These include:

• Supreme Court case *Johnson v. McIntosh* that established the Doctrine of Discovery¹⁷ within U.S. jurisprudence (Wilkins, 2002a).

¹⁷ Chief Justice Marshal (1823) wrote in the majority opinion, establishing the doctrine of discovery: "On the discovery of this immense continent, the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as could respectively acquire...and the character and religion of its inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them as a people over whom the superior genius of Europe might

- Territorial expansion west with the addition of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.
- In the Spanish territories, Indians were subjected to the Catholic mission system
- In the Alaska territory the Russian-American Company and the Russian Orthodox church were primarily responsible for Indian education (Barnhardt, 2001).
- Two significant pieces of legislation during the formative years were the Civilizing Acts of 1803 and 1819 (Senese, 1991).

Second Policy Period: Indian Removal, Relocation and Reservation (1830-

1880)

Following the formative years period, federal Indian policy focused on Indian

removal, relocation and the establishment of reservations. During this period U.S.

Indian policy included a series of Supreme Court decisions, federal Indian policies,

territorial expansions, schooling models and policies. These include:

- Important Supreme Court cases were *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia.*
- Key policies included the1830 Indian Removal Act, the Trail of Tears, and the end of treaty making with the passage of the 1871 Indian Appropriation Act (Wilkins, 2002a).
- United States acquired the western territories through the annexation of Texas territories in 1845; the acquisition of Oregon through a treaty with Great Britain; the cession of western lands from Mexico in 1848; the Gadsen purchase of land from Mexico in 1853; and the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867.
- Indian education revolved around the early colonial model of boarding schools, as exemplified by the 1819 Civilizing Fund Act.

Further detail of these early boarding schools is merited.

claim an ascendancy...But, as they were all in pursuit of nearly the same object, it was necessary...to establish a principle which all should acknowledge as the law by which the right of acquisition, which they all asserted, should be regulated as between themselves. This principle was that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made, against all other European governments..." ("Johnson v. M'intosh", 1823; 572-573).

Educational practices encouraged and institutionalized by the United States government towards tribes during this period was one founded upon the assumptions that American Indians need to be civilized (Lomawaima, 2001). In 1819, the federal government implemented the Civilizing Fund Act, which allowed the federal government to contract with religious organizations to fund boarding schools (Barnhardt, 2001). These schools appeared in the form of government-supported missionary schools whose goal was to civilize Indians (Trujillo & Alston, 2005). Trujillo and Alston (2005) explain that the creation of the Indian boarding school during the early 19th century were the first phase of colonial education. In addition these boarding schools were geographically removed from Native populations (Trujillo & Alston, 2005). One of the first of these schools was Carlisle Indian School, built in 1879 (Rosenfelt, 1973). Government policy was motivated by the belief that this civilizing could only be accomplished through Indian resettlement. As a result Indian children were forcibly removed from their homes and families and taken to boarding schools far from their communities, and subjected to harsh punishment (Hamme, 1995).

Third Policy Period: Allotment, Americanization, and Assimilation (1880-1920)

This period of Indian policy in the United States is represented by the policies of allotment, Americanization, and assimilation. These policies include:

- 1887 Allotment Act, or Dawes Act, divided up Indian land into individual lots.
- The U.S. Government relocated students from diverse tribes to particular boarding schools such as Carlisle (Rosenfelt, 1973).

- In Alaska, the passage of the 1887 Organic Act "established the first civil government in Alaska and provided the legal basis for federal provision of education," including Alaska Natives (Barnhardt, 2001; p. 16).
- During the early 1900s the number of day-schools established locally for tribes increased (Rosenfelt, 1973).
- During this time, the federal government was responsible for the funding of Indian education, as Indians were not citizens of the United States, and thus not eligible to enroll in public-state funded schools (Rosenfelt, 1973).

As a result, in addition to boarding schools and day schools, the federal government paid the states nonresident fees in order to enroll Indian pupils in state schools (Rosenfelt, 1973). In Alaska, though it was not until 1905 that a distinction was made between Alaska Natives and non-native residents for the purposes of education (Barnhardt, 2001).

The Fourth Policy Period: Limited Tribal Self-Rule (1920-1940)

In the twentieth century, federal Indian policy underwent a revival of "limited tribal self-rule" (1920s-1940s). This period was characterized by the report *The Problem of Indian Administration*, key legislation, and important educational acts.

These include:

- The 1928 Meriam Report, surveyed the failing status of the education, health, economic development, social life, and government programs of Indians. It criticized boarding school education (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006).
- The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, or Wheeler-Howard Act reversed the Dawes act, restoring tribal self-governance (Wilkins, 2002)
- The 1936 Alaska Reorganization Act enacted similar reforms (Barnhardt, 2001).
- The 1934 Johnson-O'Malley Act (JOM), a New Deal federal aid program, subsidized states for the education and medical treatment of

Indians, compelling the movement of Indian pupils from federal schools into state schools (Rosenfelt, 1973).

Rosenfelt (1973) explains that JOM authorized the BIA to pursue contracts with states for the funding Indian education at the state level. During this time period, there was also a movement by boarding schools to add high school level grades, and some schools did in fact add up to grades 12, but by 1934 the shifting goals for boarding schools turned towards a "new" type of vocationalism that ended up bringing to a close the recently gained high school accreditation (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006).

The Fifth Policy Period: Limited Self-Government (1940-1960)

Following this period of limited self-government, federal Indian policy vacillated back towards termination and relocation, of which the definitive policy statement was the House Concurrent Resolution 108 (Wilkins, 2002).

- House Concurrent Resolution 108 adopted in 1953, authorized government termination of tribes (Rosenfelt, 1973; Wilkins, 2002).
- The Bureau of Indian Affairs Relocation Program, started in 1948, moved Indians from reservations and rural areas to cities, with the intent to destroy "tribal communalism" (Wilkins, 2002).
- The federal government increasingly shifted its responsibility for Indian education to the states. Federal schools operated by the BIA were closed down in Idaho, Michigan, Washington, and Wisconsin in 1952 and the following year 19 boarding schools and day schools run by the federal government were closed (Rosenfelt, 1973).

In fact, Rosenfelt (1973) points out, a majority of Indian communities were against this forced transfer to state schools, and some communities actively resisted this compulsory transfer. For instance, in 1956, the San Felipe and Santo Domingo Pueblos did not send their children to public schools for an entire year. These communities were able to

negotiate an agreement between the school districts, the BIA, and the Pueblos that guaranteed their children access to equal education (Rosenfelt, 1973).

Sixth Policy Period-Indian: Self-determination (1960-1980)

Doing an about face, federal Indian policy shifted gears towards a period of self-

determination during the Nixon administration, in favor of tribal self-determination

(1960s-1980s), which was influenced by the activism of Indian peoples in the U.S.

(Wilkins, 1992). Several important policies were enacted during this period that enabled

self-determination, while some Supreme Court decisions limited it:

- 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act; the 1972 Indian Education Act, the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, and 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act greatly increased tribal self-determination (Wilkins, 1992).
- In 1978, the Supreme Court decided a number of cases, which weakened tribal self-determination in the areas of law enforcement (*Oliphant v. Suquamish*) and water rights (*Nevada v. United States*).
- Concerning Alaska Natives, the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was enacted.
- A major education initiative during this time period was the development of the contract or grant school, that owes its formation to the movements for community schools in the Navajo Nation (Manuelito, 2005; McCarty, 2002).

It is worth spending some time on the historical development of contract and grant schools.

Navajo scholar, Kathryn Manuelito (2005) describes that in 1965, the Navajo Tribe in conjunction with the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Demonstration in Navajo Education (DIN' E) Inc., created the first community school in Lukachukai, Arizona. Despite the failure of this school, the collaborative effort of the Navajo Tribe and the aforementioned organizations relocated the community school to Rough Rock, Arizona, founding the Rough Rock Demonstration School in 1966. As such, Rough Rock School, Manuelito (2005) indicates was "the first school to be overseen by a locally elected, all-Indian governing board, and the first to incorporate systematic instruction in the native language and culture" [citation omitted]" (p. 75). Other community-controlled schools came into existence during this time period in Indian Country, such as the Ramah Navajo high school (Manuelito, 2005). Organizationally, the Coalition of Indian-Controlled Schools was created in 1971 in order to provide information and help in organizing and mobilizing community controlled school movements (Manuelito, 2005). These community based movements were the foundations for 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act (Manuelito, 2005).

The Indian Self Determination and Education Assistance Act, or Public Law 93-638, was codified in 1975, making it possible for tribes to contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to run their own schools (Snyder-Joy, 1994). The communitycontrolled school movement grew to include K-16 institutions (Snyder-joy, 1994). Yet, as Senese (1991) argues, these community-controlled school movements were ironically limited by the language of PL 93-638, which continued to frame policy from the perspective of federal supremacy. Senese (1991) argues that despite the potential for greater autonomy through contract and grant schools, there are possible shortcomings of such funding because it continues to be tied to federal monies. In response to Senese's (1991) criticisms, Snyder-Joy (1994), examined whether contract and grant schools are better suited to achieve self-determination as opposed to BIA-administered schools. Her study found that contract and grant schools are better suited to achieve self-determination as opposed to BIA-administered schools (Snyder-Joy, 1994). For instance Snyder-Joy (1994) reports:

Contract and grant school respondents reported greater self-determination in designing and implementing education policies than did respondents from BIA-administered schools. They reported fewer constraints on local initiatives than did BIA school respondents. Contract and grant school personnel also reported greater local control in administering existing policies to satisfy local needs

than was indicated by BIA school employees. In both the interviews and the surveys, persons working at contract and grant schools indicate greater similarities in experiences with one another in comparison to the staff at BIA-administered schools (p. 12).

In addition contract and grant schools, or community schools as they are sometimes referred to (Manuelito, 2005) are successful for particular tribes.

Seventh Policy Period: Tribal Self-Governance in an Era of New

Federalism (1980-Present)

The following decades of federal Indian policies, which Wilkins (2002) labels the era of "tribal self-governance in an era of new federalism" (1980-present), witnessed administrations that in name honored tribal self-determination, while cutting funds for Indian programs (Wilkins, 2002). This period is represented by inconsistent policies, Supreme Court decisions, along with important Indian education reports. These include:

- In *California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians* (1987) the Supreme Court held if state law does not prohibit gaming then states cannot regulate Indian gaming (modified by IGRA).
- In *Brendale v. Confederated Tribes & Bands of the Yakima Indian Nations* the Court held tribes do not have the authority to zone or regulate fee lands owned by nonmembers in reservation areas marked as open, or non-restricted (Wilkins, 2002a; Williams, 2005).
- The 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) provided state governments the tools to oversee Indian gaming, requiring tribes to negotiate with states to allow certain types of gaming, narrowing the *California v. Cabazon* (1987) Supreme Court decision.
- Indian Nations at Risk: An Educational Strategy for Action (1991) Report released.

While gaming is protected, it nevertheless is subject to congressional legislation.

Similarly tribes' management of their own lands is restricted to tribal members.

Paralleling the larger educational initiative addressing educational failure in the United

States, the Indian Nations at Risk report, like the 1928 Meriam Report outlined the

problems with Indian education in the U.S.

The report Indian Nations at Risk: An Educational Strategy for Action (1991)

found that during this period, American Indian and Alaska Native communities were at

risk educationally for a variety of reasons, including:

- Failing schools
- High dropout rates
- Lack of instruction in Native languages
- Culturally un-responsive curriculum
- Lack of qualified and appropriately trained teachers
- Impact of outside political and economic forces
- Changing relationships between federal and tribal governments due to changing legislative intent and Federal Indian law.

Along with these challenges both current research and research from that period echo

the reports findings, adding important dimensions as well. These include:

- Schools with increased diversity, particularly large numbers of white students, perpetuate racist environments that push native students out (Deyhle, 1992; Ward, 2005).
- Schools that are diverse do not have the resources to adapt schooling for indigenous and are more likely to focus attention on white students resulting in school being perceived as anti-native culture and pro-white culture (Deyhle, 1992; Ward, 2005).

The Indian Nations at Risk (1991) report focuses on successful strategies and policies as

well. The report indicates success can be found:

- Where Native languages are promoted, a view supported by education research (McCarty *et al.*, 1991; Watahomigie & McCarty, 1994).
- Where local communities are involved in the schooling process, a perspective also supported by education research (Dehyle, 1992; McCarty, 2002; Ward, 2005).
- Where teachers are sensitive to specific Native cultural needs (Yazzie-Mintz, 2007).
- There are teachers of the same Native background as the students (Yazzie-Mintz, 2007).
- There is cultural continuity between school and home (Indian Nations at Risk Task Force, 1991).

In addition research shows other keys to success, that in combination with the above

mentioned factors, create positive schooling environments for indigenous students:

- The more homogeneous the cultural community is the higher the pull for school completion and the less likely negative ramifications of racism found at heterogenous schools with larger numbers of whites (Dehyle, 1992; Ward, 2005).
- Schools in which native culture is prominent provide culturally relevant schooling (Ward, 2005)
- Students who are culturally secure are least likely to leave school ((Dehyle, 1992; Ward, 2005).

While these failures and successes focus on the relationships of communities with schools, and the extent of community control in determining success with regards to Indian self-determination, federal policies nevertheless play central roles in determining

this success.

In this same fashion, Snyder Joy (1994) concludes that despite her findings, research must follow that examines whether curriculum in schools can achieve self-determination:

Future inquiry must examine the curriculum offered at locally controlled schools. Does greater self-determination and local control translate into effective instruction and positive experiences for the students-Given American Indians' concerns about education, future research needs to address the curriculum in locally controlled Indian schools and the students' academic achievements (p. 12).

In order to understand the role of curriculum in school, it is important to understand how curriculum is shaped by educational policy, and currently no other policy has impacted curriculum in the way No Child Left Behind (NCLB) has. NCLB, like other policies of the past is a reflection of the goals of the federal political, economic, and social forces in the United States. Furthermore, the same challenges identified by the 1991 *Indian Nations at Risk* report remain today.

No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

The motivating force behind NCLB is not unlike its policy predecessors in both education and Indian policy. As the review of policy has demonstrated here, policies impacting indigenous peoples are volatile. This volatility in policy, I contend is actually a consistent component of a settler-state. Undeniably, the United States is a settler-state founded upon white supremacy and its education system, the CME, is equally volatile. Lomawaima & McCarty (2006) describe this constraint as it relates to education: Public education in the United States was founded on the principle of local control, but that right, like citizenship, was not immediately offered to all Americans. For American Indians, African Americans, immigrants, and others, schooling has been an engine of standardization, not of parental choice and control, as powerful interests within the dominant society endeavored to fit diverse Americans for their assigned places within established economic and social hierarchies (p.5).

Schooling in the U.S., they continue, has been shaped by a vision of the multiple roles and varying opportunities that are dependant on the complex intersection of race, ethnicity, national origins and religion (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). They contend that this diverse vision nevertheless maintains standardizing and homogenizing goals (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). One of the mechanisms used to smuggle in these homogenizing goals of standardization is the language of equal opportunity, which instead results in the marginalization and segregation of indigenous peoples needs (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006).

The following testimony offered at a community forum organized by the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) offers important insight into the impact

of NCLB in Indian Country:

The standards and practices are not sound for the teaching of Indian children. Our children see and order their world very differently from most other

children, and, as a result, demonstrate their knowledge in deepening and unique ways. The current push to meet the academic standards set out in the No Child Left Behind law rejects the need to provide culturally competent instructions. (Green Bay, WI) (Beaulieu *et al.*, 2005; 17).

This testimony offers critical insights into the pernicious nature of standardization as it regards Indian peoples and other communities. Because education policy occurs within the narrow confines of U.S. policy, it responds to what Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) define as the "narrow zone of tolerable cultural difference" (p. 5), or what they refer to as *safety zone theory*. Specifically, American Indian education policy—indeed the history of American Indian education—responds to this "safety zone" of American identity and politics. Whites judges certain Native beliefs and practices as "safe" and "tolerable," while others are perceived to be dangerous, challenging "mainstream values" (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006).

Currently, NCLB is being met with criticisms similar to those leveled at the multiple manifestations of Indian education in the United States. Trujillo and Alston (2005) in conjunction with the National Indian Education Association's (NIEA) *Preliminary Report on NCLB in Indian Country* (2005) point out that while NCLB is spotlighting the issues of how Native students are failing and how schools, in turn, are failing Native students, NCLB similarly fails to provide adequate funding to improve both schools and student achievement (Beaulieu *et al.*, 2005; Trujillo & Alston, 2005). Additionally, NCLB's punitive approach of de-funding and taking over management of schools undermines the advances made by indigenous students, parent and indigenous run schools (Beaulieu *et al.*, 2005; Trujillo & Alston, 2005). Overall, research describes multiple ways NCLB challenges positive steps taken in Indian education:

- NCLB rolls back indigenous control of education, allowing for increased oversight by state and federal entities (Trujillo & Alston, 2005).
- NCLB promotes increased state control over teacher certification and performance, which is discouraging teachers and potential teachers from teaching (Trujillo & Alston, 2005).

- NCLB promotes teaching credentialing that assume universal standards instead of appreciating tribal specific cultural standards (Reynolds, 2005)
- NCLB promotes increased state control over student achievement and learning (Trujillo & Alston, 2005).
- NCLB discourages culturally responsive schooling by placing increasing emphasis on national standards.

More specifically, NCLB fails indigenous students by doing away with localized

practices that emphasize Native culture in favor of national standards. For instance:

- NCLB's primary focus on standardization in reading, math, and science alienates indigenous students who have previously engaged culturally responsive learning environments (Trujillo & Alston, 2005).
- NCLB's use of language standards do not consider the distinctive language and cultural requirements of indigenous students (Trujillo and Alston, 2005).
- NCLB's imposition of specific types of instructional approaches destabilizes and undermines educators' attempts to use culturally responsive teaching methods that suit indigenous students distinctive learning needs (Trujillo & Alston, 2005).
- NCLB imposes compartmentalized learning that emphasizes what Starnes (2005) describes as "part to whole learning" as opposed to "whole to part learning" (p. 1).
- NCLB imposes "abstract thought instead of hands-on experience" (Starnes, 2005; p. 1), or experiential learning that many have identified as key in educating indigenous students.

In addition, Trujillo and Alston (2005) assert that many tribes see NCLB encroaching

on their rights to sovereignty in the realm of education.

In providing the disparate approaches between NCLB and indigenous

educational learning, Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) provide an important caution:

We must unmask and overturn any an all myths that tell us all Indian students are somehow one-dimensional learners, whether stoic, silent, visual, cooperative, or non-analytical. We do not intend to deny the reality of diverse learning modes, but rather to deny the essentialism of myths that reduce Native learners to dingle dimensions (p. 20).

They conclude, by pointing out that these myths last "because they are useful, not because they are true" (p. 20). Keeping Lomawaima and McCarty's (2006) caution in mind, policies such as NCLB nevertheless shape the content of the curriculum pipeline in a standardizing manner, promoting a one size fits all model. This is not a mistake. Unquestionably, the intent of NCLB to increase student performance responds to the need to create a workforce for the 21st century, and as such, Indian desires to maintain local control are not within the perceived *safety zone* (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006) and do not converge (Bell, 1980; Williams, 2005) with the desires of indigenous peoples to promote self-determination.

NCLB is firmly situated within the framework of CME, and as such protects and promotes the white settler-state. Zeus Leonardo (2007) provides a useful example of how NCLB functions within this context. He argues that policies such as NCLB facilitate nation building. In the U.S. this nation building, Leonardo (2007) asserts is intimately tied to white supremacy and therefore NCLB "represents a node in nation creation that is intimate with the educational construction of a white polity" (p. 262). To restate Leonardo's (2007) insights, NCLB, like other educational policies, represents a node in the maintenance of the white settler-state. It is no surprise, then that NCLB fails indigenous students. The following testimony gathered in hearings held by the NIEA concerning NCLB succinctly locates the foundations of western metaphysics on which the structure of the settler state is firmly situated: The model of No Child Left Behind was created somewhere far away from Indian reservations and where Indian children live so the whole model – the model that they created is totally different than who we are. I think that's—that's a western concept. I think sometimes Congress creates models that are totally rigid. So No Child Left Behind is not flexible at all. It's totally rigid, and they want us to fall in line. (Green Bay, WI)" (Beaulieu *et al.*, 2005; 8-9).

This testimony is analogous to Deloria's (1979) insights on the schizophrenic nature of schooling for indigenous pupils. Specifically, NCLB marginalizes best practices for indigenous learning, and instead promotes a totalitarian model of education that maintains the Colonial Model of Education in the United States.

This systematic intent to assimilate indigenous peoples, whether under the guise of Christian missionizing, boarding schools, or current models of educational standardization is a result of the underlying western metaphysics that inform them and the settler-state structure that contain them. Vine Deloria's (1992) insightful critique of this process locates the conflicts that many indigenous people in the United States face in the context of public education: "Many people are trapped between tribal values constituting their unconscious behavioral responses and the values that they have been taught in schools and churches, which primarily demand conforming to seemly foreign ideals" (p. 242). Trujillo and Alston (2005) agree with Deloria's (1992) conclusions: "Yet the 50+ years of the boarding school experience and the adaptation to a rapidly changing nation has severely limited the transmission of traditional cultural practices and the use of indigenous languages from one generation to the next" (p. 7). Trujillo and Alston (2005) share Deloria's insights, but also maintain that despite the onslaught of western institutions and worldview, indigenous people maintain their cultures. This latter point is important. It reminds us that American Indian and Alaska Native communities have developed a wealth of strategies and practices to maintain their cultures.

This history of Indian education can also be described by the pipeline metaphor (Huber, et al., 2006). In this case I use the pipeline metaphor to describe how Indian education moves through the different historical moments of U.S. policy and politics. Correspondingly, curriculum received by Indian students throughout this larger pipeline reflects the inconsistent, fragmented and schizophrenic nature of U.S. beliefs and policies reviewed above. Continuing with the pipeline metaphor, education is funneled through a particular idea of what education is, which I identify as the Colonial Model of Education. This pipeline responds accordingly to the changing nature of settler-state policies and goals, accommodating whiteness. To be sure, Leonardo (2007) makes the case that whiteness is not fixed. It yields to the social state of affairs and what Leonardo (2007) labels "white hegemony" (p. 263). "In other words, whiteness is able to accommodate, or make certain compromises, in order to maintain its ideological hegemony" (Leonardo, 2007; p. 263). As a result this pipeline channels educational practices that are many times incompatible with indigenous needs. All the same this is the system most indigenous students interact with, commonly under the guise of multiculturalism. Yet as Leonardo (2007) points out "[i]n education, the very presence of multiculturalism is evidence of a reaction to a white normativity in school curricula, administrative structures and classroom interactions" (p. 263). To explore how this white normativity frames indigenous issues, I focus on the curriculum pipeline, specifically that of social studies curriculum.

The history of Indian education and policy reveals the volatile nature of the settler state and its institutions. Particularly the CME as evidenced in its latest representation of NCLB represent a shrinking in the perceived safety zone. The interests of whites do not converge (Bell, 1980) with the singular interests (Williams, 2005) of indigenous communities to promote and protect their sovereignty. For this reason, conceptualizing the white settler-state and CME provide the type of background context to understand why the curriculum pipeline functions in the manner it does. It allows for a more nuanced understanding of the issues indigenous peoples face in the United States. Moreover, this type of analysis situates the prominence of western metaphysics in the United States, which ultimately gets to the origins of the indigenous-settler conflicts identified by Vine Deloria (1979). Finally, no where are these tensions more clear, I argue than in social studies curriculum.

In fact, indigenous scholar Daniel Wildcat (2001) argues that education in the U.S. "bears the largest imprint of Western metaphysics" (p. 1) Therefore, Wildcat (2001) claims, "the hope for American Indian education lies first in the explicit identification of features of the Western tradition or worldview that produce many of the problems we are immersed in today" (p. 10). In this dissertation I focus on the curriculum pipeline, which as stated I conceptualize as the path curriculum takes to become the official knowledge (Apple, 2000) in the classroom. In deconstructing social

studies curriculum, and mapping the genealogy of ideas back to their origins necessitates the explicit identification of western metaphysics and the organisms that promote them. Therefore, heeding Wildcat's (2001) appeal to identify the Western features that figure so prominently in social studies curriculum, I now examine the white settler-state and the Colonial Model of Education.

III. CONCEPTS

The history of Indian education necessitates the framing and naming of processes and practices that have come to shape Indian education in the United States. In this section I focus on the <u>white settler-state</u> and the <u>Colonial Model of Education</u> (<u>CME</u>). More importantly, this glimpse into the history of Indian education reveals the larger ideological and structural foundations of education. Thus, in this section, drawing from the above review of Indian education history and policy, I generate concepts that I use in my analysis of the curriculum pipeline, and social studies curriculum specifically. In addition, these concepts help us understand the volatile nature of policy, and why some scholars identify similar themes, such as interest convergence (Bell, 1980), safety zone theory (Lomawaima & McCarthy 2006), and singularity thesis (Williams, 2005).¹⁸

¹⁸ Interest convergence refers to the fact that the efforts of communities of color to achieve equality are mitigated by whites' interests and fears. In other words whites' and people of color's interests have to converge in order for whites to promote policies and practices in favor of people of color (Bell, 1980, 2004). Lomawaima & McCarty (2006) define safety zone theory in the context of policy making as the perceived "narrow zone of tolerable cultural difference" (p. 5) or safety zone of white American identity and politics, which judges certain Native beliefs and practices as 'safe' and 'tolerable,' while others are "too dangerous, different, and subversive of mainstream values" (p. 5). Extending Bell's interest-convergence theory (1980), Williams (2005) argues that the interests of Indians in maintaining

But as Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) caution, American Indians are not passive recipients of this history. In fact, as Duane Champagne (1996) reminds us, the resiliency and agency of indigenous peoples and the strategies they employ to maintain their cultures are often overlooked by theories that center colonial dominance. Yet because this project is situated within the discourse of multiculturalism and the larger framework of the social studies curriculum pipeline, it must respond to the nature of these discourses to emphasize and center colonial domination.

However, heeding Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) and Champagne's (1996) insights, I focus this analysis from a place and politics of indigeneity that reflects back upon the colonial goliath, framing this work using concepts and ideas that build from my own cultural background, or cultural intuition (Delgado-Bernal, 1998). As stated, I draw from a deep understanding informed by the multitude of colonial powers that my small community has interacted with, been shaped by, and in turn transformed.¹⁹ Without a doubt, strategy is central in these relationships, and I therefore choose to strategically propose concepts that facilitate identifying the genealogy of western metaphysics.

sovereignty are accommodated when these interests align with those of whites, resulting in what Williams (2005) names the singularity thesis.

¹⁹ Duane Champagne (1996) provides: "Such a discussion of colonialism in the American Southwest would concentrate on the features of Spanish, then Mexican, and after 1848 American colonial administration, on features of market relations and incorporation, the internalization of Western religion, and as any epidemics that may have had a significant impact on the demography of the Native peoples of the Southwest [citation omitted]" (p. 4).

To be sure, the structure of the white settler-state is built upon the western metaphysics so accurately described by Vine Deloria. A key pillar of the white settlerstate is its education system, which I refer to as the Colonial Model of Education (CME). In turn the curriculum pipeline, a formative aspect of CME, along with education policies and practices, shore up the white settler-state. Yet before I explore the social studies curriculum pipeline, I offer the following frameworks for white settler-state and CME.

A. White Settler State

As demonstrated above, the patterns of federal Indian policy and Indian education though inconsistent are nothing if not consistent in their tendency to promote so-called pro-Indian or anti-Indian policy. The concept of the <u>white settler-state</u> I argue is useful in explaining and situating this waxing and waning of policy. Moreover, it properly situates particular discourses, such as social studies curriculum, within the broader ideological structures they are born in. The concept of <u>white settler-state</u> also provides a framework with which to locate the institutionalization and development of western metaphysics in the United States evidenced in social studies curriculum. I turn to the work of Ronald Weitzer (1990) who provides an initial definition of a settler state:

Settler societies are founded by migrant groups who assume a superordinate position vis-à-vis native inhabitants and build self-sustaining states that are de jure or de facto independent from the mother country and organized around the settlers' political domination over the indigenous population (p. 25).

However, Weitzer (1990) argues that in the case of the United States, "original divisions between settlers and natives no longer shape the sociopolitical order" (p. 26) because the former settler colony displaced and eliminated indigenous peoples. For this reason, he argues the United States is not a settler state, maintaining that societies that displaced, eliminated or assimilated indigenous peoples are not settler states.

Quite the contrary, I assert the United States is a settler state. I strongly disagree with Weitzer's (1990) assertion that Indians in the U.S. no longer exist. Ironically, in promoting this disqualifying component for settler categorization Weitzer (1990) falls prey to what I argue is a key feature of settler societies and is missing from Weitzer's (1990) framework: erasure of indigenous populations. Weitzer's (1990) narrative instead represents the *success* of the United States in promoting this narrative myth. His erasure of indigenous peoples in the United States speaks to the propensity of his perspective to center colonial domination and reifies narratives that transform settler society into natives.²⁰ This erasure represents a key and central force driving ideology, policy, and practice in the United States concerning Indians. At times, white settlers are less threatened by indigenous presence, but during other times they feel increasingly threatened by it (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006).

 $^{^{20}}$ In fact this transformation of the settler into the native results in a particular type of nativism. Perez-Huber, Benavides-Lopez, Malagon,Velez, and Solorzano (2008) appropriately label this nativism as "**racist nativism**." They define it as: "the assigning of values to real or imagined differences, in order to justify the superiority of the native, who is to be perceived white, over that of the non-native, who is perceived to be People and Immigrants of Color, and thereby defend the right of whites, or the natives, to dominance (p. 43).

Instead, I argue this original division between settlers and Indians in the United States continues to shape the sociopolitical order as evidenced not only in national discourses concerning American identity, but in the textbooks I examine in the following chapters. Yet while I disagree with Weitzer's (1990) assessment of the United States as a former settler society, I find certain aspects of his characterization of settler society useful in my own characterization of the United States as a white settler-state. Thus using Weitzer's (1990) framework, I flesh out how the U.S. indeed satisfies this framework, adding an extra characteristic I define below. To further provide context to this working framework of the <u>white settler-state</u> I supplement it with a series of ideological and structural functions that enable the <u>white settler-state</u>. These ideological functions include mythologies, assumptions, and forms. The structural functions include mechanisms and outcomes.

Weitzer's (1990) framework, which I divide into four points, characterizes settler states and settlers in the following way:

- 1. Settler states are "Founded by migrant groups"
- 2. Settlers "Assume a superior position vis-à-vis native inhabitants"
- 3. Settlers "Build Self-sustaining states that are dejure or defacto independent of the mother country"
- 4. Settler states are "Organized around settler political domination over indigenous populations."

In other words the key components of a white settler state, in this case the United States have to do with its origin, the establishment and perpetuation of white supremacy, the creation of the new America(n), and the implementation of legal apparatus justifying domination. I add one more characteristic to white settler-state that is missing from Weitzer's (1990) framework:

5. Indigenous relationships with the settler-state.

As stated this five-point framework is enabled by a series of ideological and structural functions. I now move to a more detailed discussion of this five-point framework, coupled with the ideological and structural functions I identify.

1. Founded by Immigrant Groups: Origins

Weitzer's (1990) first characteristic of the settler-state, which I refer to as origins, contains the formative aspects that figure prominently in the other characteristics of the white settler-state. In the United States, as with other settler states such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, a key feature of settlerism or settler state creation is the claim that European immigrants founded the U.S.. To explore this primary characteristic of the white settler state, I examine how a series of ideological functions, including mythologies, assumptions, and forms have informed these origins. In the United States, the mythological ideological function represents the most important component of this first characteristic. The mythological ideological function represents the progression of myths, or fictions, that inform narratives concerning settler states. Thus, a main component of a settler-state is the enabling mythologies that allow the settler state to create new origin stories histories. Mythologies therefore lead to the creation of other ideological functions including assumptions and forms.

Specifically in the United States a key origin myth is the narrative of the English founding of the United States, which produces the assumption that European immigrants and their culture(s) represent the foundations of the United States. Ideological assumptions represent beliefs, founded in mythologies, taken as true, which in turn inform settler institutions. In the United States, the myth of English and European forefathers, informs the assumption that only those settlers descended from Europeans can legitimately claim white settler status. For instance, because the founding mythologies and assumptions center on European origins, this constructs a particular form of nationalism identified as settler nationalism (Wolf, 1999), indeed white settler nationalism (WSN). WSN, in turn leads to the creation and implementation of specific structural features, including mechanisms and outcomes. The structural mechanisms of the settler states are those apparatus, or mechanisms, that enable the institutionalization of the settler state. For instance, a key mechanism is the law. A related structural feature is the outcomes or policies and practices produced by settler ideologies.

Returning to founding mythologies, because the brand of settlerism in the United States promotes myths regarding origins as fact, it is prone to instability. Furthermore, WSN functions to define nationalism within very narrow parameters, from which many groups are excluded (Calderón, 2006b; Gomez, 2005; Leonardo, 2007; Perez-Huber et al., 2008). Another essential element of this first characteristic is the interrelated ideological functions of settler forms and the structural functions of settler outcomes. Examples of this are the forms and outcomes of settler expansion. Settler expansion, the literal expansion of European settlers in the Western hemisphere, took many forms. However, in the context the United States, this settler expansion focused not necessarily on the exploitation of indigenous peoples as was the case in much of Latin America, but on the replacement of indigenous peoples (Moran, 2002; Wolfe, 1999) physically and metaphorically. This type of settler expansion created a particular type of nationalism (Moran, 2002; Wolf, 1999), namely a WSN that excludes non-whites (Leonardo, 2007; Perez-Huber et. al, 2008) as it relies on the myth of European origins. To maintain white settler dominance, a characteristic explored subsequently in point three, WSN must establish its superiority, a characteristic I further explore in point two below. Moreover WSN in the United States claims indigeneity or nativism (Perez-Huber et al., 2008) resulting in a series of mechanisms to protect this new nativism.

Earlier, I criticize Weitzer's (1990) claim that the United States is not a settler state because indigenous peoples no longer exist or have been assimilated. I argue that quite the contrary, indigenous peoples in the United States continue to exist and thrive. This challenges white settlers claims to new nativism. Thus in the United States, settlerism has to account, or more appropriately, discount indigenous existence. Similarly, in the case of Australia, Anthony Moran (2002) explains that because of settler expansion and dislocation of indigenous peoples, "the discourses of settler nationalism must continue to engage with histories of indigenous dispossession in order to explain the nature and quality of their national existence" (p. 1016). In this sense, returning to the enabling mythologies of the settler-state, mythologies are constructed in order to promote a nationalism that enables this dispossession, and promotes a fictive WSN that transforms itself into the 'new native' (Leonardo, 2007; Perez-Huber et. al., 2008). To do this WSN relies on myths of superiority.

2. "Assume a superior position vis-à-vis native inhabitants": White Supremacy

Weitzer's (1990) second characteristic, which I characterize as the establishment of white supremacy,²¹ focuses on setter position vis-à-vis indigenous peoples. Certain aspects of this characteristic of white settler society in the United States developed through a series of interactions with Mexican communities (Perez-Huber et. al., 2008) and African slaves in the United States. However, I contend that settler ascendancy over indigenous peoples represents both the formative and foundational components of this characteristic. In this regard, both the ideological and structural functions are informed by white supremacy.

²¹ Perez-Huber et. al., (2008) definition of white supremacy provides important components to this second characteristic of a white settler society. They place white supremacy within the operationalization of racial hierarchies in the United States: "Racial hierarchies are legitimized through an ideology that positions one race as superordinate to all others (Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002b). Racial hierarchies operate on the basis of *white supremacy* – that is to say, on the basis of a system of racial domination and exploitation whereby power and resources are unequally distributed to privilege whites and oppress People of Color (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Dubois, 1999; Roediger, 1999). This right to white dominance is masked by notions of individualism, meritocracy, and color-blindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). White supremacy not only positions whites as the entitled beneficiaries of unearned societal privilege and status, it also normalizes white values, beliefs, and experiences as those dominant and therefore legitimate in US society [citation omitted]" (pp. 40-41).

This second characteristic of a settler-society generates an entire series of **assumptions** built upon the myths described in the first characteristic of origins. To be sure, mythologies and assumptions figure prominently in all four of Weitzer's characteristics of the settler state. Regarding the founding, or origins of the settler state are the interrelated assumptions that the white settler society is superior to the indigenous groups settlers replace. WSN promotes the narrative that settler societies are superior to the 'old societies' they left behind in Europe (Moran, 2002; Wolf, 1999). This sense of settler superiority or supremacy led to the ideological assumption that settler expansion was thus inevitable and indeed necessary (Moran, 2002). This sense of inevitability in the rise of settler states is concretely expressed in settler structural functions.

A key structural mechanism of the settler state is the legal framework that provides the foundations and justifications for settler expansionism. For instance, in the United States the legal doctrine of discovery is wielded by courts to justify the taking of Indian lands based on arguments asserting the superiority of whites and their laws over Indians. Chief Justice John Marshall wrote in the majority opinion in *Johnson v*. *M'Intosh* (1823), cementing the doctrine of discovery in U.S. Indian law:

On the discovery of this immense continent, the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as could respectively acquire...and the character and religion of its inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them as a people over whom the superior genius of Europe might claim an ascendancy...But, as they were all [Europeans] in pursuit of nearly the same object, it was necessary...to establish a principle which all [Europeans] should acknowledge as the law by which the right of acquisition, which they all asserted, should be regulated as between themselves. This principle was that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects, or

by whose authority, it was made, against all other European governments...(pp. 572-573).

Marshall's opinion concretely expresses the belief in the superiority of Europe and therefore the ascendancy of white settlers over Indians. As a result of this inherent superiority, white settlers are therefore entitled to acquire and manage the new territories (Williams, 1986, 1990). The outcome of this structural function positions settler laws as the only mechanisms available to define the legal relationship between Indians and settlers. This has created an adversarial relationship most times between tribes and the U.S.

Johnson v M'Intosh was also important in the sense that it utilized international law; more accurately described as European law to declare its claim or title to U.S. territory over other European powers.

3. "Build Self-sustaining states that are dejure or defacto independent of the mother country": The 'New American'

In order to create a self-sustaining settler state, the United States had to first achieve its independence and achieve legitimacy (legal, political, and psychological) in the eyes of the European mother country(ies). It accomplished this using established legal doctrine to lay claim to independence. In the United States ideology was used to create a new identity apart from the 'mother country.' As in the first two characteristics of origins and white supremacy, the most important and enabling ideological function in this identity production is that of mythology. Therefore an important corollary of this mythology is the establishment of white settler nationalism (WSN) or the 'new native' (Moran, 2002; Wolfe, 2006)).

A key component of 19th and 20th century settler nationalism was the framing of this nationalism under the guise of 'newness' (Moran, 2002). Independence was ideologically achieved through the perpetuation of the myth that the United States and its settlers were creating a new society, free of the problems and traditions that burdened Europe (Moran, 2002). White settlers were and continue to be free to construct their own myths of identity, which are reserved for those that can achieve whiteness (Leonardo, 2007). As described earlier, this newness, initially, was brought about by the displacement both physically and metaphorically of indigenous peoples. This newness relied on the assumption of settler superiority over indigenous peoples. Certain assumptions were used to achieve and justify this new identity. For instance indigenous peoples were framed as 'savages' and were not considered civilized peoples (Moran, 2002). In other words humanity was equated with those considered civilized, and Indians constructed as savages were thus merely a part of the backdrop of nature. Moran (2002) eloquently speaks to the outcome of these attitudes: "The land was an empty space waiting to be filled and developed by the new society [citation omitted]" (p. 1016). Therefore, the 'civilized' white settlers were able to freely construct their new American identity upon a clean slate (Moran, 2002). This discursive strategy was key in creating an identity apart from that of old Europe (Moran, 2002).

Patrick Wolfe (2006) describes that this 'new nativism' was used to set apart the settler state from its origin country: "On the symbolic level, however, settler society subsequently sought to recuperate indigeneity in order to express its difference—and, accordingly, its independence—from the mother country" (p. 389). This facilitated both the ideological and structural aspects of building a self-sustaining state, de facto of the origin states. Returning to the important structural mechanism of law used to promote the United States as a self-sustaining state, Robert Williams' (1986) examination of *Johnson v M'Intosh* points to an instantiation of this, quoting from Chief Justice Marshall's decision:

In the establishment of these relations [between tribe and conqueror], the rights of the original inhabitants were, in no instance, entirely disregarded; but were necessarily, to a considerable extent, impaired . . . their rights to complete sovereignty, as independent nations, were necessarily diminished, and their power to dispose of the soil at their own will, to whomsoever they pleased, was denied by the original fundamental principle, that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it. Those relations which were to exist between the discoverer and the natives, were to be regulated by themselves [natives and conqueror]. The rights thus acquired being exclusive, no other power could interpose between them (Marshall in Williams, 1986; p255).

Chief Justice Marshall's decision lays the ground not only for title of territories in the

continental United States, it also determines the relationship between tribes and the U.S.

government. Johnson v M'Intosh creates the legal precedent for settler domination over

indigenous peoples.

4. "Organized around settler political domination over indigenous populations": Legal Domination

It is worth repeating a portion of Chief Justice John Marshall's majority opinion in *Johnson v M'Intosh*, which clearly provides the legal mechanisms for settler political domination over indigenous populations:

...the rights of the original inhabitants [Indians] were, in no instance, entirely disregarded; but were necessarily, to a considerable extent, impaired . . . their rights to complete sovereignty, as independent nations, were necessarily diminished, and their power to dispose of the soil at their own will, to whomsoever they pleased, was denied by the original fundamental principle, that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it (Marshall in Williams, 1986; p255).

"Those" who claimed title through "discovery" are the white settlers of the United States. As described, this domination is affirmed on the basis of assumptions, mainly that white settlers are inherently superior to Indians.

In the United States, political domination also included African slaves and other groups absorbed in the process of westward expansion. However, the doctrine of discovery, declared in U.S. law, provided the U.S. with the basis for the domination of those groups it encountered as white settlers expanded west. This demonstrates that the ideological and structural functions of the white settler state do not operate independently of one another. In order to achieve political domination of indigenous populations, the settler state operates on multiple levels including psychological, territorial, and cultural. As illustrated in the previous points, to achieve settler domination and establish the 'new' settler-society, the 'problem' of indigenous populations had to be resolved either through displacement, genocide, containment or a combination thereof. Propelled by settler expansion the impetus behind this goal was the larger goal of transforming from settler into native (Moran, 2002; Wolfe, 2006).

Therefore, one of the key targets of settler expansion was reterritorialization, or the transformation of indigenous lands into settler lands (Wolfe, 2006). Not only is settler expansion and reterritorialization important for the three aforementioned characteristics of the settler state, it is also central to settler domination of indigenous peoples. To reiterate, the central mechanisms used to achieve this were the imposition of European law including property law (or setter title) based on legal constructs such as the Doctrine of Discovery (Williams, 1990). In the United States settler expansion was achieved through many mechanisms, including "frontier homicide" (Wolfe, 2006), relocation, and erasure of Indian tribes as evidenced in the Indian policy of the U.S. These mechanisms were key facilitators of settler domination. A more appropriate name for the process of settler domination is what Wolfe (2006) calls the "organizing grammar of race" (p. 387), which owes its origins to the European traditions of xenophobia and played out territorially in the United States (Wolfe, 2006). In the same way, Moran (2002) contends that settler identity, which I identify as white settler nationalism (WSN), is intimately tied to the "conquering, transforming and ordering of space" (p. 1016). Wolfe (2006) and Moran (2002) both identify territorial policy as central features of white settler domination. Borrowing Wolfe's (2006) term the "organizing grammar of race" and Moran's (2002) "ordering of space" I identify these territorial policies as both the racial and spatial grammars of settlerism.

This grammar of settler domination is concretely expressed in both the legal landscape (Delaney, 1998) and legal ontology of the white settler-state. Delaney (1998) defines the legal landscape as "the complex ensemble of lines and spaces-territorial configurations—that give legal meaning to determinable segments of the physical world or actual lived-in landscapes" (p. 13). I define legal ontology, borrowing from Delaney (1998), as the complex ensemble of legal mechanisms that give legal meaning to the myths and assumptions of settler identity. Both the legal landscape (Delaney, 1998) and legal ontology of the white settler state are informed by the particular cultural practices and beliefs of settlers. Robert Williams (2005) extending Robert Cover's (1983) important work explains that these legal mechanisms or grammars are not mere laws. Instead, Williams (2005) asserts, legal mechanism are created or filtered through a particular cultural medium, a process identified as jurisgenesis (Cover, 1983; Williams 2005). The creation of legal meaning or jurisgenesis (Williams, 2005) in the white settler-state, in this case the United States, is filtered through the series of myths, assumptions, and forms previously identified. The end result of this process is the attempted erasure of indigenous peoples on many levels.

Ideologically and structurally, an outcome of the grammar of the settler-state results in what Moran (2002) regards as an absence or lack of history. This absence of history fabricates the clean slate upon which white settlers in the United States build their fictive 'new' histories. Along with this ideological outcome, Wolfe (2006) explains that the structural outcome of the grammar of the settler-state resulted in "the breaking-down of native title into alienable individual freeholds, native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, resocialization in total institutions such as missions or boarding schools, and a whole range of cognate biocultural assimilations" (p. 388). Ward Churchill (1985) describes how this new history and identity is achieved:

... members of the dominant culture are unable to retain their sense of distance and separation from that which they dominate. Instead, over a period of generations, they increasingly develop direct ties to the "new land" and, consequently, exhibit an ever increasing tendency to proclaim themselves as "natives." This, of course, equates to a quite literal negation of the very essence and existence of those who are truly indigenous to the colonized 'locales.' (p. 29).

This shift, from settler to native reproduces a key aspect of the jurisgenerative nature of legal grammar—jurispathos (Cover, 1983; Williams 2005), the legal sanctioning of violence and racism against certain groups (Williams, 2005). Thus, the legal grammars of the settler-state generate law in favor of white-settlers, at the expense of indigenous peoples and communities of color.

5. Indigenous Relationships with the Settler State

I add this characteristic to the initial four point framework I borrow from Weitzer (1990). Indigenous peoples have engaged the settler-state in a variety of ways. Tribes have not been passive recipients of the colonial process. As Champagne (1996) reminds us, Native nations are actively engaging the settlerstate and simultaneously maintaining tribal life. For instance, the Pueblo of Isleta petitioned and received Treatment as State (TAS) status from the EPA (Southwest Regional Assessment Group, 2000). This represents one case in which a tribe has used the laws, or legal grammar, of the United States to protect its tribal culture.

The Southwest Regional Assessment Group's (2000) report explains that Isleta's success in attaining TAS status was an important victory for all indigenous communities. This significance has to do with the standards, which the Isleta Pueblo was able to establish:

Isleta Pueblo's standards were based on three significant use designations—use for irrigation, recreation, and for religious ceremonial use. The latter is important to emphasize as no tribe had ever asserted its right to religious freedom for the protection of its waterways. The Pueblo's contention was based on the fact that tribal religious ceremonies, or the right of tribal members to practice their religion as it had since time immemorial, was adversely impacted by the contamination of river water by toxic discharges. Tribal members were unable to ingest the water or immerse in it for ceremonial purposes.

This decision reflects an instance in tribes use settler state mechanisms to protect their own cultural and religious practices. While laws have been applied in ways that limit the exercise of tribal sovereignty, tribes have responded in various ways to continue to safeguard their cultural patrimony. The case of Isleta Pueblo is significant not only because it protects religious practices, it is significant because Isleta's TAS status allows it to enforce environmental quality standards on non-tribal peoples, including the city of Albuquerque (Southwest Regional Assessment Group, 2000). This is only one example of how tribes act to protect their interests. Undoubtedly, indigenous peoples continue to thrive, despite the realities of existing within a settler-state.

Champagne (1996) insists that more important questions to ask include: "In North America, Native communities survived 500 years of colonialism. How? Why? In what ways?" (p. 3). A part of this answer may lay in the fact that indigenous communities understand the mythologies of the United States. The white settler-state is an unstable entity because it is based on a series of fictions and founding myths that consistently need to be shored up. This understanding of the settler-state, I argue, allows us to better situate and more accurately depict Derrick Bell's (1980) interest convergence theory, Lomawaima and McCarty's (2006) safety zone theory, and Robert Williams' (2005) singularity thesis. In addition, the concept of the settler-state allows for a bridging of perspectives, theories, and practices that might otherwise not engage one another. Understanding the settler-state, allows more people to witness its unstable and destructive character, and begin to enter into discussions, practices, based upon differing paradigms. This analysis of the framework of the white settler state and the ideological and structural functions that promote it allow researchers to properly situate how education functions as a central institution of the white settler state, which I identify as the Colonial Model of Education.

B. Colonial Model of Education (CME)

One key mechanism utilized in the United States to promote settler domination is education. Inherent in these practices are the same series of ideological and structural functions that define the United States as a settler-state. Thus, an important concept that I draw from this background on Indian education is what I am calling the Colonial Model of Education (CME). I define CME as an educational model implemented by a settler state to promote settler state ideologies, institutions, values, and norms through a variety of goals, assumptions, and forms. It is imposed upon colonized groups, including indigenous peoples and many times results in specific outcomes. However, it has always been contested by the colonized.

The overarching **goal** of CME is assimilation into settler culture and perpetuation of the settler state, its institutions, practices, and beliefs, in essence the maintenance of white supremacy. A related **goal** validates the legal authority of the white settler nation's governing institutions, practices, and beliefs. It also promotes Judeo-Christian values and worldviews with the intent to Christianize or de-Indianize students. Furthermore, CME is guided by the overarching **assumption** that western educational paradigms are universal and superior.

CME is administered through a variety of **forms**. In the case of indigenous peoples, it was historically accomplished through the implementation of boarding schools and day schools. More recent forms of the CME are less explicit. While contract and grant schools offer Indian nations the ability to shape and control their schools, these schools are nevertheless subject to federal education policy that waxes and wanes between increased federal oversight such as NCLB (Senese, 1991) and increased local-control (Snyder-Joy, 1994). Also BIA-administered schools, as well as contract and grant schools, many times retain CME structures, including hierarchical

administration models (Snyder-Joy, 1994) and formalized or professionalized training of teachers shaped by outside policies and standards (Trujillo & Alston, 2005).

Because only 7 percent of Indian students attend BIA-administered, contract, or grant schools, state controlled public schools must also be examined. Public schools reproduce the forms, or structures that represent CME. These forms include highly administered schools, hierarchical administration, formalized or professionalized teacher training, and federally mandated education goals. Closely related to form, the outcomes of the CME are many, but promote similar end goals. These include the adoption and dissemination of curriculum that serve to invalidate & contradict native cultures. The goals and intended outcomes of schooling policies and practice promote integration of native children within white settler-society. The outcomes, both historically and presently include loss of language, loss of native culture, and the breaking apart families and communities. CME serves as vehicle to instill alien values and is subject to the unstable nature of the settler state identified earlier. These goals and outcomes are achieved through a variety of mechanisms such as standardizing language policy that emphasizes particular curriculum over indigenous language leading to diminished fluency, or in worst cases, the eradication of native languages.

However, let me stress that indigenous peoples are not passive recipients of CME. They have resisted colonial forms of education. Such responses to CME include tribes asserting their sovereignty and taking control over education, including contract and grant schools, and creating schools that are not dependent upon federal funding.

Despite being subjected to CME in the United States, indigenous peoples manage to maintain tribal cultures. In this manner indigenous peoples have gathered a great deal of knowledge, both theoretical and practical, concerning CME. This includes strategies of both resistance and adaptation, and an intimate understanding of the waxing and waning of positive and negative Indian policy. This dissertation represents an engagement with what I see as the continuation of CME, as represented by the curriculum pipeline. Then again, like its institutional house, CME is subject to the instability of the settler-state, and like the swinging pendulum of Federal Indian policy and Indian education policy, CME grows and contracts, accommodating the grand mythology of settlerism.

In order to better understand why and how the United States produces such incoherent federal Indian policy and Indian education policy, it is important to pair this discussion with Bell's (1980) interest convergence theory, Williams' (2005) singularity thesis, and Lomawaima and McCarty's (2006) safety zone theory. Taken individually, they illuminate important features, but taken together, their insights shed light on the unstable mechanisms of settler states. They reveal that this instability is due to the fictitious nature of the discourse upon which the settler state is founded (Williams, 1986). By defining the white settler-state and CME, this allows me to place curriculum, and particularly social studies curriculum into the proper context from which it was born—as a narrative that promotes settler nationalism, more appropriately identified as settler mythologism.

Yet these perspectives do not fully bring down the house, so to speak. For this I turn to the formative work of Vine Deloria (and others) to examine the foundations of this house—western metaphysics. Continuing with the dual metaphors of the pipeline and the house, if indeed the settler-state represents the house within which CME and other projects are housed, then we need to ask the following questions: how is CME channeled out of this house into other homes; how solid are the foundations of this house; what are the foundations of this house built from? In the next chapter, I examine the foundations more closely, drawing from the important life's work of Vine Deloria, who tirelessly redirected those who would listen to look at the foundations of the settler's home, and just as important take care of our own foundations.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Illuminating the Metaphysics of the West: The Legacy of Vine Deloria

The secularity of the society in which we live must share considerable blame in the erosion of spiritual powers of all traditions, since our society has become a parody of social interaction lacking even an aspect of civility. Believing in nothing, we have preempted the role of the higher spiritual forces by acknowledging no greater good than what we can feel and touch. The change of living conditions experienced by Indian people in the last century also has a great deal to do with the erosion of our spiritual powers. Wrenched from a free life where the natural order has to be understood and obeyed, confined within a foreign educational system where memorization and recital substitute for learning and knowledge, each generation of Indians has been moved farther and farther away from the substance of the spiritual energy that once directed our lives. (Deloria, 2006; xviii)

In the first chapter, I introduced the conceptual organization of this dissertation, identifying the curriculum pipeline. A key aspect of the curriculum pipeline is the ideological component, or ideas of origin. Much work is devoted to identifying the role of ideology in shaping education and curriculum in particular (Altbach *et al.*, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). Key multicultural education research, likewise, focuses on the role of ideology in shaping education and curriculum (Banks & Banks, 2004). However, this work fails to address the foundations of ideology, and in turn inadvertently smuggles western metaphysical ideas in their ideas. As Duane Champagne (2007) reminds us, this occurs because they "...generate knowledge and techniques for solving issues and problems confronted by complex, highly specialized and compartmentalized contemporary nation-states and communities" (p. 355). To be sure, education researchers, to quote from Champagne (2007) "...collect and interpret data and generate theory with the idea of contributing to human knowledge, but

knowledge is generally understood within Western world views or epistemological understandings" (p. 355). Therefore I center indigenous worldviews and epistemological understandings in order to "collect and interpret data and generate theory" (p. 355) from an indigenous perspective.

A key perspective promoted by indigenous scholars that I center in this project, is the notion of western metaphysics, which I briefly operationalize as the set of western beliefs normalized in education. Similarly, these same scholars call for the centering of indigenous metaphysics in educational practices and discourses. I review particular components of western metaphysics including its origins in Greek and Christian thought, and western metaphysics approaches to reality and truth claims, and temporality. I also review particular components of indigenous metaphysics, including the role of geography in shaping metaphysical orientations. In particular I build upon the role of place in indigenous metaphysics in shaping being, relationships, and approaches to reality and truth claims. I review how indigenous metaphysics in turn shape indigenous educational practices. Finally, I briefly outline how particular research in science education has begun to examine how indigenous and western metaphysics play out in science education. The combination of this review builds working frameworks of both western and indigenous metaphysics that I use to examine social studies curriculum.

Thus, in order to do this, I explore the idea of metaphysics in education as opposed to conflated or substituting its meaning with the concept of "worldview". In short, I am arguing, that the concept of metaphysics captures the primary subject of my theoretical analysis most accurately: first principles, or, the foundational categories of systems of thought. In delineating how I utilized the concept of metaphysics in this study, I examine a selective literature concerning metaphysics; both as this concept has been conceived in knowledge systems of the west and those of indigenous tribes. Moreover, as an indigenous project, I am utilizing Vine Deloria's' body of work concerning western and indigenous metaphysics because it serves as a powerful analytical tool for uncovering how western metaphysics persist in contemporary culture and society in the United States and, for this study's purposes, especially in Western education models.

As Daniel Wildcat (2001) has pointed out in his work, Deloria's work in *Power* and Place: Indian Education in America represents a "...call to consider the advantages of building an educational practice on a foundation of American Indian metaphysics" (p. 9). Wildcat (2001) acknowledges that this task is not an easy one, but in or order begin such a project there is a "...need for serious dialogue in comparing what is described as the Western metaphysics of space, time, and energy to the American Indian metaphysics of place and power" (p. 9). Thus, I am using the work of Deloria to begin to sketch such an educational project that revisions education from the perspective of indigenous metaphysics so as to lay the groundwork for developing curriculum and classroom practices that are better attuned to native perspectives. Such an approach is one that enables me to locate the patterns and themes of western metaphysics along the curriculum pipeline, particularly in social studies textbooks and their accompanying content standards, in ways other research has failed to do.

One such area of research in the field of education that represents a site where Western metaphysics have not been adequately dealt with is in multicultural education research and practice, that, I am arguing, has a propensity to leave deeper cultural challenges untouched. As a consequence, and a central claim of my dissertation, is that multicultural education maintains a Colonial Model of Education that, in the final analysis, serves the settler-state model. While it may be argued that these deeper cultural fissures exist only in relation to conservative beliefs, I suggest these deeper cultural fissures also exist in the metaphysical structure of liberal, progressive, and/or radical perspectives in education. The framework of western metaphysics that I outline here will help reveal these deeper cultural fissures and how they persist in educational content.

For this reason I want to take this moment in my selective review of the literature to emphasize that the perspective of indigeneity I bring to this project represents an opportunity to identify and locate the sources of these cultural fissures. These culture fissures have to do with, for instance the construction of time in a linear fashion that remain present in education, and particularly in multicultural education. From an indigenous perspective these deeper cultural fissures, illuminated in Vine Deloria's work, include differing perspectives of time, place, being, and perspectives on reality or truth claims. Western views, on the other hand, emphasize linear perspectives

of time, while indigenous perspectives generally maintain cyclical notions of time. Western views perceive place as an inanimate object, and subject natural landscapes to exploitation and territorialization, whereas indigenous views perceive place as animated, imbued with spirit, and a central agent in indigenous worldview production. Regarding being, or ontology, western views emphasize anthropocentric constructions. On the other hand, indigenous ontological relations include not only people but also landscapes, animals, and the spirit world and are better characterized as an epistemoontology. In education, social studies and science curriculum provide clear evidence, from an indigenous perspective, where such cultural fissures are clearly present, something I examine below.

The hegemony of western metaphysics in educational curriculum and content is pronounced. For instance, as Wildcat (2001) astutely observes that while conservative commentators such as William Bennett put forward that in order to resolve the problems facing education in the United States we must return "to the core values of Western civilization—Deloria argues that the very tradition and system of knowledge Bennett wants Americans reconnected to is actually the problem" (p. 9). Therefore in order to problematize the call to return to original or first principles, I turn to Vine Deloria's mapping of western and indigenous metaphysics as a way to analyze educational curriculum and its ability (or inability) to address indigenous needs. From this mapping of the problem, my project will address, first, how social studies curriculum embodies western metaphysics, and second how social studies curriculum promotes and instills white settler-state values.

It is on this point of focus that my project offers a unique and much needed analysis: the examination of western metaphysics and how social studies curriculum thus promotes the Colonial Model of Education (CME). While other research examine similar components of the settler-state, they do not expose the western metaphysics at the foundations of educational curriculum. John Wilinsky (1998), for example, contends that education practices continues to be shaped by the legacy of imperialism, and that this project has mapped and named the world "bringing it within a single system of thought" (pp. 9-10). Wilinsky (1998) insists: "To appreciate what might persist of that imperial age in our educated imaginations, we need to return to its original lessons, to what was first made of *discovery* and the new" (p. 25). While imperialism has indeed "mapped and named the world," attempting to bring it "within a single system of thought," I claim there remain other systems of thought that map and name the world such as indigenous knowledge systems. Wilinsky's (1998) assertion concerning a single system of thought highlights perfectly why the notion of western metaphysics needs to be critically analyzed in education—to examine how education is framed by what is the oftentimes invisible foundation of the colonial project in the west-western metaphysics.

In beginning such an analysis I am drawing on and using Deloria's definition of western metaphysics.²² While Deloria draws from western philosophy in his definition of metaphysics, he also promotes a very concrete and distinct understanding of western metaphysics. Taking cue from Wildcat's (2001) assertions, "Beginning a dialogue with a map, so to speak, of Western civilization's metaphysical landscape is critical, for it is distorted..." (p. 9), I map out the key components of western metaphysics and in particular how they shape educational practices. In this chapter, I construct such a map by looking at how Deloria has conceptualized western metaphysics, focusing on key components identified by Deloria such as time, place, and being and how these orientations shape ideology and structure in Western thought and institutions. I also review selections from the literature on indigenous metaphysics, drawing specifically from the work of Vine Deloria, Gregory Cajete, Duane Champagne, and others, that will help identify a framework of what indigenous metaphysics look like. Finally, to demonstrate how indigenous metaphysics can be useful and productive in expanding knowledge perspectives in education, I briefly review ethno-science education research, which examines how metaphysics inform what is considered as standard accounts of science. A more comprehensive analysis of both western and indigenous metaphysics is merited, but for the purposes of this

²² In fact indigenous peoples throughout the globe who have encountered western imperialism each have their own understanding of western metaphysics and worldviews, and they have an intimate understanding of western worldviews or customs. See for example, Christine Zuni Cruz's (2000/2001) article, "Tribal Law as Indigenous Social Reality and Separate Consciousness-[Re]Incorporating Customs and Traditions into Tribal Law."

project, the following narratives provide the necessary introductory frameworks to western and indigenous metaphysics.

I. Why Metaphysics?: Deloria and First Principles

What does Deloria (1979) mean by metaphysics in terms of an analytic category? Deloria (2001) defines metaphysics as the "first set of principles we must possess in order to make sense of the world in which we live" (p. 2), which is congruent with much of western philosophy's definition of metaphysics (Aristotle, 1966; Baumgarten, 1743; Grube, 1966; Plato, 1992). However, Deloria takes a different trajectory than that of western philosophy's definition of metaphysics. His definition of metaphysics is developed specifically from an indigenous perspective (Deloria, 1979, 1991, 1994, 1992, 2002, 2006). As might be expected, Deloria's work on metaphysics remains somewhat marginalized in the field of philosophy, although there is a growing number of scholars who draw from Deloria or take up where he left off (Arola, 2007; Linklater, 2007; Pratt, 2006; Ann Waters, 2004a).

Scott Pratt (2006), quoting from Deloria's (1979) important work *The Metaphysics of Modern Existence*, answers the question, why metaphysics are crucial to define: "The fundamental factor that keeps Indians and non-Indians from communicating is that they are speaking about two entirely different perceptions of the world,' that is, he [Deloria] says later, two radically different metaphysics" (p. 4). Yet in the United States, western perceptions of the world continue to dominate educational

models. If Indians and non-Indians are coming from such different perspectives of the world, what does this mean for indigenous students within western education and what does metaphysics have to do with it?

In Power and Place: Indian Education in America Deloria (2001) notes that the field of metaphysics in Western thought is considered an outmoded relic of ancient western thought that has given way to the more "useful" scientific approach and formal logic. In fact, Kevin Schilbrack (2000) calls attention to the fact that in contemporary western philosophy, since Kant, the idea of metaphysics as "inquiry into the character of reality...is no longer legitimate..." because "metaphysical knowledge is impossible" (p. 67). In opposition to this view in Western philosophy Deloria (2001) argues that the concept of metaphysics is still useful, insisting that "metaphysics need not bear the burden of its past" (p. 2). He argues that metaphysics, understood as a series of first principles that cultures or peoples maintain in order to comprehend the world, can be a powerful concept for assessing Western culture's fundamental assumptions and normative frameworks dominate today (Deloria, 2001). In agreement with Deloria (1979, 2001) and Wildcat (2001), the concept of metaphysics is necessary to examine in relation to educational models and more specifically as Deloria (1979) has articulated, and Pratt (2006) reminds us, how the current CME fails indigenous students:

No matter how well educated an Indian may become, he or she always suspects that Western culture is not an adequate representation of reality. Life therefore becomes a schizophrenic balancing act wherein one holds that the creation, migration and ceremonial stories of the tribe are true and that the Western European view of the world is also true (p. viii).

This conflict must be concretely illuminated in a variety of educational processes including curriculum, if education is indeed going to be indigenized.

For this reason, Deloria's body of work, especially his conceptualization of metaphysics, is not only credible but also eye opening since it comes from an indigenous perspective that illuminates the origins of **western worldviews that are the byproduct of western metaphysics**. Hence, I argue it is important to utilize the concept of metaphysics developed by Vine Deloria because as he demonstrates, it is a useful concept with which to critically engage western thought and practices that remain unrecognized in western circles because they are completely normalized, yet remain problematic for indigenous peoples. In the same way, Deloria's work has not found its way into broader educational discourses. While taken up by scholars interested in Indian education, predominantly Indian scholars, I argue that Deloria's work shines a light on multicultural education in ways that move the field towards truer diversity.

Western philosophy is not the only discipline to examine ideas concerning metaphysics, or first principles. In cultural anthropology, the similar concept of worldview is further developed in order to address culture under the gaze of the anthropologist. Anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski in Naugle (2002) describes worldview: "What interests me really in the study of the native is his outlook on things, his *Weltanschauung*, the breath of life and reality which he breathes and by which he lives. Every human culture gives its members a definite vision of the world, a definite zest of life" (p. 238). Many times worldview and metaphysics are used interchangeably.

Yet metaphysics and worldview have a different genealogy: metaphysics was first developed in philosophy whereas worldview developed out of the discipline of cultural anthropology. More important here, the concept of metaphysics has been *indigenized* (Smith, 2002), offering an indigenous *intervention* and *reframing* (Smith, 2002) of metaphysics that better aligns with indigenous perceptions of western culture. The concept of worldview however has been developed in a field mostly concerned with **observing** indigenous peoples, and I argue does not quite capture the foundational issues the notion of metaphysics does. For instance, cultural anthropologist Michael Kearny (1984) defines the concept of worldview as "culturally organized macrothought; those dynamically inter-related basic assumptions of a people that determine much of their behavior and decision making, as well as organizing much of their body of symbolic creations...and ethnophilosophy" (in Cobern, 1988; p. 5).

There are similarities between worldview and metaphysics that are worth illustrating. Both Kearny (1984) and Deloria (2001) provide similar starting points: Kearny's (1984) basic assumptions and Deloria's (2001) first principles similarly identify key components of worldview and metaphysics respectively. In addition, Kearny's (1984) notion of macrothought, he contends, determines peoples' behavior and decision-making, much like Deloria (2001) asserts first principles help people make sense of the world they live in.

Allen and Crawley (1998), who studied Kickapoo students' relationship to science education, provide the following definition of worldview, which draws from

cultural anthropology's definition of world view:

Worldview may be defined simply as the way people think about themselves, their environments, and abstract ideas such as truth, beauty, causality, time, and space. Worldview and culture are closely woven together. Worldview may even be described as "a variant of the concept of culture" [citation omitted]. It is the way people have of looking at reality, the basic assumptions and images that provide a more or less coherent way of thinking about the world, the cognitive structure into which an individual fits new information. Worldview provides a standard upon which a person's thinking is based (Cobern, 1991), the epistemological structure by which the plausibility of assertions is judged [citation omitted]" (p. 113).

Like Kearny and Deloria, Allan and Crawley (1998) identify basic assumptions that provide peoples with ways of understanding and thinking about the world, or as they refer to it a standard epistemological structure. Allen and Crawley's (1998) definition of worldview provides important components of worldview that parallel Deloria's conceptualization of metaphysics. Specifically, Allan and Crawley's (1998) "...abstract ideas such as truth, beauty, causality, time and space" parallels Deloria's argument that conceptions of time, place, and being are key components of western metaphysics that inform cultural production. While Allen and Crawley (1998) and Kearny's (1984) concepts of worldview and Deloria's (1979, 2001) metaphysics are similar, they nevertheless have developed within different contexts and from different perspectives.

Worldview in cultural anthropology was developed in order to study the Other (Said, 1979)—the primitive and exotic cultures, which has normalized the western gaze. On the other hand, I contend Deloria's conceptualization of metaphysics, specifically western metaphysics, disrupts this western gaze by centering indigenous perspectives. In essence, metaphysics, as conceived from an indigenous perspective, represent those

first principles that in turn produce particular worldviews. In education, however, researchers have incorporated the concept of worldview in ways that compliment Deloria's conceptualization of western metaphysics. For instance, William Cobern (1988) who investigates culturally relevant teaching and learning in science education has been at the forefront of incorporating worldview theory from cultural anthropology in education, particularly science education. Other scholars have addressed similar issues regarding indigenous education practices that are developed from indigenous metaphysics (Cajete, 1994, 2000; Kawagley, 1995, 1996). I bring this research together because I contend that while they utilize different concepts, they fundamentally address similar issues. However, I am not asserting that metaphysics and worldviews are synonymous. What I am contending is that it is useful to keep these concepts as analytically distinct categories and that doing so produces a unique analysis that could not be achieved through the concept of worldview. Instead, I argue it is more useful to understand metaphysics as first principles that in turn *shape* worldviews, and that it is more powerful to adopt Deloria's framework because it operates from a place of indigeneity (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001), a viewpoint not often centered or valued in academic knowledge production.

An example that demonstrates the analytic difference between metaphysics and worldview can be seen in the question that if metaphysics is understood as first principles that shape worldviews, then how would a culture's perception and value of temporality shape its worldview? In many indigenous traditions, time (a key element of metaphysics) is generally perceived and valued as a cyclical manifestation—not to the exclusion of linear time (Deloria, 1992; Krech, 2006). On the other hand, western cultures perceive and value linear time. This cultural attitude concerning time in western cultures is at the basis of history and it is reflected in the construction of social studies curriculum as a chronological recounting of historical events. Arguably, indigenous peoples temporal attitudes are not as concerned with maintaining exact dates (Deloria, 1992), instead focusing on cyclical ceremonies and practices, linked with the seasonal cycles of their specific homelands. However, education in the United States largely frames knowledge production from a western standpoint, as is evidenced in social studies curriculum. With the understanding of Deloria's basic notion of metaphysics in view, I now will examine western metaphysics and specifically the nature of its first principles.

II. Western Metaphysics as a "Cultural Archive" (Smith, 2002)

At the most basic level western metaphysics is the way the western mind (Tarnas, 1991) understands and orders the world. But why does the western mind understand and interpret the world in the unique way in which it does? And further, why is it important to understand the western mind and to make western metaphysics a central object of inquiry? It is important, because as the breadth of Vine Deloria's work demonstrates, western metaphysics arranges and rationalizes the way the western mind, its institutions, and its practices function. Furthermore, this understanding of the world operates in such a manner that precludes and marginalizes other metaphysical systems. Education in the United States is one site that clearly demonstrates this clash, and Indian education is a location in which the radically opposing metaphysical systems (western and indigenous) are present. But because of the dominance of western metaphysics in Indian education, and multicultural education in general, there is little room for indigenous informed education to flourish.

In addition, many Native scholars have taken up important questions that emphasize the importance of metaphysical assumptions. These include the questions what are Western metaphysics; what historical and philosophical developments have shaped this complex of ideas, institutions and systems; and more narrowly, how have western metaphysics come to shape educational discourse and practice in the United States? I begin this process by first looking at how scholars answer the first question: what, from indigenous perspectives, are western metaphysics? I center indigenous perspectives because they provide relevant critiques of western metaphysics and provide a powerful framework for rethinking some of the basic assumptions used not only in colonizing educational projects but also in multicultural ones. For indigenous peoples, the legacy of western metaphysics is more than a mere set of ineffectual ideas and values; to the contrary, the legacy of western metaphysics locates and reproduces itself in institutions, communities, families and individuals. As Maori scholar Linda Smith (2002) indicates, ideas are made real by specific "systems of knowledge, the formation of culture, and the relations of power in which these concepts are located" (p.

48). In the United States, extending Smith's (2002) insights, "[t]he individual, as the basic social unit from which other social organizations and social relations form, is another system of ideas which needs to be understood as part of the West's cultural archive" (p. 49). The *cultural archive*, which Smith (2002) identifies, is a useful springboard from which to deconstruct western metaphysics.

In examining the cultural archive (Smith, 2002) of western metaphysics, I draw from the formative work of Vine Deloria (1979, 1992, 1997, 2002, 2006, 2001), scholars such as Gregory Cajete (1994, 2000), Duane Champagne (2005a, 2005b), Ann Waters (2002, 2004), Daniel Wildcat (2001), and other scholars who have written extensively on western and indigenous metaphysics. It is worth noting here, that while I draw on the breadth of Deloria's work, the impetus of his work changed over time. In Metaphysics of Modern Existence, Pratt (2006) explains, Deloria (1979) attempted to "to develop a new philosophical ground between Native and Western worlds that is suited to responding to the crises faced by the world as it approached the twenty-first century" (p. 4). Deloria (1979) was searching for a possible "new metaphysics", or a metaphysics that took into account both indigenous and western scientific approaches (Pratt, 2006), which Deloria (1991, 2001) later rejected, responding to Western peoples inabilities or lack of desire to search for this common ground with indigenous peoples (Pratt, 2006). Instead, Deloria, with Wildcat, in Power and Place: Indian Education in America offer, as Pratt (2006) describes, an "...attempt to provide Native people themselves with a philosophical framework that will at once preserve their traditions and provide resources for negotiating the schizophrenia of their interactions with European-descended culture" (p. 4). While Deloria's goals changed from his early work to more recent work, his extensive work on outlining western metaphysics remains central here.

Hence, drawing from this literature I argue that if we are to begin to deconstruct the cultural archive of western metaphysics it will "depend upon the manner," as Deloria (1979) suggests, "in which we examine the general conceptions of reality held by Western peoples rather than upon a precise knowledge of what the most advanced thinkers have intuited" (p. 19). In order to do this, Deloria (1979) turns to "the religious and philosophical beliefs traditionally held in Western civilization" (p. 19). This is a strong point in Deloria's work, not only because he focuses on the importance of religion and philosophy, but also because he insists that the western mind cannot be understood without looking at how they have co-constructed each other. I contend that this aspect also represents one of the most challenging features of Deloria's work because it touches upon deeply held and internalized belief systems.

Acknowledging and illuminating that western metaphysics is foundational and omnipresent in western education has widespread implications. As Daniel Wildcat (2001) maintains "we must begin a discussion of education in America with the metaphysical assumptions of Western civilization implicit in and underlying modern notions of curriculum and pedagogy, given that so little attention is paid to the topic today" (p. 9). For this reason, I investigate the western metaphysical assumptions that shape and define the curriculum pipeline, indeed the path western metaphysics take to become content in textbooks. William Cobern (1988) also provides another important reason to forefront and critically engage western metaphysics in education; although he speaks in the context of science education, his perspective applies to education broadly:

It has been demonstrated that students do not come into the science classroom with minds "tabula rasa." Students bring with them ideas and values about the natural world that they have formulated on their own or have acquired from previous educational experiences...Some students come into class already holding a high value of science. Others come with value systems that will readily incorporate a high view of science given the proper circumstances. Others are prepared to resist (p. 5).

Cobern (1988) continues, that in regards to science education, "it is assumed that students come into secondary and college science classes with relatively homogeneous, fundamental views of the natural world capable of assimilating and valuing modern scientific understanding" (p. 5-6). Cobern (1988) wishes to challenge such assumptions and instead focus on how students' worldviews impact how they learn, how they are taught, and pedagogy in general. By bringing together the insights of Deloria, Wildcat, and Cobern, though the latter focuses on the production of worldviews, I hope to expose and lend legitimacy to metaphysical inquiries in education and along the curriculum pipeline, principally social studies curriculum.

Furthermore, Deloria, Wildcat, and Cobern's work provide useful points of comparison with multicultural education research that has been influential in shaping the multicultural content of curriculum. It is true multicultural research in education identifies the need to bring student's particular worldviews and epistemologies into the classroom. It does not however identify how the metaphysical understandings behind worldviews influence student learning. Moreover, because multicultural education is firmly embedded within the cultural archive of western metaphysics, much of the discourses, practices, and research it promotes maintains western metaphysics, thereby excluding other metaphysical and worldview systems. In this regard, ethno-science education research is at the forefront of this metaphysical challenge because it does engage these basic metaphysical dynamics, something I am extending to social studies curriculum and standards. Before I review some of the science education literature dealing with this issue, I first want to move into Deloria's work that identifies the fundamental components of western metaphysics.

As stated, Deloria's work identifies the cultural archive of western metaphysics that include dualism, universalism, proselytization, anthropocentrism, and humanism. He also identifies the originary metaphysical concepts that shape how this cultural archive is constructed as origins, time, place, and being. On the whole, western metaphysical conceptualizations of origins, time, place, and being represent the cultural archive of the west, which is mostly normalized. For instance, Allen and Crawely (1998) articulate: "Western philosophy and values in regard to the natural world were described as exploitative, reductionist, competitive, empirical, decontextualized, rational, and materialistic [citation omitted]" (p. 111). Even as Allen and Crawley (1998) describe western philosophy is "exploitative, reductionist, competitive, empirical, how and why western philosophy is "exploitative, reductionist, competitive, empirical, decontextualized, rational and materialistic" (p. 111). Thus I turn to Deloria's body of work that identifies the metaphysical components in the western mind that lead to these types of orientations in western philosophy and western society.

Greek & Christian Origins of Western Metaphysics

According to Deloria (1979, 2001), Western metaphysics represents the coming together of Greek and Judeo-Christian ideas. Deloria (1979), like others (Rubenstein, 2003; Smith, 2002; Tarnas, 1991), explains that the trajectory and development of western beliefs owe much to the "Platonic dilemma ensuring the validity of human knowledge and Plato's subsequent division of the world into otherworldly and this-worldly realms" (p. 19). Richard Tarnas (1991) explains that the Greeks developed "a global metaphysical perspective, intent on encompassing both the whole of reality and the multiple sides of the human sensibility" (p. 69). In essence, Tarnas (1991) explains, the Greek attempt to understand the world created an epistemological system that continues to influence the western mind today. The important components of western metaphysics that in turn shape the complex pantheon of the western worldview have to do with the origins identified by Tarnas (1991) that shaped a particular perspective regarding time, place, reality (or truth) and being.

Here I want to emphasize how these components of western metaphysics (time, **place**, **reality** and **being**) have come to shape key ideas such as <u>dualism</u>, <u>universalism</u>, <u>humanism</u>, <u>anthropocentrism</u>, <u>patriarchy</u> and other concepts that inform the cultural archive of the west. Yet these concepts do not operate independently. Instead they rely

on one another, and together they create a complex worldview system. This particular set of ideas created a worldview system that has had and continues to have devastating consequences and seemingly irresolvable contradictions. American Indian philosopher, Anne Waters (2004) identifies this aspect of Western metaphysics plainly: "Cultures that locate identity in a politics of ideas, e.g. those belonging to Greek thought, tend to colonize other cultures, and rule politically oppressive states" (p. 154). But why do these cultures colonize others and "rule politically oppressive states" (p. 154)? Deloria (1979) and other scholars such as Champagne (1995) explore the underlying assumptions of western thought, helping answer this question. For example, Deloria (1979) argues that because the goal of western thought, borrowing from its Greek origins, is focused on "...determining the ultimate constituent from which all phenomena were derived" (p. 33) its resulting epistemological system is similarly deterministic, enabling its colonizing and dominating of nature.

In addition to this inherently objectifying nature of western thought, the origins of western metaphysics in Greek and Christian thought has created a framework that locates the ontology of human beings as oppositional to that of nature. This human/nature binary has resulted in a metaphysics that embraces dualisms, humanism, and anthropocentrism, culminating in the domination of the other. This orientation enables the dehumanization of those that fall outside the boundaries of western metaphysics, and strips any ontological agency that other entities may have. Within these Greek **origins**, Deloria (1979) identifies how particular concepts such as dualism developed:

The task of Greek philosophy, before and after Plato, was to divine from the welter of phenomena the ultimate constituent of the universe. When this dualism was merged with Christian theology in the controversies over the status of Jesus, the meaning of historical revelation, and the fear of the last judgment, Greek thought was considered capable of articulating the philosophical aspects of the Christian religion was welcomed. God existed in the Heavenly City where the faithful would be rewarded by eternal life, and all values of importance became those of the other world (1979; 20).

Greek thought and the need of Christian theology in that historical moment resulted in the creation of a concept that continues to shape western worldviews today that I want to look at here—<u>dualism</u>. The dualist orientation of western metaphysics remains embedded in the cultural archive of the West as evidenced in Western modern science and Christianity, and thus represent two places I identify the persistence of dualism.

At present, the discourses surrounding western modern science and Christian theology indicate that the two paradigms are completely at odds with one another. However, when one examines the metaphysical frameworks of these paradigms it is evident that they both draw from the same pantheon of western metaphysics and share the mutual goal of seeking and defining universal truths (Deloria, 1992; Harding, 1998). Richard Rubenstein (2003) explains that "[t]oday we tend to think of science and orthodox religion as inherently and perpetually in conflict", but this was not always the case (p. 7). Rubenstein (2003) continues, "by marrying Christian theology to Aristotelian science, they [church leaders] committed the West to an ethic of rational inquiry that would generate a succession of 'scientific revolutions' as well as

unforeseen upheavals in social and religious thought" (p. 9). Undeniably, the Christian worldview permeates what Tarnas (1991) refers to as the Western cultural psyche, even in its most secular form.

As stated, western metaphysics derives its <u>dualist</u> orientation from classical Greek philosophy and western religions. Linda Smith (2002) argues that philosophers such as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle promoted the notion that humanity is on a higher plane than other **beings** such as animals and plants because of humans' capacity for language and reason, and are "regarded as the founders of this <u>humanistic</u> tradition of knowledge" (pp. 47-48). Similarly, western religious doctrine, promotes the human/nature split. Vine Deloria (1992) elaborates on the consequences of this binary: "One aspect is that the natural world is thereafter considered as corrupted, and it becomes theoretically beyond redemption" (p. 80). Although many Westerners do not adhere to this belief explicitly, it nevertheless implicitly shapes western ideas and institutions. Regarding **being**, therefore, Bateson (1972) explains how this dualism impacts **being**, or ontology:

If you put God outside and set him vis-à-vis his creation and if you have the idea that you are created in his image, you will logically and naturally see yourself outside and against the things around you. And you will arrogate all mind to yourself, you will see the world around you as mindless and therefore not entitled to moral or ethical consideration. The environment will seem to be yours to exploit. Your survival unit will be you and your folks or conspecifics against the environment of other social units, other races and the brutes and vegetables." (Bateson, 1972 in Deloria, 1979; 20)

This division, or other worldly orientation (Champagne, 1995) that orients the western mind has resulted in notions of <u>humanism</u> and <u>anthropocentricism</u> evident in western modern science, education, and politics.

Developing this insight, in the context of public education, this same dualism is reflected in what and who is part of the educational experience and how non-human subjects are utilized simply for the benefit of human learning without a serious consideration of their own nature and ontology. Social studies textbooks, for instance, focus solely on human history. This anthropocentric perspective originates in western metaphysics. The idea, in Christian doctrine, indeed developed in Greek thought, that "man receives domination over the rest of creation" has been, according to Deloria (1992), "...adopted wholeheartedly by Western peoples in their economic exploitation of the earth" (p. 82). Deloria (1992) does make note that "the modern world is just now beginning to identify the Christian religion's failure to show adequate concern for the planet as a major factor in our present ecological crisis" (p. 83). However, he distinguishes that in the attempt "...to bring religious sensitivity to the problem of ecological destruction, one can see a shallow understanding of the basis of the religious attitude that has been largely responsible for this crisis" (p. 84). It remains superficial because it does not unearth the ontological reasons for this crisis that has created an entire knowledge system that divides human from nature. Above all, Deloria (1992) argues that in western society "[n]o effort is made to begin a new theory of the meaning of creation. Indeed, the popular attitude of *stewardship* is invoked, as if it had no

relationship to the cause of the ecological crisis whatsoever" (p. 84). Instead, the attitude of stewardship, or caretaker of the environment, maintains an anthropocentric, binary relationship to nature, in which humans administer nature.

In the West the notion of **place**, when coupled with particular conceptualizations of time, origins, and being can best be described by the function of containment. In addition because of the compartmentalization of **being** in western metaphysics, place is rendered an object, stripped of agency, at the disposal of human intervention. As described earlier, Deloria (1992) submits that, in the West, because "man receives domination over the rest of creation" through Christian doctrine there is an extension of this attitude expressed in the paradigms of western science, political expansion, and imperialism. Place, or geography, in the framework of western metaphysics is therefore simply another object in the theater of western history, another object to be administered. John Locke's (1980) Second Treatise of Government provides a concrete example of the exploitative nature of western metaphysics in his chapter on property: "God, who hath given the world to men in common, hath also given them reason to make use of it to the best advantage of life, and convenience. The earth, and all that is therein, is given to men for the support and comfort of their being" (p. 18). From this conceptualization of space and nature, the modern concept of property was developed, which remains a central ideological force today.

The idea of property is possible because, as Deloria (1992) argues, "Western European peoples have never learned to consider the nature of the world discerned from a spatial point of view" (p. 63). In the west place is valued for the role it plays in establishing other elements of western metaphysics such as the truth claims produced by western metaphysics. Although particular places, such as the Middle East, figure prominently in western metaphysics and culture, these places such as the Holy Land, Deloria (1992) differentiates, have "historically been a battlefield of three world religions each of which has particular sacred places it cherishes. But these places are appreciated primarily for their historical significance and do not provide the sense of permanency and rootedness that the Indian sacred places represent" (p. 67). In addition, these places are appreciated for their role in establishing the world prominence and narrative of a particular religion in claiming a singular and universal **truth** for the entirety of the world.

Western Metaphysics: Constructing Reality & Truth Claims

Repeating Deloria's (1979) key assertion that in order to understand "...the Western conception of **reality**, therefore, we must fall back upon the religious and philosophical beliefs traditionally held in Western civilization" (p. 19) I am suggesting here that we should take seriously Deloria's challenge to examine more closely the role of religion in western metaphysics. Western religion and its monotheistic structures, Deloria (1992) argues, is "usually the product of the political unification of a diverse society more often that it is the result of a revelation of ultimate reality" (p. 66). In this same way, the application of western metaphysical structures has occurred in order to manage the political unification of a diverse society through the historical example of

colonialism and contemporary capitalism in settler societies such as the United States. Education, I contend, within the context of a settler state, serves a similar role. Without a doubt, the Colonial Model of Education I identify in the previous chapter that is prevalent in the United States remains largely unchallenged because of the nature of western metaphysics that creates it.

Returning to the role of religions in shaping western metaphysics, Deloria (1992) goes on to argue that religion in the west is a key component in understanding how **truth claims** are made:

In the western tradition revelation has generally been interpreted as the communication to human beings of a divine plant, the release of new information and insights when the deity has perceived that mankind has reached the fullness of time and can now understand additional knowledge about the ultimate nature of our world. Thus, what has been the manifestation of deity in a particular local situation is mistaken for a truth applicable to all times and places, a truth so powerful that it must be impressed upon peoples who have no connection to the event or to the cultural complex in which it originally made sense (p. 66)

What I want to emphasize from my review of Deloria's (1992) critique of western religions is that within the western mind the value of a singular or universal **truth** is instilled. From this foundation, the western mind operates from a metaphysics concerning truth that establishes a particular type of epistemology and ontology that imposes truth claims, operating through such discourses of science, religion, and education. This perspective, inherent in Western religion, lays at the foundation of colonialism, imperialism, and the oppression of non-western peoples, producing the

settler-state and its institutional apparatuses and practices such as Colonial Models of Education.

Western metaphysics not only promote a belief in a universal truth, this view also leads to totalitarian principles. Deloria (1992) reveals the origins of these totalitarian principles: "Ultimately the religion becomes a matter of imposing the ethical perspective derived from reprocessing the religious experience on foreign cultures and not in following whatever moral dictates might have gleaned from the experience" (p. 66). This ability to conceive of a singular reality and make a universal truth claim enabled and fueled the intellectual climates of the Renaissance, the Age of Exploration, and the Age of Empire. For this reason, I argue, it is important to understand these themes in religion, particularly as it has developed in the west, because it represents a central ideological component of western metaphysical assumptions and structures.²³ Thus, in the same way western religions attempt to become universal, western metaphysical structures attempt to not only promote universal narratives, but also impose themselves universally. The settler-state continues in this project. The educational paradigms inherited and reproduced in the United States, I am claiming here, carry on this legacy. The Colonial Model of Education (CME) functions to maintain and promote a universal educational infrastructure and paradigm.

²³ While there was also a strong secular trend in the Renaissance and indeed a stronger one during the Enlightenment period in Europe, even the liberalism of John Lock still embodied a notion of natural right that, while secular, situated the right to land appropriation in agreement with Christian views. Thus even liberalism has the stamp of Christianity's dualism that has never disappeared in the secular attempt to rewrite natural right without God.

From western metaphysics, the cultural archive of the west has inherited a thought system that declares its superiority over knowledge systems of those perceived to be inferior. This element enables the founding mythologies of settler-states, produced through CME, and indeed the oppressive mechanisms imposed by settler-states. The following story, told by Deloria (2004) provides a telling example:

A missionary, Reverend Cram, once came to the Senecas to convert them and recited the story of Adam and Eve. When he was finished the Senecas insisted on relating one of their creation stories. Cram was livid, arguing that he had told the Senecas the truth while they had recited a mere fable to him. The Senecas chastised him for his bad manners, saying that they had been polite in listening to his story without complaining and he should be willing to listen to their tales" (p. 9).

This account of Reverend Cram is a perfect example of how two different worldviews approach truth claims. Reverend Cram's truth claim is absolute and universal, and in pronouncing as such he is attempting to convert the Seneca. The goal of western thought and practice, reflected in Cram's beliefs has been, as maintained by Deloria (1979), to "explain the physical universe on determining the ultimate constituent from which all phenomena were derived" (p. 33). Continuing his critical examination of western religion, Deloria (1992) contends that religions developed in western societies bear the particular markers of their cultural and social imprint. In contrast, Native traditions, Deloria (1992) counters, rely on "…their ability to explain the cosmos, not their potential to provide a wide range of spiritual experiences" (p. 66).

The settler-state, in this case the United States, and institutions in service of the settler state, like education, more accurately described as CME, similarly bear the

markers of western metaphysics. In this manner educational curricula promoting western worldviews are imposed upon peoples whose worldviews maintain alternative narratives, traditions, and knowledge claims. Social studies curriculum represent instances in education where the western metaphysical constructs driving the settlerstate are apparent. Consequently, it is important to understand in further detail how the totalizing principles of western metaphysics produce missionizing paradigms, whether they are religions in nature or education narratives found in social studies curriculum.

The settler-state, I argue, extending Deloria's insights, like western religion is an expansive institution that has enabled western metaphysics to be transferred from one place to the other. In this regard, Deloria (1992) describes western religions' propensity to express a unifying **truth**, despite geographic location as "[t]he recounting of the event becomes its [religion's] major value and both metaphysics and ethics are believed to be contained in the description of the event" (p. 66). Thus, Deloria (1992) insists: "The question that the so-called world religions have not satisfactorily resolved is whether or not religious experience can be distilled from its original cultural context and become an abstract principle that is applicable to all peoples in different places and at different times" (p. 66). I contend that the settler-state has attempted to resolve this issue. The settler-state assumes that its formative ideologies can be and should be applied, or imposed, to all peoples, despite culture or location. Similarly, one can question if current forms of education can be distilled from their original cultural context? Obviously, the educational system adopted in the United States assumes that

specific educational models can be distilled from their original context as abstract principles and are thus applicable to all students.

Western Metaphysics & Temporality

Intimately related to western metaphysical conceptualizations of truth and universality is the concept of **temporality**. Western metaphysics promote a particular view of time, which is intimately related to western metaphysical constructs of origins, reality, and truth. Shepard Krech (2006) explains that western metaphysical temporality is linear, originating in Judeo-Christian ideas: "Equally well understood are the deep roots of linear time in the West and its importance in ancient Hebrew thought, and the unidirectional teleology of Christianity" (p. 576). This metaphysical understanding of **time** has shaped a peculiar Western worldview. Deloria (1992) describes this perspective:

Western European peoples have never learned to consider the nature of the world discerned from a spatial point of view...The very essence of Western European identity involves the assumptions that time proceeds in a linear fashion; further it assumes that at a particular point in the unraveling of this sequence, the peoples of Western Europe became the guardians of the world. The same ideology that sparked the Crusades, the Age of Exploration, the Age of Imperialism, and the recent crusade against Communism all involve the affirmation that time is peculiarly related to the destiny of the people of Western Europe. And later, of course, the United States (p. 63).

This construction of **temporality** produces concepts such as <u>linearism</u>, <u>chronologism</u>, and <u>progressivism</u>. From its Christian and Greek origins, **time** is constructed as <u>progressive</u>. It is imbued with the belief that the future represents progress over a past that is imperfect. In essence culture is concerned with perfecting the imperfect past, and

it is a particular culture that is heralded with representing and realizing perfection for humanity. Deloria (1992) explains that this particular product of western metaphysical views of **time**, "involves the assumption that time proceeds in a linear fashion; further it assumes that at a particular point in the unraveling of this sequence, the peoples of Western Europe became guardians of the world" (p. 63). Deloria (1992) continues: "The same ideology that sparked the Crusades, the age of Exploration, the Age of Imperialism, and the recent crusade against Communism all involve the affirmation that time is peculiarly related to the destiny of the peoples of Western Europe", and in particular the United States (p. 63). To be sure, this aspect of Western metaphysics has imbued the United States as a settler-state with the fictive belief it is the guardian of the world.

The western cultural archive of linear time is expansive. Krech (2006) describes the ideologies, institutions, and technologies produced from this aspect of the western cultural archive:

Many have described the series of mechanical timekeepers devised in early modern Europe that measured and partitioned linear time evermore precisely. Finally, many have written insightfully on the increasing rule of clock time and progressive and evolutionary thought from the late eighteenth century on, all enhanced by mail services, railroads, and industrial work, which privileged and enforced mean time, synchronization, and punctuality" (p. 574).

In fact linear time is at the service of the settler-state, indeed the modern nation-state, ordering its economic, political, and cultural expansion. The historical narratives produced through CME affirm this perspective. Closely linked with linear time in the

west is the development of particular types of written literacy, such as historical narratives.

History, as a paradigm in the West is constructed from these particular conceptualizations of temporality. In the west, historical narratives are largely constructed through written texts and function mainly as chronicles of western peoples exploits (Deloria, 1992), and within the United States, promote settler-state mythologies. In addition, Krech (2006) explains "..that the systems in which literacy is embedded privilege linearity, which either reinforces or undermines extant temporal systems" (p. 576), such as those of indigenous peoples. It is therefore important to expose how the historical narratives favored in social studies curriculum promote narratives that center western peoples and ideas, thereby marginalizing other knowledge systems. Further exploring western history's propensity to center particular narratives, Deloria (1992) clarifies that this is influenced by Christianity's emphasis on universal truth claims:

From the very beginning of the religion, it has been the Christian contention that the experiences of humankind could be recorded in a linear fashion, and when this was done, the whole purpose of the creation event became clear, explaining not only the history of human societies but also revealing the nature of the ends of the world and the existence of heaven, or a future world, into which the faithful would be welcome. Again, we have a familiar distinction. **Time** is regarded as all-important by Christians, and it has a casual importance, if any, among the tribal peoples [emphasis mine] (p.103).

With regards to history's origins in Christianity, Deloria (1992) continues:

Western history as we now have it has failed to shake of its original Christian presuppositions. It has, in fact, extended its theory of uniformity to include Old Testament events so that the history of humankinds appears as a rather tedious story of the rise and fall of nation after nation, and the sequence in which world

history has been written shows amazing parallels to the expansion of the Christian religion (pp. 107-108).

This perspective of history centers, as Deloria (1992) points out, a narrative that centers the West as the starting point of history. This comes as no surprise as history's conceptual origins are born from a western worldview that is informed by a Christian conceptualization of the world that believes it maintains the global and historical truth concerning **origins**.

In turn, this framing of history impacts the way other cultures are perceived.

Deloria (1992) describes:

China with its history going back far beyond the days of Abraham thus does not appear as a significant factor in world history until it begins to have relations with the West. Indian with even more ancient records appears on the world scene only when the British decide to colonize it, despite its brief role as a conquest goal of Alexander the Great (pp. 107-108).

He continues,

Christian religion and the Western idea of history are inseparable and mutually self-supporting. To retrench the traditional concept of Western history at this point would mean to invalidate the justifications for conquering the Western Hemisphere. Americans in some manner will cling to the traditional idea that they suddenly came upon a vacant land on which they created the world's most affluent society. Not only is such an idea false, it is absurd. Yet without it both Western man and his religion stand naked before the world" (p. 112).

Deloria (1992) provides provocative, and I assert accurate condemnations of history as it is conceived in the west. Furthermore, Deloria (1992) touches upon a key founding mythology—the idea of "vacant land" which enabled white settler-nationalism. Underlying the paradigm of history are the metaphysical components of time and truth, shaped by its origins in Greek and Christian thought. Social studies curriculum is not a neutral distributor of knowledge; in fact it is a main conveyor of settler-nationalism.

While Deloria (1992) devotes much energy into the inquiry of western religions, particularly Christianity in his conception of western metaphysics, one can argue that this emphasis cannot speak to the secular nature of western culture. Therefore, I ask: can Deloria's (1992) assertions regarding Western cultures and Christianity be applied to secular society; and can the actions of secular society be blamed on Christianity? Deloria (1992) similarly acknowledges this critique: "It is said that one cannot judge Christianity by the actions of secular Western man," but he rejects this reasoning, answering, "[w]here did Westerners get their ideas of divine right to conquest, of manifest destiny, of themselves as the vanguard of civilization, if not from Christianity?" (p. 113). Extending Deloria's linkage of secular and religious action in the West, I contend that another key component of western metaphysics that is central in western worldviews and education in the United States is the *telling of the story*, or what Deloria (1992) identifies as proselytizing.

This feature inherited from western religious practices I argue, in agreement with Deloria (1992) is the "dependence on teaching and preaching techniques" (p. 68), or **proselytizing**, employed by western religious traditions, which is also a strategic component of education. In particular, these methods, identified by Deloria (1992), of "[p]reaching and teaching have, as their goal, the possibility of changing individual personality and behavior, presumably in a manner more pleasing to the deity" (p. 68).

This proselytizing, or converting imposes specific cultural constructs of time, space, and history, indeed truth. The story of Reverend Cram and the Senecas bears repeating:

A missionary, Reverend Cram, once came to the Senecas to convert them and recited the story of Adam and Eve. When he was finished the Senecas insisted on relating one of their creation stories. Cram was livid, arguing that he had told the Senecas the truth while they had recited a mere fable to him. The Senecas chastised him for his bad manners, saying that they had been polite in listening to his story without complaining and he should be willing to listen to their tales" (p. Deloria, 2004; 9)

This exchange provides a useful example, demonstrating how western metaphysics informs Reverend Cram's *telling of the story*, in a manner that assumes a superior position vis-à-vis the Senecas' *telling of the story*.

Vine Deloria's (1992) insights and astute critiques of western thought and how it is operationalized is key in understanding why education today operates the way it does. In particular, Deloria's critical gaze exposes the specters of western metaphysics in many important ways that provide useful constructs for indigenous educational endeavors. I argue that one cannot fully engage disruptive educational practices and discourses if one does not fully understand the origins of the western cultural archive. By locating western metaphysics in the characterization of religion, as Deloria (1979, 1992) does, it becomes an easier task to begin to deconstruct the normative aspects of education today that speak directly to research and practice looking to construct indigenous educational projects. The emphasis of western metaphysics on universal assumptions, linearity of thought, and the colonizing nature of western metaphysics has tremendous implications for education as it is developed, practiced, and imagined in the United States. The totalizing principles of western metaphysics beg the question, if the United States as a settler-state fully informed by western metaphysics can move beyond them.

A number of scholars, including Vine Deloria, have also accomplished a great deal of work, documenting the diversity of indigenous metaphysics. In this essay, due to consideration of scope, I have only selected some of the key components of indigenous metaphysics that this literature identifies. In contrasting indigenous metaphysics with western versions, it becomes clear how the primacy of western metaphysics in the U.S. and education in particular, represents a continuing challenge for indigenous peoples. I now move on to the second task underscored by Wildcat (2001), actively reconstructing indigenous metaphysical systems.

III. Indigenous Metaphysics

The best description of the Indian metaphysics was the realization that the world, and all its possible experiences, constitutes a social reality, a fabric of life in which everything had the possibility of intimate knowing relationships because, ultimately, everything was **related**. This world was a **unified** world, a far cry form the **disjointed** and sterile world painted by western science. Even though we can translate the realities of that world into concepts familiar to us from the western scientific context, such as space, time, and energy; the Indian world can be said to consist of two basic experiential dimensions which, taken together, provided a sufficient means of making sense of the world. These two concepts were **place and power**, perhaps better defined as spiritual power or life force. Familiarity with the personality of objects and entities of the natural world enabled Indians to discern immediately where each living being had its proper place and what kinds of experiences that place allowed, encouraged, and suggested (p. 10).

Without a doubt, Vine Deloria's work continues to be a leading influence in framing the issues Indians face, though not without controversy. Deloria (1991, 1994, 1992, 2001) has tirelessly argued that in order to understand education, both indigenous and western forms, the concept of metaphysics must be fully understood. Daniel Wildcat (2001) properly places the importance of centering indigenous metaphysics in education:

Deloria's proposal that we explore an indigenous (in this case American Indian) metaphysics must be among the first projects American Indian educators undertake if we are to not only decolonize, but also actively "indigenize" and truly make Native educational institutions our own" (p. 31).

Thus, in order to indigenize and decolonize education, one needs to, as Wildcat (2001) makes the case, explore indigenous metaphysics. Accordingly, Deloria (1991) succinctly articulates some of the conceptual frameworks that differentiate indigenous metaphysics from western metaphysics, elaborating that while indigenous approaches are holistic, western approaches are disjointed, favoring the compartmentalization of knowledge. Deloria's (1991) definition of indigenous metaphysics expresses a central aspect of indigenous metaphysics; namely that power and place are the interrelated metaphysical dimensions from which indigenous peoples make sense of the world. Gregory Cajete (2000) points out that no words exist for science or philosophy in indigenous languages, "or any other **foundational** way of coming to know and understand the nature of life and our relationships therein" [emphasis added] (p. 2). While indigenous metaphysics are diverse, I agree with scholars such as Vine Deloria and Gregory Cajete who claim it is important to provide descriptions of the shared

components of indigenous metaphysics. It also represents a strategic manner to frame indigenous perspectives into western discourses such as multicultural education in ways that achieve indigenous goals such as nation building, cultural preservation, and selfdetermination.

In education, the idea of metaphysics has been brought to the forefront in science education research. Particularly, ethnoscience research investigates the conflict between indigenous and western metaphysics. In this vein, Allen and Crawley (1998) have identified a "worldview...associated with Native American traditions" (p. 114). They describe these elements as "kinship, harmony, cooperation, and spiritualism [citation omitted]" (p. 114). I advance, borrowing from Deloria's conceptualization of metaphysics, that these elements are informed by metaphysical structuring and understanding of time, place, and being of indigenous cultures. In this section, I review Deloria's extensive body of work documenting indigenous metaphysics, coupling his scholarship with the work of Ted Jojola, Duane Champagne, Gregory Cajete, and Anne Waters. After this initial review and outline of indigenous metaphysics, I chart how indigenous metaphysics inform indigenous conceptualizations of education. Finally, I end with a brief appraisal of science education literature that is beginning to highlight important metaphysical differences between indigenous and western worldviews.

"Power and Place": Geography and Indian Metaphysics

In the book Power and Place: Indian Education in America, Deloria develops

his concept of "power and place" in explicating indigenous ways of knowledge. Simply put, Deloria (2001) explains that taken together, "[p]ower and place produce personality" (p. 23). Pueblo scholar Ted Jojola (2004) provides a similar perspective:

Among the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, it is well established that a world-view is at the core of community identity. Although every tribe has its own variant, there are common elements that make up the worldview and that serve to define a community's identity in **time, space, and place** (pp. 89-90).

Place is therefore a central theme in Native traditions (Nabakov, 2002; Ortiz, 1974). As Ball (2002) indicates: "For Native cultures, place becomes the primary referent for all formulations of meaning and value within the culture" (p. 463); in essence how indigenous communities come to know.

This "personality" of place produces epistemo-ontological cultural orientations that do not operate apart from each other. In fact the role of place in indigenous metaphysics is at the core of indigenous worldviews. Deloria (1992) expresses this process:

The places where revelations were experienced were remembered and set aside as locations where, through rituals and ceremonials, the people could once again communicate with the spirits. Thousands of years of occupancy on their lands taught tribal peoples the sacred landscapes for which they were responsible and gradually the structure of ceremonial reality became clear. It was not what people believed to be true that was important but what they experienced as true. Hence revelation was seen as a continuous process of adjustment to the natural surrounding and not as a specific message valid for all times and places (p. 67).

This relationship to place hence shapes perspectives of time, of truth, and being that are

foundationally different than western metaphysical perspectives. Because place remains

central in indigenous metaphysical systems I reiterate that not only does place remain central in defining the institutions of tribal life, it retains a sacred and central component in shaping tribal life, best evidenced by tribal religions. Tribal, or indigenous religious experiences, as they are labeled today, are shaped by an intimate and knowing relationship with **place**. Deloria (1992) describes this intimate relationship between tribal religions and place:

The vast majority of Indian tribal religions, therefore, have a sacred center at a particular place, be it a river, a mountain, a plateau, valley, or other natural feature. This center enables the people to look out along the four dimensions and locate their lands, to relate all historical events within the confines of this particular land, and to accept responsibility for it. Regardless of what subsequently happens to the people, the sacred lands remain as permanent fixtures in their cultural or religious understanding (p. 67)

In essence Deloria (1992) is describing the role of place in shaping tribal identity and defining tribal roles and responsibilities. These responsibilities are quite different than those informed by a western metaphysics.

Deloria's descriptions of indigenous metaphysics shed light on the interrelated nature of indigenous metaphysics. Regarding the role of revelation within the context of indigenous experiences he explains that revelation in the indigenous framework functions differently than revelation in Western religions, because of the central role of **place**: "The nature of revelation at sacred places is often of such a personal nature as to preclude turning it into a subject of missionary activities. Thus, most Indian tribes will not reveal the location of sacred places unless they are compelled to do so", and if revealed, tribal members "...will not then reveal the kinds of ceremonies that are

supposed to be held there" (p. 68). Unlike western religious revelations thus are not intended as universal messages "to be placed in secular or immature hands for distribution" (Deloria, 1992; p. 68). From this metaphysical understanding of **place**, indigenous peoples have subsequently developed a distinctive epistemic-ontological, unlike that of western metaphysics.

"Power and Place Equals Personality": Indigenous Metaphysics & Being

Vine Deloria's (2001) definition of indigenous metaphysics as an understanding of the world, and "...all its possible experiences [which] constitute a social reality, a fabric of life in which everything ha[s] the possibility of intimate knowing relationships because, ultimately, everything [i]s related" (p. 2) informs a particular metaphysical construct of being. It bears repeating that the central role of place cannot therefore be separated from **being**, as a result of the epistemo-ontological orientation of indigenous metaphysics. Indigenous ontologies are therefore direct products of the tribal spiritual experiences, indeed knowledge systems, summarized above. Elaborating upon the discussion of religions as representative of particular metaphysical systems, Deloria (1992) maintains that unlike western religions, indigenous peoples' religious traditions and creation stories are derived directly from the world around them, and the relationships established with other forms of life. These relationships provide an expansive epistemo-ontological framework for indigenous peoples that instead of dividing humans from nature, proceed from unitary perspectives concerning human and nature. Indigenous philosopher, Anne Waters (2004) explain that because of this

holistic perspective, "American Indian consciousness, and hence American Indian identity, is cognitively of, and interdependent with, our land base" (p. 155).

This holistic approach, shared by many indigenous cultures, can be further characterized as a this-worldly orientation (Champagne, 1995) as opposed to western perspectives that maintain dualist, other-worldly orientations (Champagne, 1995) identified by Deloria (1992). Indigenous metaphysical assumptions about being, or ontology, are informed by a tribe's religion or cosmological beliefs that are rooted in place. Gregory Cajete (2000) describes that indigenous creation stories provide indigenous people with "particular understandings of the way the world has come into being, and the ways they have come into being as people" (p. 32). As a result, indigenous societies value the relations that exist in this world because, as Champagne (1995) reminds us, "Indians do not see the world as being in need of change, since it is the sacred gift of a benevolent Creator" (p. 33). This non-differentiation in respect to social, cultural, and political institutions in turn leads to conservative orientations in indigenous communities due to the interrelated aspects of tribal life (Champagne, 1995). Champagne (1995) explains in further detail: "There are strong religious and cultural reason for Indian conservatism, since Indian religions and world views strongly emphasize preserving traditional ceremonies, institutions and preserving harmonious relations with the spirit beings in the universe" (p. 33). Thus, the interrelated nature of culture, polity, economy and community in indigenous communities creates resistance towards change that is imposed upon indigenous societies by western norms. In this

way, indigenous traditions value this-worldly orientations, and are not concerned with the binary and dualistic construction of western worldviews.

"Power and Place": Indigenous Metaphysics and All Our Relations

The intimate nature of place and being in indigenous metaphysics produces similarly intimate relations. Unlike western <u>humanism</u> and <u>anthropocentrism</u>, Deloria (1992) points out that "...numerous accounts [exist] from the various tribal religious traditions relating how an animal, bird, or reptile participated in a creation event" (p. 88). For tribal peoples, Deloria (1992) continues, "living things are not regarded as insensitive species. Rather they are 'people' in the same manner as the various tribes of human beings are people" and thus "[e]quality is thus not simply a human attribute but a recognition of the creatureness of all creation" (p. 89-90). This aspect of indigenous metaphysics looks radically different than western metaphysics. These metaphysical orientations lead to different types of ontological orientations, specifically with nature and animals. In fact that animals play a central role in the creation stories of indigenous peoples. This orientation results in cultural beliefs that, for instance do are not anthropocentric or humanistic. This orientation, has been referred to as animism:

Animism, or spiritism, is the belief that all parts of nature — the elements, the plants, and the animals — have spirits. At its core is the recognition that everything in the phenomenal world is truly alive and has spirit — not only humans, animals, and plants, but also nonbiological expressions of the natural world, such as stones, rivers, and cultural artifacts (Hemachandra, 2003; p. 5).

Others, such as Scott L. Pratt (2006) have referred to this indigenous metaphysical orientation as "agent ontology", or "vitalism" (p. 5).

Regarding *agent ontology*, Deloria (1992) further describes, that the "task of the tribal religion, if such a religion can be said to have a task, is to determine the proper relationship that the people of the tribe must have with other living things and to develop the self-discipline within the tribal community so that man acts harmoniously with other creatures" (p. 88). Unlike western divisions between human and nature, indigenous cultures do not operate from a metaphysical imperative to subdue the Earth and other living things, but rather, meanings are determined from observing the living world and how it works systemically to produce and maintain life (Deloria, 1992). Expanding on Champagne's (1995) insights that tribal orientations are conservative in nature, Deloria (1992) adds, for tribal peoples, "to exist in creation means that living is more than tolerance for other life forms-it is recognition that in differences there is the strength of creation and that this strength of creation and that this strength is a deliberate desire of the creator" (p. 89). This aspect of indigenous metaphysics is radically different than western metaphysics. Regarding education, in the west, within the settlerstate, the focus is anthropocentric and humanistic, leaving no room for the metaphysical orientations of indigenous worldviews concerning spirit, power, and place.

"Power & Place": Indigenous Metaphysics & the Particular

As described above, Deloria points out that indigenous metaphysics are not concerned with claiming universal truths. Rather indigenous peoples are concerned with what Deloria describes as "the personal nature of the universe" (p. 23). This personal nature, he continues, translates into the particular, "...which of necessity must be personal and incapable of expansion and projection to hold true universally" (p. 23). Similarly, indigenous cultures are not concerned with recording their knowledge and stories in the manner of western historical stories. Instead, as Deloria (1992) argues, these stories, indeed indigenous knowledges, do not promote absolutist ends, nor are these stories valued for providing specific details of past events:

At no point...does any tribal religion insist that its particular version of creation is an absolute historical recording of the creation event or that the story necessarily leads to conclusions about humankind's good or evil nature. At best the tribal stories recount how the people experience the creative process which continues today (p. 88).

This metaphysical orientation, in essence precludes these origin stories to be imposed on others. As the exchange between the missionary Reverend Cram and the Seneca exemplifies, the Seneca were willing to hear Cram's story because his story was valid for his peoples, but his refusal to respect their story was indicative of rudeness; not a dismissal of his story. As Deloria (2001) reminds us, the "...key to understanding Indian knowledge of the world is to remember that the emphasis was on the particular, not on general laws and explanations of how things worked" (p. 22).

As westerners such as Reverend Cram came into contact with tribal peoples, indigenous practices were perceived as *witchcraft*. Without a doubt, some tribal religions maintain perspectives that to the western mind are inconceivable. Deloria (1992) depicts, "the idea that humans can change into animals and birds and that other species can change into human beings" is common, and through this process, "species can communicate and learn from each other" (p. 90). Deloria (1992) argues that this Western dismissal or marginalization of these beliefs is attributed to western metaphysical assumptions derived from "the Christian idea of the complete alienation of nature and the world from human beings as a result of Adam's immediate postcreation act in determining the Western and Christian attitude towards nature" (pp. 90-91).

Tribal religions, or spiritual practices, approach the process of coming to know, or revelation, differently than western religions. Unlike the western religious tradition of **proselytizing**, indigenous traditions place value on the **experiential** nature of the religious experience. This experiential nature, Deloria (1992) reveals, is related to tribal religious orientations that are "...actually complexes of attitudes, beliefs, and practices fine-tuned to harmonize with the lands on which the people live" (p. 70). Furthermore, the disclosure of tribal or indigenous religious experience is tied to sacred places, and not intended to be a universal message. Rather the nature of revelation, Deloria (1992) insists, "...is often of such a personal nature as to preclude turning it into a subject of missionary activities"; "most Indian tribes will not reveal the location of sacred places unless they are compelled to do so"; if revealed, tribal members "will not then reveal

the kinds of ceremonies that are supposed to be held there"; revelations thus are not universal messages "to be placed in secular or immature hands for distribution" (p. 68).

Indigenous Metaphysics & Education

Allen and Crawley (1998) describe that with regards to education: "Native American educational values were reported to be patience, cooperation, reservation, group emphasis, and nonmaterialism [citation omitted]" (p. 114). Deloria's (2006) insights speak powerfully to the problem of western education and indigenous peoples. When considering indigenous educational models, it is important to understand how indigenous metaphysics in general generate learning. For instance, a principle figure or concept in Pueblo cosmology is that of Kokopelli. Gregory Cajete (2000) explains that "Kokopelli represent the creative process or the creative energy that is a part of all things-humans, the earth, and the cosmos as a whole" (Cajete, 2000). These processes, which both give and manifest life are present in the constantly emerging knowledge systems of indigenous communities. Gaining knowledge requires experiences in life, which provide guidance. This "coming-to-know" process of indigenous learning thus must be central in how educational practices are created and proposed (Cajete, 2000; 80).

The common elements described by Deloria of time, being, place and relations, in the context of indigenous education inform what Ted Jojola (2004) calls the transformative model of learning, or how people "come-to-know." This transformative model, according to Jojola (2004), was central in Pueblo village life, as clans and families explored the world around them, following migration patterns specific to their clans (p. 92). For the Pueblos, "[t]he experiencing of life by conducting journeys to the edges of the world was inculcated in the mythos of the emergence stories. More importantly, the ancestors anticipated the importance of experiential learning to the transformation and survival of the communities" (Jojola, 2004; 92).

Identity, according to Jojola (2004), thus "no longer exists in a space, time, and place continuum" (p. 95). The traditional clan or family patters of "experiential or transformation learning no longer is the motivation for change" and thus the goal of "indigenous planning is not just to reinforce cultural identity, but to challenge the community into understanding how the past and present serve to give coherence to the future" (Jojola, 2004; 95) These shifts in the framing of places and memory within contemporary indigenous communities and educational practices must be centered in order to create educational practices that can capture this essence.

Gregory Cajete's (1994, 2000) extensive work on indigenous education also emphasizes the transformational nature of education in the Indian context. Cajete (1994) explains:

...much of indigenous education can be called "endogenous" education; it revolves around a transformational process of learning by bringing forth illumination from one's ego center. Educating and enlivening the inner self is

the imperative of Indigenous education in the metaphor, "seeking life" or for "life's sake." Inherent in this metaphor is the realization that ritual, myth, vision, art, and learning the art of relationship in a particular environment, facilitates the health and wholeness of the individual, family, and community (p. 209).

For Cajete (1994), like Jojola (2004), place is central in anchoring the transformative or endogenous nature of indigenous education. Unlike Cajete's (1994) more positive attitude towards the current state of transformative educational practices, Jojola (1994) argues that the transformative model of experience attributed to past Pueblo life is largely missing from contemporary tribal projects that impact cultural life. The positions these two scholars present help articulate that the realities of indigenous educational practices are diverse as the needs of the communities differ. For this reason, educational practices must be organic and derived from the ontological and epistemological realities of the tribal community.

Cajete (1994) acknowledges:

Much of what characterizes Indian education policy is not the result of research predicated upon American Indian philosophical orientations, but the result of Acts of Congress, the history of treaty rights interpretation through the courts, and the historic Indian/white relations unique to each Tribal group or geographic region (p. 19).

While traditional indigenous educational practices take place within families and certain communities, there has been little exploration in the field of education attempting to integrate the two approaches, the Western and the indigenous (which is itself diverse). Cajete (1994) explains that an obstacle to this type of integration stems from the "significant differences in cultural orientations" of the Western and indigenous systems, "and the fact that Indian people have been forced to adapt to an educational process not of their making" (P. 21). Cajete (1994) argues that American Indian education needs to be "principally derived from, and informed by, the thoughts, orientations, and cultural

philosophies of Indian people themselves," and that this need, according to Cajete, is an essential component in "Indian educational self-determination" (p. 21).

In the context of Indian education as shaped by self determination policies in Indian country the struggle is as Daniel Wildcat (2001) states- to maintain educational practices in which tribal identity is central "as opposed to existence within a culture of indoctrination facilitated most effectively through U.S. government education programs" (p. 9).

Tewa educator and scholar Gregory Cajete also challenges the metaphysical assumptions of Western civilization in education discussed by Deloria and Wildcat. Cajete (1994) locates the metaphysical components of Indian education as a spiritual ecology that is contrary to public education found in the United States:

The basis of contemporary American education is the transfer of academic skills and content that prepares the student to compete in the infrastructure of American society as it has been defined by the prevailing political, social, and economic order" (p. 19).

Cajete (1994) contributes to the work of Deloria and Wildcat (2001) by providing models of how indigenous or Indian metaphysics play out in indigenous educational needs. For example, Cajete (1994) explains, "traditional American Indian education historically occurred in a holistic context that developed the importance of each individual as a contributing member of the social group" (p. 26). Educational models in the United States "emphasize objective content and experience detached from primary sources and community" and this according to Cajete (1994) leads to the creation of students as "marginal participant[s] and perpetual observer[s]". Ultimately this

detachment is a "foundational element of the crisis of American education and the alienation of modern man from his own being and the natural world" (Cajete, 2004; p. 26).

From an indigenous or Indian metaphysical standpoint this emphasis on education as technique presents epistemological/ontological problems. Cajete (1994) explains that "American educational theory is generally devoid of substantial ethical or moral content regarding the means used to achieve its ends" (p. 19). Cajete (1994) points out that "Indians view life through a different cultural metaphor than mainstream America" (pp. 19-20).

Cajete, Deloria, and Wildcat's work concerning educational practices and philosophy are informed by this differing cultural metaphor or paradigm. For these scholars, then the analyses and concepts they utilize and the propositions they articulate are radically different than what is found in traditional American educational discourses and practices. Further exploring this metaphysical conundrum, I turn to specific paradigms shaped by western metaphysics.

Science Education

Turning to paradigms produced and informed by western metaphysics provides concrete examples of how these western metaphysical structures impact cultural products. Deloria's body of work provides an excellent understanding of the metaphysical components of the western mind that produce ideas and practices we encounter in education. In this regard, multicultural education has done a sufficient job in identifying and outlining these practices. However, multicultural education research has not identified the origins of these practices. As Duane Champagne has described this is due to the reality that multicultural orientations themselves are a product of western institutions. With regards to education, Allen and Crawley (1998) have identified the following western features: "Western educational values were reported to be competitive, confident, demonstrative, individualistic, and directed [citation omitted]" (p. 111).

As stated, science education research is at the forefront of research attempting to identify these metaphysical conflicts that inform science learning. Wildcat (2001) explains that "in Western thought scientific theories of reality, knowledge, and methods for knowing are logically consistent" (p. 15) and this knowledge system again precludes indigenous scientific systems. Along the same vein, Snively and Corsiglia (2001) explain that "Westerners freely acknowledge the existence of indigenous art, music, literature, drama, and political and economic systems in indigenous cultures, but somehow fail to apprehend and appreciate indigenous science" (p. 7). Snively and Corsiglia (2001) coincide with Wildcat's (2001) assertions that western approaches to learning in the case of science preclude indigenous science approaches. The authors (2001) state that in "educational settings where Western modern science is taught, it is taught at the expense of indigenous science, which may precipitate charges of epistemological hegemony and cultural imperialism" (p. 7). It is important to note that

the educational fields of learning instituted in all levels of education, such as science, are subcultures or components of Western culture, and indeed western metaphysics (Wildcat, 2001). Snively & Corsiglia (2001) argue, "non-Western and minority culture students of Western science may be forced to accept Western values and assumptions about political, social, economic, and ethical proprieties in the course of receiving instruction on Western science", and similarly, "mainstream students can be prevented from examining important values, assumptions, and information imbedded in other cultural perspectives" (p. 24). From these examples, it becomes even more apparent why indigenous metaphysics must inform educational theorizing, models of practice, and how learning structures.

Without a doubt, science education is an extension of Colonial Models of Education (CME). Cobern and Loving (2000) explain: "Indeed, colonial education designed for indigenous peoples used science as the tool of choice to modernize and supplant indigenous culture" (p. 53). As Deloria's body of work concerning western metaphysics describes, it promotes a universalist view of the world, subscribes to the perspective of one singular truth, and therefore encourages proselytizing. However, because groups of people such as indigenous peoples in the Americas were found deficient Cobern and Loving (2000) state that, "the West judged the rest of the world by its own measures of choice, Western science and Western technology, and used education to enforce change on those societies found deficient" (p. 53). To be sure

western metaphysical binary split of human and nature informed a cultural attitude or worldview that promoted dominance of indigenous peoples:

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most European thinkers concluded that the unprecedented control over nature made possible by Western science and technology proved that European modes of thought and social organization corresponded much more closely to the underlying realities of the universe than did those of any other people or society, past or present (Adas in Cobern & Loving; pp. 53-54).

Interestingly, science education research, which examines the challenges of metaphysics in science parallels similar critiques in other disciplines. This is not without accident as science education is one area in which post-colonial theory has informed this move to challenge western metaphysics.

Science education, after all represents an aspect of what I refer to as the CME prevalent in the United States. Therefore, in critically assessing the colonial features of science, I am returning to a few post-colonial critiques of western science that have informed an extensive body of work that critically examines science as a product of the western mind (Figueroa & Harding, 2003; Harding, 1998, 1993; Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1998; Kawagley *et al.*, 1998). These works have informed this turn in science education research. A major figure in the philosophy of science and post-colonial theorizing of science is Sandra Harding. Particularly her book *Is Science Multicultural? Postcolonialisms, Feminisms, and Epistemologies* represents a central work within this debate. Notably, Harding (1998), drawing from postcolonial critiques of science, identifies the idea of *Europology*. Within western modern science, Harding (1998) describes Europology as "...a delineation of distinctive characteristics of

European culture and practices, including beliefs about nature and about sciences and technologies" (p. 56). In addition, and paralleling Deloria's insights on western metaphysics, Harding (1998) identifies three "distinctively European features of modern sciences and technologies" (pp. 56-59). These European cultural elements of modern science are identified as "Christian Laws of Nature"; "European Expansion"; and "Northern Distribution and Accounting Practices" (pp. 56-59).

First, beginning with "Christian Laws of Nature", Harding (1998), drawing from John Needham and echoing, in part, Deloria's assessment concerning science, argues that Christianity both propelled and retarded modern science. Second, concerning "European Expansion," Harding (1998) calls attention to the fact that the projects and goals of western modern science were shaped by European expansion. Consequently, she describes: "The majority of peoples who bear the consequences of the science and technology decisions made through such processes [of expansion and empire] do not have a proportionate share in making them..." (p. 58). This perspective of western modern science produced, according to Harding (1998), a "systematic knowledge and systematic ignorance [that] are produced by northern sciences' distinctive 'locations in nature' that were themselves in part created through European expansion, and by the kinds of interests that European cultures and their sciences had in those parts of nature" (p. 58). This expansionism produced particular projects such as improving "land and sea travel"; expansion of scientific knowledge concerning use and economic use of "minerals, plants, and animals of other parts of the word"; protecting "settlers in the colonies"; and securing, enabling indigenous labor (p. 59). As Harding (1998) reveals, this system of knowledge was created for the benefit of Europeans, without concern for or interest in how this science would impact the colonized and their lands.

Third, regarding "Northern Distribution and Accounting Practices," Harding (1998) explains that a third cultural element of WMS "is the distinctive pattern of the distribution of their consequences—who gets which consequences of scientific and technological change-and the way northern sciences account for these distribution patters" (p. 60). Likewise the benefits of western modern science are afforded largely to settler society (Harding, 1998). This uneven distribution of the consequences and benefits of WMS is not a fluke. Rather it is directly attributed the fact that particular peoples choose "what to produce, how to produce it, what resources to use up to produce and what technology to use" (Harding, 1998; p. 60). Harding (1998) raises an important point that coincides with Deloria's insights on western metaphysics: WMS does not account for the consequences of its practices. Instead these consequences are externalized as either "not science" (Harding, 1998; 60) or the necessary byproducts of WMS. This accounting, Harding (1998) indicates, "is the normal consequence when nature is treated as if its individual components were isolated and unrelated" (p.60), a key component of western metaphysics identified by Deloria as well.

Western modern science (WMS) promotes key components of western metaphysics, including its relationship to **place**. Harding (1998) illuminates that "[e]ven in 'the same' environment different cultures have different interests and desires. These

lead cultures to pose distinctive questions about 'the same' part of the natural world" (p, 64). Coupling Deloria's insights on western metaphysics further contextualizes Harding's (1998) insights, and it provides for some points of departure. If one examines a variety of indigenous metaphysics that correspond to the 'same environment,' such as many of the cultures that reside in the Southwest, they actually maintain very similar interests and desires (Cajete, 2000). Drawing from Deloria's work, one can argue that cultures "pose distinctive questions about 'the same' part of the natural world" because a particular culture's understanding of key metaphysical components of time, being, place, and other concepts create and order worldviews that fall in line with these basic assumptions.

Furthermore, as described earlier, traditional indigenous cultures are not necessarily prone to ask questions about the natural world in the way western modern science does, from a detached and objective standpoint. That is not to say that there does not exist a Native science. Gregory Cajete (2003), for instance, writes that Native Science "is a map of natural reality drawn from the experience of thousands of human generations...Native science strives to understand and apply the knowledge gained from participation in the here and how, and emphasizes our role as one of nature's members rather than as striving to be in control of it" (p. 47). James Maffie's (2003) work on indigenous epistemology and science provides additional important insights.

James Maffie's (2003) work provides a brief introduction to the Nahua²⁴ concept of *Teotl*, contrasting its epistemological foundations to Western scientific approaches. Maffie (1999) describes *teotl* as the central concept of "...Nahuatl metaphysics" that represents "a single, dynamic, self-generating sacred energy, principle, or force—what the Nahuas called teotl—created as well as continually generates, permeates, and governs the universe" (p. 15). Maffie (2003) explains how and why Nahua epistemology looks different, behaves differently, and ultimately makes different claims than Western scientific methods and its proponents (see also Harding 1998). Embedded in Maffie's (2003) arguments are the metaphysical foundations of the differing knowledge systems. Maffie's (2003) analysis maps out how distinct each knowledge inquiry system operates. He constructs his comparative analysis around the question, "[w]hat does each [Nahua & Western Scientific inquiry] posit as the ultimate goal(s) of inquiry?" (p. 82)

Maffie (2003) again describes, that underlying and unifying all Nahua thought and action is the concept or process of *teotl* which "is the view that there exists a single, vital, dynamic, vivifying, eternally self-generating-and-self-regenerating sacred energy, power, or force" (p. 71). Maffie (2003) explains that this life force, *teotl*, is "both immanent and transcendent. It is immanent in that it penetrates deeply into every detail of the universe and exists within the myriad of created things; it is transcendent in that it is not exhausted by any single, existing thing" (pp. 71-72). His examination of Nahua

²⁴ Indigenous peoples located primarily in Mexico

epistemology provides a useful articulation of indigenous epistemo-ontology, which illustrates how specific knowledge systems cannot be divided up into conceptual/institutional categories as they are in the west because they utilize inherently different metaphysical assumptions. Instead, Nahua epistemology is driven by a transcendental view, which stresses the balance that seeks to maintain the delicate system of life (Maffie 1999, 2003). Therefore with regard to scientific inquiry, he concludes that because Western Science and Nahua inquiry ask different questions as they are informed by different worldviews, the types of projects and processes they take on look differently and have different goals in mind. It follows, that educational theorizing, practices, and models should reflect these particular goals.

IV. Next Steps

Thus, from the work of Vine Deloria and others we have a working framework to identify western and indigenous metaphysics. More importantly both these frameworks originate from an indigenized standpoint that is born from perspectives not usually represented in academic discourse. The review of metaphysics in this chapter paints a useful portrait of the foundations of western metaphysics that shape not only education in the United States, but also provides important insights into how settler expansion was ideologically achieved. This review also provides a useful comparative picture between indigenous and western metaphysics that outlines the key distinctions between the metaphysical systems. A more comprehensive analysis of both western and indigenous metaphysics is merited, but for the purposes of this project, the previous examination, I argue provides useful working frameworks of these foundational elements that shape education, and social studies curriculum in particular. In the next chapter, I examine the theoretical and methodological framework I use to insert the frameworks of metaphysics into my examination of social studies curriculum pipeline.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I introduce the theoretical and methodological framework I use in this dissertation, which in conjunction with the frameworks of western and indigenous metaphysics developed in the previous chapter, I use to examine social studies curriculum pipeline. I begin with a description of my theoretical and methodological framework, which includes Decolonizing Methodologies (Smith, 2002), Critical Interstitial Methodology (Calderón, 2006a, 2006b), and Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Next, I describe my data sources, findings, and data analysis. In this case my data sources are U.S. History textbooks approved for use in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) and the corresponding California social science standards. My findings, based on content analysis of these textbooks and standards are sketched out in this chapter. I also describe how I construct my data analysis, using a sample of four texts drawn from my data sources.

As stated in my introductory chapter, this work is guided by Daniel Wildcat and Vine Deloria's (2001) call to indigenize education. Wildcat (2001) explains: "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" (p. vii). Specifically, the educational discourses I examine in this dissertation are social studies curriculum specifically social studies textbooks and standards. Heeding Wildcat's (2001) appeal to

identify Western features and reconstruct indigenous metaphysical systems in education in this dissertation, I examine social studies curriculum in order to

- Identify the features of western metaphysics in these discourses.
- > Identify how these features promote a Colonial Education Model
- Identify how these features conflict with indigenous metaphysics

I begin my examination with curriculum because as Wildcat (2001) points out, "[c]urriculum at all levels of American education bears the largest imprint of Western metaphysics" (p. 10). In order to expose these western metaphysical imprints I turn to a variety of theoretical methodologies such as Smith's (2002) Decolonizing Methodologies (DM) and Calderon's (2006a, 2006b) Critical Interstitial Methodology (CIM), in combination with Strauss and Corbin's (1998) Grounded Theory (GT). By *indigenizing* the theoretical and methodological tools used in this dissertation, I center indigenous metaphysics, which provide a distinctive position with which to interrogate texts, making it possible to locate the assumptions of western metaphysics in textbooks and standards that maintain the Colonial Model of Education (CME), an essential characteristic of the white settler-state.

I. Theoretical Framework & Methodologies

The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

- How does social studies curriculum embody western metaphysics?
- How does social studies curriculum in the United States reproduce a Colonial Model of Education (CME)?
- How is social studies curriculum antithetical to indigenous cultures and sovereignty?
- ▶ What are the sources of western metaphysics in social studies curriculum?

In order to answer these questions, I first identify what western metaphysics are from an indigenous standpoint. As the review of Deloria's work in the previous chapter demonstrates, western metaphysics are a series of views about origins, time, place, and being that inform the western cultural archive (Smith, 2002). Thus I locate how social studies curriculum maintains this cultural archive. In chapter two I identify components of CME, framing it an integral aspect of the white settler state. In order to answer the second question, I expose how social studies curriculum maintains ideologies central to CME and white settler state. Similarly in the previous chapter, I identify a working framework of indigenous metaphysics. This framework allows me to demonstrate how social studies curriculum function in ways antithetical to indigenous cultures. In answering these interrelated questions, I am able to identify the sources of western metaphysics. But in order to center the working frameworks on western and indigenous metaphysics developed in the previous chapter, I look to a series of methodologies and theoretical perspectives that guide how I use these frameworks to examine U.S. History textbooks and standards.

As stated, I performed an *indigenized* content analysis of U.S. History textbooks and standards in order to demonstrate how educational curriculum reproduces western metaphysical assumptions. Specifically, in my examination of texts I examine how Native themes are explicitly dealt with in the texts in order to establish what types of learning students are explicitly intended to receive. Smith's (2002) DM aids me in this step, allowing me to center indigenized perspectives, and more specifically trace and expose the western and indigenous frameworks developed in the previous chapter. Next, I examine what types of categories and themes emerge, or are generated from the texts and standards, which significantly conflict with indigenous metaphysical systems. In this step of text analysis I use GT, modified by CIM. Then, I analyze texts in order to recommend where indigenous issues should be included, but are missing in order to make curriculum organization receptive to multiple epistemological systems. In this step, DM and Deloria and Wildcat's (2001) call to *indigenize* education guide these recommendations. Finally, I link up how current treatment of Native peoples in social studies curriculum reproduce the CME as it relates to Native groups in the U.S. Again, DM aids in both these steps by offering *indigenized* assessments.

To review. specific theoretical frameworks. including Decolonizing Methodologies (DM) (Smith, 2002) and Critical Interstitial Methodology (CIM) (Calderon, 2006a, 2006b), guide the analysis of textbooks and standards. In addition, I use Grounded Theory (GT) (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to guide my collection of data from the texts. GT also assists in the process of how I theorize what the textbooks and standards are stating, particularly as it relates to western metaphysics, the white settler state, and CME. To do this I pair Smith's (2002) specific DM of indigenizing, intervening, reading, and reframing, which center indigenous metaphysics, with Strauss and Corbin's (1998) GT's approaches in order to *indigenize* (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001) the GT approach. Helping in this process, is CIM, which strips GT of claims to objectivity, centering instead an *indigenized* perspective. The combination of these approaches, allow me to flesh out western metaphysics and its institutionalization in the CME prevalent in the United States.

A. Smith's (2002) Decolonizing Methodologies: *Indigenizing*, *Intervening*, *Reading*, and *Reframing*

Linda Smith's (2002) Decolonizing Methodologies (DM) are designed to center indigenous metaphysics, build upon indigenizing methodologies, or ways of doing research (Harding, 1997), and frame the manner in which research questions are asked. In order to do this, however, I will treat each decolonizing methodology separately. I outline Smith's (2002) methodological projects I use in further detail, beginning with the method of *indigenizing*.

1. *Indigenizing:* Specifically, Smith's (2002) method of *indigenizing* functions to center native metaphysics by locating and centering a "politics of indigenous identity and indigenous cultural action" in the curriculum examined, and it is …"grounded in the alterNative conceptions of world view and value systems" (p. 146). Deloria and Wildcat's (2001) work on the process of *indigenizing* provides further depth to Smith's (2002) method of *indigenizing*. This includes Deloria's life body of work, outlined in chapter two, that provides a useful framework to identify western metaphysics, and it includes the framework developed in the last chapter around indigenous metaphysics. Thus, the process of *indigenizing*, Daniel Wildcat (2001) illuminates, requires the centering of indigenous worldviews:

Indigenous peoples represent a culture emergent from a place, and they actively draw on the power of that place physically and spiritually. Indigenism...is a body of thought advocating and elaborating diverse cultures in their broadest sense—for example, behavior, beliefs, values, symbols, and material products—emergent from diverse places. To indigenize an action or object is the act of making something of a place. The active process of making culture in its broadest sense of place is called indigenization (p. 32).

By *indigenizing* the theoretical and methodological tools used in this dissertation, I center indigenous metaphysics, which provide a distinctive position with which to interrogate textbooks and standards. This makes it possible to locate the assumptions of western metaphysics in texts that maintain the CME, an essential characteristic of the white settler-state. The methodology of *indigenizing*, additionally has a particular goal, as described by both Smith (2002) and Wildcat (2001), to *intervene* in discourses and practices that impact indigenous communities, and as Wildcat (2001) suggests, rebuild indigenous perspectives. *Intervening* represents the second of Smith's (2002) DM I employ in this dissertation.

2. Intervening: The method of *intervening* is, in conjunction with *indigenizing*, directed at intervening in the educational discourses that impact native peoples, in this case social studies curriculum (Smith, 2002). The method of *intervening* in this project represents a strategic examination of textbooks and standards in order to identify western metaphysics in these texts and promote changes in the development and use of textbooks. This latter aspect of promoting change is an essential characteristic in Smith's (2002) method of *intervening*. However, she warns, these *interventions* should

not simply replace one type of assimilating process with another. As such the CME, of which social studies curriculum are a key component, functions to assimilate indigenous peoples. Therefore in *intervening*, the perspectives offered should proceed from an *indigenized* position. *Intervening* and *indigenizing* in this project are accomplished through the third methodology of *reading* that I borrow from Smith (2002).

3. Reading: Smith's (2002) notion of reading implies a "[c]ritical rereading of Western history" (p. 149). Therefore, the reading of social studies curriculum represents a critical rereading of Western history (Smith, 2002)). Applying Smith's (2002) method of reading, textbooks and standards are critically read as origin stories that are "deconstructed accounts of the West" through the eyes of "indigenous and colonized peoples" (p. 149). In other words I center an *indigenized* perspective that critically examines textbooks and standards in order to identify and deconstruct western metaphysical narratives in the texts. Furthermore, I utilize the method of *reading* as the act of tracing and mapping the genealogy of colonialism in order to locate and make visible the imprints of western metaphysics in textbooks that represent the origin stories, or foundational ideological narratives of the United States as a settler-state. The method of *reading* allows me to, as Smith (2002) states, "locate practices, the origins of the imperial visions, the origins of ideas and values" found in the textbooks (p. 149). *Reading* in conjunction with the methods of *indigenizing* and *intervening* offer powerful

tools for examination. Further aiding in this process is the final method of *reframing* I borrow from Smith (2002).

4. **Reframing:** The method of *reframing* is "about taking much greater control over the ways in which indigenous issues and social problems are discussed and handled" (p. 153). Smith (2002) points out that the traditional framing of issues in western societies "is about making decisions about its parameters, about what is in the foreground, what is in the background, and what shadings or complexities exist within the frame" (p. 153). *Reframing*, for Smith (2002) is related to how the researcher frames or defines the issue and decides how to resolve the issue from an indigenized perspective. Reframing occurs "in other contexts where indigenous people resist being boxed and labeled according to categories which do not fit." (Smith, 2002; p. 153). Reframing also occurs "... within the way indigenous people write or engage with theories and accounts of what it means to be indigenous" (Smith, 2002; pp. 153-154) Using the method of *reframing*, in conjunction with GT, I draw out the elements "foregrounded," concerning indigenous peoples that are stated explicitly in social studies curriculum. I label the narratives where indigenous peoples and issues are "foregrounded" in the texts as explicit. In addition, I look for "what is in the background" or "what shadings or complexities exist within..." the textbooks and standards (Smith, 2002; p. 153). This background information is uncovered through an *indigenized reading* that locates the more nefarious components of western metaphysics

that are not necessarily explicitly linked to indigenous topics. I label these themes as generated.

The combination of methods, including *indigenizing, intervening, reading*, and *reframing*, in conjunction with the frameworks I outline in the previous chapter provide for a robust and distinctive analysis. I pair Smith's (2002) DM with Strauss and Corbin's (1998) GT approach to generate data from the textbooks and standards I examine. To help me in pairing up these two approaches I use a methodological approach I have previously developed, which I label Critical Interstitial Methodology (CIM) (Calderon 2006a, 2006b).

B. Critical Interstitial Methodology

CIM is briefly defined as a methodology, or way of examining, two or more theories/methodologies that are generally viewed as mutually exclusive, or incompatible (Calderón, 2006a, 2006b). CIM utilizes the concept of interstice, or space in between in order to rebuild useful and strategic uses of theories and methodologies, which originate from differing epistemological sources. This rebuilding occurs in the interstice, specifically the intellectual interstice, and centers the frameworks of non-western epistemologies. I purposefully place intellectual production in the interstice because in academia exploration of non-Western communities occurs for the most part in a unidirectional manner flowing from a Western colonizing position. Thus, by positioning intellectual production in this interstice, epistemological models can meet in a sort of no person's territory (outside the realm of western metaphysics). The movement into this territory, though, means that theories cross borders to meet. But because this intellectual territory is outside the realm of western spaces, theories that are more strongly derived in western spaces are more prone to critique because in this territory, the West is confronted with the fact it is not a universal.

Western theories are normally not aware of the spaces they cross as their colonizing nature renders them indifferent to the many borders they cross, indeed the metaphysics that inform them. Non-western and oppositional epistemologies, however, occupy a more comfortable and expansive role in this in-between space (Anzaldua, 1987). They are better equipped to illuminate Western thought's limitations (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). Furthermore, non-western or oppositional epistemologies are used to crossing borders and these borders are many times important and strategic components of these theories (Anzaldua, 1987; Burciaga, 2007; Collins, 2004; Grande, 2004; hooks, 1990). Most important, in the interstitial intellectual space, non-western epistemologies are not labeled as marginal or in relation to a western framework.

In addition, CIM explicitly reconstructs the analytical relationship between theories and methodologies framed from differing epistemological frameworks in ways that promote and illuminate tangible and organic needs of non-Western communities. Although similar to and indebted to methods such as the multiperspectival approach (Kellner, 1995), CIM differs in important ways.²⁵ CIM thus allows for a multi-

²⁵ Douglas Kellner (1995) has developed the notion of a multiperspectivalism. Kellner (1995) explains: "Simply put, a multiperspectival cultural studies draws on a wide range of textual and critical strategies to interpret, criticize, and deconstruct the artifact under scrutiny. The concept draws on Nietzsche's

dimensional and dialogical exploration of concepts and ideas, which does not privilege western modes of analysis. In this project, for instance, I am linking up indigenous informed theorizing and perspectives such as Deloria's, Wildcat's, and Smith's (2002) work with Strauss and Corbin's GT. Strauss and Corbin's (998) GT is informed by western models, but by linking up indigenous informed perspectives such as DM with GT through the CIM approach allows me to reframe GT.

C. Grounded Theory

GT and the inductive approach allow me to discover the categories that emerge from the analysis of social studies texts and standards (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Strauss and Corbin's (1998) GT shaped how I went about collecting data from the textbooks and content standards. However, moving GT in the interstice exposes some components of GT that from the perspective of indigeneity and Smith's (2002) indigenizing and reframing, result in a different looking GT. For instance, I do not subscribe to Strauss and Corbin's (1998) notion of objectivity. They correctly report: "Analysts as well as research participants, bring to the investigation biases, beliefs, and assumptions. This is not necessarily a negative trait; after all, persons are the products of their cultures, the times in which they live, their genders, their experiences, and their training" (p. 97). However, they follow up this important insight with the following statement:

perspectivism, which holds that all interpretation is necessarily mediated by one's perspectives and is thus inevitably laden with presuppositions, values, biases, and limitations. To avoid one-sidedness and partial vision one should learn 'how to employ a *variety* of perspectives and interpretations in the service of knowledge' [citation omitted]" (p. 98).

The important thing is to recognize when either our own or the respondents' biases, assumptions, or beliefs are **intruding into the analysis**. Recognizing this intrusion often is difficult because when persons share a common culture, meanings are often taken for granted...Yet, to do justice to our participants and give them a proper "voice," we must be able to stand back and examine the data at least somewhat objectively [emphasis added] (p. 97).

While Strauss and Corbin (1998) admit that "it is not possible to be completely free of bias...for so many are unconscious and part of our cultural inheritances..." they nevertheless urge researchers to "break through or move beyond them [biases]" (pp. 97, 99). Placing GT in the critical interstice, along side DM, allows me to expose the instantiation of western metaphysics in the GT framework.

In this case the claim of objectivity in Strauss and Corbin's (1998) GT signals a key feature of western metaphysics—the propensity to assume normative perspectives. In stating this, I also suggest that GT provides powerful tools of analysis. To use these tools, I move GT into the intellectual interstice using CIM. In this space, I *intervene* (Smith, 2002) and locate the western metaphysical constructs of GT, set them aside, and *indigenize* and *reframe* (Smith, 2002) GT. Thus when I *read* (Smith, 2002) the social studies textbooks and standards using GT I am actively looking for the genealogy of western metaphysics, indeed the CME.

In section two, I describe the actual data sources, how I went about collecting data, and how I constructed my analysis of the data. In this section, I further detail how I use GT in the data collection and analysis process.

II. Data Sources, Collection/Findings, and Analysis

This section is divided into three subsections: data sources; data collection and findings; and data analysis. The first subsection simply describes my data sources, in this case textbooks and standards. The second subsection describes how I went about collecting my data and report my findings. I refer to this data collection process as my first read through of the textbooks and the standards. The third subsection refers to my analysis of the data findings collected in my first read through of the textbooks and standards. In this third sub-section, I describe the sample I use construct my narrative analysis of the findings.

A. Data Sources

My data sources consists of all U.S. History instructional texts approved for use the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) for the calendar years of 2006, 2007, and 2008²⁶ and the *History-Social Science Frameworks for California Public Schools*. I looked at textbooks from LAUSD for several reasons. First, I chose textbooks produced for the California market because California along with Texas define textbook content nationwide (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Bianchini & Kelly, 2003; Sleeter, 2002).²⁷ Second, and closely related to my first reason, California is recognized as a leader in the standards reform movement influencing other state's standards (Bianchini & Kelly, 2003). In California the State Board of Education adopts textbooks for K-8, and school

²⁶ Appendix 1 lists the U.S. History textbooks approved for use in LAUSD for May of 2006, June of 2007, and March 27, 2008 that were examined for this dissertation.

²⁷ In fact textbooks adopted to conform to California standards are actually written, to a degree, to fit the California standards "because California adoptions are so lucrative..." (Sleeter, 20002; p. 22).

districts adopt secondary grave level textbooks that align with or exceed state (Education Code Section 60400). I also looked at LAUSD U.S. History instructional texts and California social science standards because I was based in Los Angeles at the time of the research. Thus I examine textbooks adopted by LAUSD, the largest school district in California, and the second largest school district in the country. These texts are therefore representative of social studies curriculum nationwide.

The U.S. History textbooks I review include books approved for use in the following courses: U.S. History and Geography, AB, Grade 11 (U.S. History One); U.S. History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century, Grade 11 (U.S. History Two); Advanced Placement American History, Grade 11 (AP American History); and Advanced Placement U.S. History, Grade 11 (AP U.S. History). In 2006 the textbooks adopted for use in AP American History and AP U.S. History do not overlap with those approved for use in the U.S. History One and Two courses. The AP American History course and the AP U.S. History course instructional texts do not overlap, with the exception of one text. However, the number of approved textbooks in LAUSD decreased in number significantly between 2006 and 2007. In fact, the 2006 course U.S. History One and ten titles approved for this course do not carry over into 2007 and 2008 listings. Similarly, the AP American History course listing and texts approved for it does not carry over into 2007 and 2008. In 2007 and 2008 the only approved course listings are U.S. History Two and AP U.S. History. In 2007 and 2008, the textbooks approved for U.S. History Two and AP U.S. History remain the same as in 2006.²⁸

I also examine the *History-Social Science Frameworks for California Public Schools (Framework)*, which shape textbook content. To summarize, the findings reported below and in chapter six are drawn from my examination of all the U.S. History textbooks approved for use in 2006, 2007, and 2008 (with the exception of a testing preparation guide) and the *Framework*.

B. Data Collection & Findings

In this subsection, I describe how I went about collecting data from the textbooks and standards. I also provide tables documenting my findings. To begin my data collection process I first examined all the textbooks approved for use in LAUSD for 2006, 2007, and 2008, as described in detail above. In reading these texts, I used Grounded Theory (GT), guided by Decolonizing Methodologies (DM) in order to perform an *indigenized* reading of textbooks. In this initial examination, I looked to each textbook's subject index for the headings, American Indian(s) or Native American(s). Each textbook contained a subject heading for either American Indian(s) or Native American(s), listing the page numbers that referred to the subject, including sub-headings on events, tribes and individual American Indians. Next I read the passages on events, tribes, and individual Indians in each textbook, and began my coding process. From this initial reading, I expanded my examination to include the section and chapter in which indigenous issues, tribes, and individuals were included for

²⁸ Appendix one provides a useful visual listing of instructional texts for 2006, 2007, and 2008.

further context, continuing the coding process. Next I performed a broader examination of the textbooks as a whole, using the table of contents as a guide, for contextualizing how U.S. history is constructed within the textbooks. I examined which time periods, events, individuals, and ideas were repeating themes in the textbooks.

Following my collection of data from textbooks, I examine the California *Framework*. I examined the entire *Framework* including the standards for k-12, the learning goals, and critical analysis skills listed in the *Framework*. California standards are comprehensive and sequential, meaning they build upon previous grade lessons. Textbooks adopted for use in California therefore provide comprehensive and sequential reviews. The Grade 11 textbooks I examine contain reviews of history covered in previous grades. Therefore in examining the standards contained in the *Framework*, I read them comprehensively as a whole. I used the same guidelines reading the standards that I used for reading the texts, including the coding techniques I describe below.

Specifically, regarding the coding process, I utilized specific GT methods modified by DM through the CIM approach. I first read through all U.S. History textbooks, coded the data, and organized my findings from the textbooks. Then I read through the standards and accompanying *Framework*, doing the same. I performed lineby-line analysis open coding, which allowed me to identify central ideas in the texts as working concepts. One of the first processes in Grounded Theory (GT) is the process of conceptualizing. According to Strauss & Corbin (1998) arriving at concepts is important because this is a key step in building theory. I simultaneously performed in vivo coding in which words/phrases are taken from the history textbooks themselves as codes. As I read the texts, I wrote concepts on the textbook pages themselves and on sticky notes. For example, reading the pre-contact, or pre-1492 narratives in the textbooks I discovered and labeled a multitude of concepts using both open and in vivo coding. These included land-bridge narratives, Native American culture, Native American religion, geography, regions, archeology, science, etc.

Next, I grouped a variety of concepts into categories, which Strauss & Corbin (1998) simply define as "concepts that stand for phenomena" (p. 101). Phenomena, indeed concepts, are "an abstract representation of an event...that a researcher identifies as being significant in the data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; 103). In this case, the phenomenon I identified were how textbooks dealt with American Indians. They treated them explicitly, which I characterize as places in the history texts Indians are actually contained. Second, I found textbooks treated Indian issues indirectly or implicitly. I characterize these narratives as places in the texts where Indians are not necessarily mentioned but the context of the passage or idea impacts Indians directly. This second type of *reading* (Smith, 2002) in which I coded for implicit or indirect ideas is guided by *reframing* (Smith, 2002) and is informed by indigenous metaphysics. Finally, I found that textbooks missed 'treating' Indians all together as well. In this last *reading* (Smith, 2002)I utilized the method of *intervening* and *indigenizing* (Smith, 2002) to identify and intervene where texts are missing indigenous perspectives.

For Strauss and Corbin (1998) the purpose behind labeling phenomena, "is to enable researchers to group similar events, happenings, and object under a common heading or classification" (p. 103). The similar happenings I grouped together were the explicit, implicit, and missing ways Indians were treated in the texts. With this framework in place, I read through the standards and accompanying *Framework* and found that similar concepts and categories emerged. As stated, I found that the multiple concepts I identified through open and in vivo coding dealt with Native Americans in three different ways. One was explicit mention, which I labeled as explicit. The second was implicit mention, which I label generated. The third treatment was what was absent, which I label missing. These labels represent the three categories that emerged from my identification of concepts in both the textbooks and standards. Grouping concepts together in categories is important because it allows the creation of manageable units for analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). For me the manageable units of analysis had to do with the ways textbooks explicitly contained indigenous history, how textbooks implicitly framed particular issues that generate ideas that impact indigenous communities, and how important issues from indigenous perspectives are missing.

Within each category I identify above, there are subcategories, defined by Strauss & Corbin (1998) as "concepts that pertain to a category, giving it further clarification and specification" (p. 101). Thus after identifying the three working categories, I began the process of ordering my concepts into the categories of explicit, generated, and missing, aided by axial coding. Axial coding, Strauss & Corbin (1998) explain is "the process of relating categories to their subcategories, termed 'axial' because coding occurs around the axis of a category, linking categories at the level of properties and dimensions" (p. 123). Simply, the subcategories properties and dimensions I identified linked to categories because they either represented explicit, generated, or missing themes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Similarly, there was consistent overlap between the concepts identified in the textbooks and standards. This is not a surprise as standards determine textbook content. Further, in order to link the subcategories, I utilized the method of *indigenizing* and *reframing*, to think through the actual concepts I identified in the texts and how western metaphysics informed them. To be sure, the texts I investigated affirmed western metaphysics and the Colonial Model of Education.

In conjunction with Smith's DM, I organized my findings into two general areas, form and content (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991). I used diagrammatic memos to aid in the organization of both the form and content findings. Similarly, as stated earlier, the coding process was accompanied by memos, which are written notes of my text examination that aid in my analysis (Strauss & Corbin). Specifically I performed two kinds of memos, including code notes and diagrams. Code notes are memos, which contain the products of my open coding, in vivo coding, and axial coding. These code notes include the sticky notes I used to write codes down and the pages of the texts themselves on which I wrote notes. In addition, I created more sophisticated code notes in which I used charts to represent my findings. These are more appropriately identified

as diagrams. These diagrams are visual tools that illustrate the relationships between the concepts I identified during coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Table 4.1 below is an example of a diagram in which I identify the three main categories that emerged from my reading of the text (textbooks and standards) and the concepts I identified.

	Explicit	Generated	Missing
Concepts	Concepts from	Concepts from	Concepts missing
	Social Studies texts	Social Studies	from texts &
	& Standards that	texts & Standards	Standards
	explicitly mention	that indirectly	
	Indians	impact Indians.	

Table 4.1: Textbook & Standards Categories

This diagram depicts the three main categories that emerged from my *reading* (Smith, 2002) of the instructional texts and *Framework*. In addition, in this diagram I begin defining the parameters for each category.

Table 4.2 below is an example of another diagram I created which depicts the subcategories I identify, and how each subcategory fits within the larger three categories. This diagram also represents a more detailed picture of the coding process as it lists the subcategories found for both the U.S. History textbooks and content standards. Placing the subcategories within the appropriate category was aided by axial coding that allowed me to link the properties and dimensions of the subcategories to the categories. For instance, in the explicit category I list the subcategory of Land-Bridge Narrative. I arrive at that label through the aid of in vivo coding. I simply used the terms

found in the textbooks, which describe how Indians arrived to the North American continent via the Beringia land-bridge. In this portion of the narrative relating how indigenous ancestors crossed from Siberia to Alaska were included narratives on archaeology, radio carbon dating, and other scientific language. I labeled these science narratives as western scientific rationales. While these science narratives are used to speak to the land-bridge narrative, they don't explicitly correlate with indigenous perspectives. Instead the textbooks rely on these scientific theories to tell the story of the land-bridge. For this reason, I place the western scientific rationales in the generated category. Additionally, western scientific rationales indirectly impact American Indians in this section. But how so? Remembering this is an indigenized Grounded Theory approach I assess that key narratives are missing from an indigenous standpoint. These missing narratives have to do with tribal perspectives of origins, which many times reject the land-bridge theory.

	Explicit	Generated	Missing
	Subcategories	Subcategories	Subcategories
Textbooks	Native cultures	Western Origins/	Tribal Origins
	• Land-Bridge	Christianity	 Tribal Religion/
	Narrative	Western Scientific	Philosophy
	Contact/Colonization	Rationales	 Tribal perspectives on
	Colonial Period	• Westward	contact & colonization
	Westward Expansion	Expansion (Manifest	 Tribal perspectives on
	(settlers clash with	Destiny)	westward expansion
	Indians)	 Immigration 	• Review of Federal
	• Poverty	• Technology/	Indian Law
	Congressional Action	Industrialization	accompanied by Tribal
	• The New Deal &	Racism	perspectives on Indian
	Indians	• Diversity;	Law
	Civil Rights	Civil Rights	 Tribal Sovereignty
	(minority)	(Equality)	Tribal Cultural

 Table 4.2: Textbooks and Standards Subcategories

	• Legal Action/ Congressional Action	• Environment.	Continuity • Tribal Self- Determination • Tribal Lands
Standards	 National Identity/ Nation of Immigrants Geography & Culture Governance Relations Indian Defeat/Indian Wars Internal Indian conflicts Great Men Federal Indian Policies Westward Expansion Civil Rights/Equality 	 Western Origins/Christianity: Immigration/ Migration Technology/ Industrialization (Western Scientific Rationales) Diversity Race & Racism: Equality 	 Tribal Origins Tribal Religions/ Philosophy Tribal perspectives on contact & colonization Tribal perspectives on westward expansion Review of Federal Indian Law accompanied by Tribal perspectives on Indian Law Tribal Sovereignty Tribal Cultural Continuity Tribal Self- Determination Tribal Lands

I used the diagram picture in Table 4.2 to connect the subcategories that emerged in the textbooks with those that emerged from my *reading* (Smith, 2002) of the Framework. For example, because the standards and broader learning goals and critical thinking skills outlined in the Framework shape textbook content, I linked specific categories and subcategories from the textbooks with those from the *Framework* in my narrative analysis of the Framework. I will discuss this analysis in subsection C below.

These first two tables represent content findings. In my initial investigation of textbooks and standards, I also found these texts followed particular forms. For instance the standards and textbooks emphasized the following broad historical periods:

- Pre-Contact (pre 1492); Contact (late 15th century to early 16th century); Colonial Period (16th-17th century); •

- Westward expansion and settlement (18th-19th century);
- Civil War and reconstruction (1861-1877);
- The early twentieth century (1900-1950);
- The civil rights period and other struggles for equality (1950-1970);
- The sixties & seventies;
- The eighties; and
- Contemporary times.

To reiterate, content standards, particularly social science standards, stress the historical periods students should learn about in textbooks. Another form finding gathered from both my examination of textbooks and standards are organizational. These include the following three organizational tools:

- Linear & chronological narratives
- Knowledge compartmentalization
- Textbook Grammar (Luke, 1989)

I explore these findings in further detail in the data analysis section.

C. Data Analysis

In order to write about the significance of my findings, I chose a sample of four textbooks to construct my narrative analysis in chapter six. In chapter seven, I look at the entire California *Framework* to write my narrative analysis. As stated I focus on four textbooks from the universe of textbooks I initially examined. Three of these textbooks are approved for use in LAUSD in 2007 and 2008 for the course, U.S. History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century, Grade 11. The fourth textbook is approved for use in 2006 for the course U.S. History and Geography, AB, Grade 11. The textbooks are the following:

- Nash, G. B. (1997). American odyssey: The United States in the twentieth century. New York: Glencoe/McGraw-Hill.
 - Appleby, J., Brinkley, A., Broussard, A. S., McPherson, J. M., & Richie, D. A. (2005). *The American vision*. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
 - Danzer, G. A., Klor de Alva, J. J., Krieger, L. S., Wilson, L. E., & Woloch, N. (2006). *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st century* (California Edition ed.). Evanston, Illinois: McDougal Littell.

Cayton, A., Perry, E. I., Reed, L., & Winkler, A. M. (2002). *America: Pathways* to the present, modern American history. Needham, MA: Prentice Hall.

The Nash (1997) text is from the 2006 list of approved instructional texts, and the other three are from both the 2007 and 2008 lists. Specifically, the Nash (1997) text was approved for the 2006 U.S. History and Geography, Grade 11 course and the Appleby, et al. (2005), Danzer, et al. (2006) and Cayton (2002) texts are approved for the United States History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century, Grade 11 course.

The Appleby, Cayton, and Danzer textbooks are the only three textbooks approved in LAUSD currently for the U.S. History course every student is mandated to take by the state as detailed in the 2005 edition of the *History and Social Science Framework for California Public Schools*. I chose these four textbooks because they are representative of the texts used in California. Moreover, I limit my analysis to these four textbooks and do not include those approved for AP U.S. History in LAUSD. These four texts contain the same content as those textbooks approved Advanced Placement. In addition, the majority of students are not placed in AP courses in LAUSD. As statistics show, the majority of students in LAUSD take U.S. History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century, Grade 11 course. In contrast a very small number of students are enrolled in AP U.S. History courses. For instance, the latest data report that 40,325 students were enrolled in U.S. History courses in LAUSD in the 2006-2007 school year.²⁹ During the same year, only 4,829 students were enrolled in AP U.S. History courses (California Basic Educational Data System (CBEDS), 2008). The total number of students enrolled in Grade 11 in LAUSD during the 2006-2007 was 46,057. Thus the majority of these students, approximately 88 percent, were enrolled in "regular" U.S. History courses, and approximately 10 percent were enrolled in AP U.S. History courses (California Basic Educational Data System (CBEDS), 2008).³⁰ Students are therefore more likely to encounter the four textbooks I analyze in chapter six.

Within the textbooks, I focus on three time periods described in the textbooks: pre-contact; westward expansion; and civil rights. I focus on these time periods because they represent portions of the textbooks in which Native Americans are mentioned most. I also focus on these three time periods for analytical clarity. Additionally, I focus on the main concepts or subcategories for each time period. In the pre-contact period, the narrative analysis includes the explicit land-bridge subcategory or theme and the related western scientific rationale generated theme. This also includes the missing theme, tribal origins. **Table 4.3** is a visual of how I organized this analysis.

²⁹ The California Department of Education mandates that in Grade 11 students are required to take the course, U.S. History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century.

 $^{^{30}}$ In calculating these percentages, I assume that the 40,325 students enrolled in U.S. History are in Grade 11 as the eleventh grade is when students are mandated to take U.S. History.

	Pre-Contact	Westward Expansion	Civil Rights
	Time Period	Time Period	Time Period
Explicit	Land-Bridge	Settlers Clash with	Minorities
Subcategory		Indians	
Generated	Western Scientific	Manifest Destiny	Equality
Subcategory	Rationales		
Missing	Tribal Origins	Tribal Perspectives on	Tribal Perspectives-
Subcategory		Expansionism	Sovereignty & Self-
			Determination

Table 4.3: Textbook Analysis Organization

I also weave into this narrative analysis of the three time periods the form findings I list above. I outline how these forms replicate western metaphysics. For instance, I illustrate how the textbooks and standards follow linear/chronological depictions of history and how they compartmentalize knowledge. The textbooks all begin 0with pre-contact narratives, exemplifying the linear/chronological form identified above.

In writing my narrative analysis, I also examine the pre-contact time period and the three corresponding categories of explicit, generated, and missing. I describe the explicit land-bridge subcategory, or theme providing textual examples from the four textbooks. I follow this illustration with the generated theme of western scientific rationales, providing textual examples from the textbooks. Next I outline the missing subcategory, tribal origins, describing how indigenous perspectives are missing. In addition, I show how indigenous perspectives contradict the aforementioned land-bridge and western scientific rationales textbook narratives. I use the framework of western metaphysics to critique the explicit and generated subcategories. Further, I utilize the indigenous metaphysics framework to flesh out the missing subcategory. I also link up how the explicit land-bridge and generated western scientific rationales are typical white settler state and CME narratives. I do this for the two other time periods of westward expansion and civil rights as well. The narrative analysis for those two periods follows the same formula I describe above.

In my narrative analysis of the 2005 *History and Social Science Framework for California Public Schools*, my narrative analysis is a comprehensive review of the *Framework* (2005) including the learning goals, critical thinking goals, and actual content standards. My narrative analysis treats the *Framework* as a whole, because it dictates not only the actual history content contained in the instructional texts but the broader lessons students are supposed to learn as well. These broader lessons include, for instance the learning goal of achieving understanding democratic ideals. Similarly, and related to critical thinking skills, the *Framework* identifies chronological and spatial thinking skills as a key in learning about history. Like my analysis of the four instructional texts, I limit my narrative analysis to the time periods of pre-contact, westward expansion, and civil rights.

For instance, the narrative analysis of the *Framework* discusses how the landbridge narrative is constructed within the *Framework*. For this I include analysis on learning goals and the critical thinking goals that accompany the standards in the *Framework*. Furthermore, in the narrative analysis I provide for the *Framework* also include analysis taken from both the textbook findings and the textbook narrative analysis. For example, because the standards and broader learning goals and critical thinking skills outlined in the *Framework* shape textbook content, I linked specific categories and subcategories from the textbooks with those from the *Framework* in my narrative analysis of the *Framework*.

Continuing with the land-bridge narrative, I look to the *Framework* to see which subcategories shape the content found in the textbooks. *Reading* (Smith, 2002) through the *Framework*, I identify a series of both explicit and generated subcategories or themes that help frame the land-bridge narrative found in all the textbooks I examine. In the *Framework* these subcategories are the explicit <u>national identity/nation of immigrant</u>, geography & cultures, themes. The generated subcategories are <u>immigration/migration</u>. In combination, these subcategories provide the context for the various learning goals associated with the textbooks. I do the same for the other subcategories identified within the pre-contact time period. I also follow the same analytical organization for the other two time periods included in my analysis of westward expansion and civil rights.

III. Next Steps

In the next chapters, I examine in depth both the instructional texts and accompanying content standards used in LAUSD. These examinations, guided by the theoretical and methodological framework I outline in this chapter, paint an interesting picture of the social studies curriculum pipeline.

CHAPTER FIVE U.S. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS RESEARCH REVIEW

Before I delve into my textbook findings and analysis, I review what previous research that examines U.S. History textbook content has found. First I examine what research has said about the role of the textbook in society. Specifically I examine early studies of textbooks, studies of American Indian representation in textbooks, and current textbook research. From this review of research on textbooks I offer a series of concepts that build upon the Colonial Model of Education and the white settler state in ways that illuminate western metaphysics. But before I do this, I situate the role of multicultural education in influencing the content of textbooks.

As stated, I broadly situate this project within the discourses, practices, and policies of multiculturalism because this is a key discourse within which the educational needs of communities of color, including American Indians, are discussed, developed and implemented. Contemporary multicultural education, James Banks and Cherry McGee Banks (2004) point out, emerged from the Civil Rights movement, and in particular, the inclusion of communities of color in textbooks began in earnest in response to the Civil Rights movements of the twentieth century. From this context emerged a series of studies that closely examined how school textbooks represented communities of color. In particular, many studies examined the proliferation of U.S. History textbooks that attempted to include more multicultural content, responding to the Civil Rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s, (Charnes, 1984; Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977a; Elkin, 1965; Fitzgerald, 1979; Foster, 1999; Glazer & Ueda, 1983; Jackson, 1976; Kane, 1970; Katz, 1973; Lerner *et al.*, 1995; Marcus, 1961; Michigan Department of Education, 1971).

While the literature on the topic is extensive, I limit my scope to focus on three areas within the research on textbooks: critical perspectives on textbooks and schooling; research that examines multicultural representation in U.S. History textbooks; and research that examines Indian representation in U.S. History textbooks. In addition, the literatures I look at are informed by critical perspectives, which include the position that multiculturalism is a valid and necessary discourse. There is also literature that critiques multicultural representation in U.S. History textbooks. This literature generally asserts that multicultural content distorts American history, replacing key historical moments and figures in favor of people of color and women (Glazer & Ueda, 1983; Lerner *et al.*, 1995; Ravitch, 1990; Schlesinger, 1992; Sewall, 1988). In addition this literature shares the perspective that the role of U.S. History is to build a unitary American identity based upon a history that centers what is perceived to be a true and universal U.S. History (ibid). While this literature is included in my review, it is not the central literature of inquiry.

Finally, from my review of these multiple literatures, I generate a series of definitions, which in conjunction the concepts developed in earlier chapters, I use to help in my interrogation of textbook narratives. In addition, because I center this project from the politics and perspectives of indigeneity as informed by Linda Smith, native

nation-building, and indigenous metaphysics, as described in the previous chapters, the way I look at the relevant literature is guided from these perspectives and the following guiding research questions, accompanied by sub-questions specific to textbooks:

- How do textbooks embody western metaphysics
- > How do textbooks reproduce a Colonial Model of Education
- What types of lessons do the textbooks promote that are antithetical to indigenous cultures and sovereignty?
- > What are the sources of western metaphysics in textbooks?

From this review of literature, I identify how textbooks over time reproduce CME and embody western metaphysics. In addition the review of past literature, which examined the treatment of American Indians in textbooks detail the types of lessons textbooks promote that are antithetical to indigenous cultures. Finally, the concepts I generate from this review of research aid in my identification of the sources of western metaphysics in the textbooks.

I. The Role of Textbooks in Schooling and Society³¹

In order to begin to answer these questions, I turn, as stated, to the main delivery form of knowledge in the classroom, textbooks. Because textbooks are the dominant form of informational delivery in the classroom (Altbach *et al.*, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Reyhner *et al.*, 1993), it is crucial to examine what type of information and sets of values they are delivering. In addition California (along with

³¹ There are other studies that examine U.S. history textbooks, such as Jean Anyon's (1979) study, "Ideology and the United States History Textbooks", in the *Harvard Educational Review*, which examines bias regarding labor and economic history in textbooks.

Texas and Florida) represents one of the major markets in textbook publication and it is one of the most influential states in defining the content of textbooks across the nation (Bianchini & Kelly, 2003; Ross, 1996). Beginning from the claim that content delivered through textbooks are framed from a particular cultural standpoint, at the expense of other views, (Altbach *et al.*, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991) I examine exactly what type of standpoint or views are promoted by the texts. While many students internalize what they learn from textbooks, and some reject or dismiss the information found in textbooks, the textbook content nevertheless affirms particular views while obscuring or dismissing other views (Sleeter & Grant, 1991).

Two important books that exemplify this literature are *Textbooks in American Society*, edited by Philip G. Altbach, Gail P. Kelly, Hugh G. Petrie, and Louis Weis (1991) and *The Politics of the Textbook*, edited by Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith (1991). Both books incorporate discussions that examine a range of issues concerning textbooks, including content analysis of texts, textbook adoption processes, and the role of pressure groups in their adoption (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Wong & Loveless, 1991).

Specifically, and of particular relevance in this dissertation, the investigation of how textbooks are used to validate specific cultural practices and versions of knowledge receive ample treatment by both books. For instance, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) make the case that textbooks play an important role in defining whose culture is taught in school (1). While texts deliver "facts" to students, they are also a result of, according to Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), "political, economic, and cultural activities", and thus textbooks "signify through their content *and* form—particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing the vast universe of possible knowledge" (1-2). This "selective tradition"—defined as "someone's vision of legitimate knowledge and culture... that in the process of enfranchising one group's cultural capital disenfranchises another"—in the context of classroom textbooks function to create what society recognizes as legitimate knowledge (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991; 4). The authors claim that textbooks define "canons of truthfulness" and therefore construct and promote specific ideologies, epistemologies, and ontologies (p. 4). Likewise, Michael Apple (1991) in Altbach, et. al., (1991), explains that the text is a cultural artifact since it "embodies visions of legitimate knowledge of identifiable groups of people" and as the dominant teaching tool in the classroom becomes what Apple terms "official knowledge" (p. 8).

Furthermore, the adoption process for textbooks is mired in similar economic, political, and cultural battles between competing groups who battle for their particular vision of reality to be implemented (Altbach et al., 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Cornbleth & Waugh, 1993; Ross, 1996). The adoption process also mirrors larger societal problems, including issues of power, particularly the problem of who controls textbook content, at the expense of marginalized groups such as women, people of color, and the poor (*Ibid*). For instance, according to Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) textbooks and "[c]urricula are not imposed in countries like the United States. Rather,

they are the products of often intense conflicts, negotiations, and attempts at rebuilding hegemonic control by actually incorporating the knowledge and perspectives of the less powerful under the umbrella of the discourse of dominant groups" (p. 10). This latter point is important because it demonstrates how marginalized groups may consent to this hegemonic process.

The important contributions offered by these authors (Altbach et al., 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991) in the discussion of the role of textbooks in the classroom center on how texts perpetuate specific cultural constructs through both content and form, and in doing so reify the existing power structure. Regardless of the adoption process of textbooks, they are framed within the power structure and dynamics of the United States, including the attempts of marginalized such discussions concerning textbooks, these insights manifest a continued reliance on western modes of analysis and critique. While issues of power in the adoption process are addressed, these critiques retain colonial blind³² lenses, defined in previous chapters. The question remains: if this trend is indeed representative of the process of curriculum inclusion in textbooks, how do people of color fare in this process?

A. Early Studies of Textbook Representation

³² I have coined the term "colonial-blind" in order to refer to practices that normalize western knowledge organization and assumptions, promote western notions of being (metaphysics) and promote westernization of knowledge and its institutionalization through means perceived as neutral. Of particular importance in this project are those practices that claim to be critical yet fail to "see" how their own epistemological and ontological assumptions promote western metaphysics. "Colonial-blind" is a play on the term color-blind.

In the sixties, seventies, and early eighties, a series of studies examined the treatment of people of color in textbooks found that texts contained bias, or stereotypical treatment of people of color (Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977a; Elkin, 1965; Kane, 1970; Katz, 1973; Marcus, 1961; Wirtenberg *et al.*, 1980). Similarly, the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977a), published the book *Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks* in which racist and sexist stereotypes, distortions and omissions contained in U.S. History textbooks of the time, focusing on the treatment of women, African Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos, Native Americans and Puerto Ricans were examined. The Council's study provides important insights into how this type of textbook analysis has proceeded in the past; establishes useful frameworks for the study of people of color in textbooks; and provides important insights into how people of color, and Native Americans, have been treated in textbooks historically.

The Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977), herein the Council, found that while in the past, people of color were invisible in the textbooks examined, people of color were incorporated in greater degrees in the textbooks. Some groups (Blacks and Native Americans), the authors maintained, received more sympathetic treatment while "a bit more attention is being paid to other third world groups and to women as well" and although these groups were mentioned in the texts and more visible, the depiction was not necessarily reflective of reality (125). The Council (1977) clarified that the perspective or point of view that dominated the textbooks was that of "white, upperclass male" and that "[g]enerations of young people have been taught that the U.S. is a white country and that the prime architects of U.S. life and history are white males" (125). The Council (1977) determined that this white-world view was nearly ubiquitous in the texts they analyzed, and although people of color were included, the narratives provided information "about" people of color, rather than "from" their perspective (125).

In particular the Council (1977) found that a basic concern contained in the texts was one of perspective. Specifically the texts perpetuated three types of perspectives: single perspective from the view of whites; narrow perspective that does not link up how the history of people of color impacts whites; and Eurocentric perspective which emphasizes the "importance of white roots and European backgrounds" (125). To elaborate on the perspectives, the Council (1977) provided revealing evidence. With regards to single perspective the Council (1977) provides the following textbook excerpt, which illustrated that the perspective of the texts were singularly framed from the experiences of whites:

'Alone in the wilderness, the frontier family had to protect itself from wild animals and unfriendly Indians.' Had the books represented other perspectives, these quotations might have read:... 'While the people were trying to live, farm, and hunt peacefully in their homelands, they had to constantly be on guard against marauding and invading whites' (p. 125).

The Council (1977) further found that the U.S. History textbooks organized content, including chapter titles and text commentary, from the perspective of whites in the United States.

The narrow perspective, defined as a perspective that does not link "the lives and the aspirations of the average white citizens...to the lives and the interests" of people of color. For example, the Council (1977) includes the following text excerpt to demonstrate the narrow perspective: "This 1896 ruling [Plessy v. Ferguson] by the Supreme Court was a serious blow to the efforts of black Americans to improve their lives." (p. 126). The Council (1977) argues that while Plessy was a serious blow to Blacks, the decision also impacted whites. The Council (1977) explained, "A broader perspective would demonstrate that others besides Black people have an interest in and responsibility for ending segregation" (ibid). According to the Council's (1977) findings, a third perspective, or the Eurocentric perspective, was consistently utilized in the textbooks they examined. The Council (1977) defined the Eurocentric perspective as a one-sided perspective that "emphasizes the importance of white roots and European backgrounds. It conveys the impression that third world people in the U.S. lack a cultural heritage, are definable *only* in terms of their relationship to white people, and are therefore, inferior to whites" (ibid).

The Council (1977) also discovered that people of color and women were included in three major forms: "great minorities"—emphasis on the accomplishments of famous individuals such as Martin Luther King; "contributors"—minorities portrayed as contributors to American society, i.e., "Native Americans gave 'us' corn" and "African Americans gave 'us' jazz"... implying that people of colors' achievements "are valuable only insofar are they prove useful to 'us'" (p. 127); and "protestors" focus on the equality movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

According to the Council (1977) textbooks examined also promoted a series of unifying and underlying assumptions. One of the main underlying assumptions of the textbooks they examined in the late seventies is the assumption that the United States is a "true democracy, by virtue of its electoral system in which citizens can vote for the leader of their choice" (p. 128). Another assumption found by the Council (1977) was the tendency of textbooks to blame the victim. With regards to Native Americans, the Council (1977) found that textbooks perpetuated the idea that they were "dispossessed of their land because 'they did not understand the concept of private land ownership'" (p. 129). In addition, the Council (1977) stated that instead of examining institutional mechanisms of oppression, textbooks focused on individual acts of bigotry, thereby diminishing the role of social structures and groups' interests in maintaining them (p. 129). The Council (1977) concluded, that to "the extent that discrimination, racism, and sexism are dealt with in textbooks, they are treated as aberrations, as isolated mistakes of the past" (p. 129). Furthermore, the Council (1977) highlighted that oppression "is rarely examined from the perspective of its victims", and the textbooks fail to show that "[r]acism, sexism, and economic exploitation are not occasional aberrations of the U.S. system, but deeply ingrained mechanism of the national social and economic structure" (p. 129).

This work represents an important and vital part of the debate informing how textbooks used in schools frame majoritarian stories (Solórzano & Yosso, 2000) concerning the U.S., at the expense of marginalized groups. Here, however I want to extend the work done in this text by expanding the theoretical and analytical lenses used to analyze U.S. History textbooks. In particular the use of indigenous informed methodologies, I assert, is better equipped to engage western metaphysics that have remained unexamined in social studies textbooks. I draw upon Linda Smith's methods of rereading and reframing, coupled with Stuart halls encoding/decoding allow me to expand the theoretical gaze beyond traditional western theories of Marxism and structuralism, towards a deeper understanding of the role of western metaphysics. I will also extend and utilize several of the insights made by the Council (1977) concerning how people of color were treated in the textbooks they examined. As stated, several of the observations made by the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977) are useful in my analysis here. By coupling these definitions with a critical understanding of the role of western metaphysics, I achieve a more robust analysis of how American Indians are treated within the textbooks I analyze.

Before I proceed however, there are two broad disadvantages to this study both theoretical and analytical. First, the texts theoretical limitations are found in its structural undertones. While I believe that such analysis is vital, it is nevertheless limited in its ability to speak to Native realities and needs. Similarly, its emphasis on the role of economic disparity as a major contributor to racism and sexism, leave little room to explore more foundational beliefs that perpetuate classism, racism and sexism. Second, the analytical propensity to study African Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans and women, using the same framework does not necessarily expose problematics that may be specific to each group. Particularly, using a singular lens of analysis reproduces western metaphysical tendencies that alienate Native viewpoints within a larger discourse of minority treatment, or third world orientations used by the text.

B. Textbook Representations of American Indians

There have been other studies that have analyzed how history textbooks treat Indians. Specifically, most of these studies occurred in the seventies, and a couple in the 1980s, that examined prejudice towards Indians in history textbooks (Brotherhood, 1974; Costo & Henry, 1970; Garcia, 1978, 1980; Hirschfelder, 1975; Husband, 1977; Kirkness, 1977; Mallam, 1973; O'Neill, 1984, 1987; C. H. Swanson, 1977; Vogel, 1968, 1974; Wilson, 1980). Additionally a similar study was done on the treatment of American Indians in government textbooks (Ashley & Jarratt-Ziemski, 1999). These studies of textbooks reveal one common feature: U.S. History textbooks overwhelmingly reproduce settler-state ideologies, more appropriately identified as mythologies identified in chapter one, including erasure of indigenous peoples in settler-narratives; assertions of settler superiority vis-à-vis representations of Indians as child-like; and affirmations of settler domination over Indians based on settler superiority.

Beginning in the late sixties Virgil J. Vogel's (1968) important study found that authors of history textbooks utilized four methods or schools of historical approach "...to create or perpetuate false impressions of aboriginal Americans, namely: obliteration, defamation, disembodiment, and disparagement" (p. 16). These four methods, or schools of historical approach concerning Indians are replete in the textbooks. Vogel (1968) defines the obliteration school as those authors whose historical writing erases the American Indian from history, either through omission in texts, or through statements that "Indian removal, or slaughter is customarily presented as the inexorable march of civilization displacing savage hunters" (p.16). The second school of historical treatment of Indians, according to Vogel (1968) is disembodiment which he defines as acknowledgement of "the existence of the Indian, but only as a subhuman nomad, a part of the fauna belonging to the wilderness yet to be conquered; in short, a troublesome obstacle to be overcome" (p. 18). The defamation school, Vogel (1968) argues denigrates the Indian and perpetuates the idea of Indians as unintelligent (p. 20). Finally, Vogel (1968) explains that the disparagement school perpetuates the denial of Indian contribution to American culture (p. 21). Vogel (1968) concludes that while there is "no comprehensive account of Indian cultural contributions, there are some commendable materials available at all [grade] levels", including high school (p. 27). While the textbook he recommends "is notably free of racial bias and shows the Indian side of some frontier struggles" it nevertheless retains some of the "old baggage" (p. 28). Vogel's (1968) work is important because it demonstrates a couple of key characteristics of settler-state ideology, including erasure of indigenous populations and assertion of superiority and domination over indigenous populations.

Similarly, Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry's (1970) Textbooks and the American Indian is a response to the stereotypes and distortions concerning Indians prevalent in history textbooks used in schools. More precisely, this study reports the findings of an evaluation of more than three hundred books by thirty-two Indian scholars which found that most of the texts were derogatory towards Natives and "contained misinformation, distortions, or omissions of important history" (p. 11). In their examination of the textbooks the scholars applied nine criteria: are American Indians presented as a continuous and integral part of American history; do the texts perpetuate the discovery narrative; is the information relating to Indians correct; do the texts accurately describe Indian cultures at the time of contact; are Indian cultures described as dynamic or treated as static; are American Indian contributions to the world and the U.S. described; do textbooks describe and accurately portray Indian sovereignty; do the texts describe the religions, philosophies, ideas of Indian peoples; and do textbooks accurately describe the state of American Indians contemporaneously? The authors (1970) found overwhelmingly that the U.S. history textbooks examined promoted a European view of history beginning with "discovery"; distorted facts concerning Indians; Indians as remnants of the past, or static; Indians as inferior and savage; and white expansion as inevitable result of progress. In essence, like Vogel's

(1968) study Costo and Henry's (1970) more detailed study found the same settler mythologies reproduced in the textbooks they examined.

A subsequent study, R. Mallam's (1973) "Academic Treatment of the Indian in Public School Texts and Literature" was inspired by *Textbooks and the American Indian*. Although the author examined elementary level history textbooks, his findings echoed those of the Costo and Henry (1970) study, including distortion, misrepresentation, and inaccuracy concerning American Indians. Like the 1970 study, Mallam (1970) found that contemporary portrayals of American Indian were limited, and instead favored romanticized portrayals of American Indians as mythic, simplistic, and child-like artifacts of the past, reproducing key settler mythologies.

Arlene B. Hirschfelder's (1975) study "The Treatment of Iroquois Indians in Selected American History Textbooks" also drew inspiration from Costo and Henry's (1970) work. In particular she extends the insights of these previous studies to examine the treatment of the Iroquois Tribes in American history textbooks. She examined 27 U.S. History textbooks from the late fifties and sixties and found that "the textbooks have presented an array of misinformation, misconceptions, omissions, and ethnocentricity" concerning the Iroquois, but for the most part the Iroquois are not mentioned in the texts (p. 33). Similarly, Charles H. Swanson's (1977) study, "The Treatment of the American Indian in High School History Texts" examined "whether there have been any significant textual changes in the thematic depiction of historical Indian-White relations in recent years and to discuss how textual depictions can aid in the formation and perpetuation of unfavorable stereotypes of American Indians" (pp. 28-29). In another study, Swanson (1977) performed a content analysis of 48 history textbooks, focusing on the early Colonial period and the Revolutionary war; Indian removal from the east; U.S. government Indian policy during the second half of the 19th century; the Wheeler-Howard Act and U.S. citizenship; and the Eisenhower administration to the present (p. 29). He found that little had changed in relation to the presentation of Indian-White relations, such as "white-initiated violence, government duplicity, and contemporary problems on and off the reservation" promoting the same types of distortions and stereotypes found in past studies (p. 35).

In the same year, Verna J. Kirkness' (1977) article, "Prejudice about Indians in Textbooks" provides an important summary of the text analysis studies done concerning American Indians in textbooks in both Canada and the United States, concluding that despite the overwhelming evidence of bias and distortions documented by these studies (Brotherhood, 1974; Costo & Henry, 1970), little had been done by the Canadian and American education authorities in response to these findings. In addition Kirkness (1977) found that "textbook researchers have tended to arrive" at uniform conclusions; "Indians…receive the worst treatment in textbooks of any class of minority"; the textbooks of the time contained prejudice "in a more subtle manner; and that "authors tend to use the same secondary sources for reference, and therefore tend to say the same things" (p. 600).

The following year, Jesus Garcia's (1978) study, "Native Americans in U.S. History Textbooks: From Bloody Savages to Heroic Chiefs" examined a series of eighth grade level U.S. History textbooks adopted for use in California in order to evaluate whether Natives were "described in a variety of topics and issues, and whether terms employed to describe the group went beyond stereotype phrases" (p. 1). Garcia (1978) utilized themes and term lists developed by Helen R. Harris (1973) and David Pratt's (1972) Word List. In Garcia's (1978) examination of textbooks he found that American Indian textbook inclusion fell into the following six time periods: North American tribes & European explorers; French & Indian War; Westward expansion; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Indian contributions; and civil disobedience (p. 4). He concluded that these texts perpetuate stereotypes, omission of Indians from history, and the depiction of Indians is limited to six general themes originally developed by Harris (1973): "noble savage"; "white man's helper"; "Indian maiden"; "red varmint"; "warrior/fighter"; and "chief" (p.5). Indeed, like the other study's Garcia's (1978) study demonstrates that not only the content affirms settler mythologies, but also the descriptors used in relation to Indians affirm these settler mythologies. Two years later, Jesus Garcia (1980) followed this study with "The American Indian: No Longer a Forgotten American in U.S. History Texts Published in the 1970s" in which he examined twenty secondary U.S. History texts and found that "the Harris themes are no longer encompassing" and "a revised list of themes is needed if Native American content is to be appropriately identified" (150).

However, Garcia (1980) noted treatment of Indians remained "stilted" and urged for more "balanced" portrayal of Indians (pp. 152, 164).

Following the renaissance of multiculturalism post the Civil Rights era, did Indian representation fare better? O'Neill's (1987) study,³³ "The North American Indian in Contemporary History and Social Studies Textbooks", is a review of both American and Canadian studies done on American Indians in textbooks (ranging grades K-16). He reviewed the three waves of studies that examined Native Americans in textbooks. The first wave "appeared in the mid-to late 1960s, and were generally condemnatory in nature" (Indian and Metis Conference Education Committee, 1964; Sluman, 1966; Vanderburgh, 1968; Vogel, 1968); the larger second wave (Brotherhood, 1974; Costo & Henry, 1970; Hirschfelder, 1975; Katz, 1973; Mallam, 1973; McDiarmid & Pratt, 1971; Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, 1974; Paton, J. Deverell), O'Neill writes, "…found that the textbook portrayal of the North American Indian was distorted, denigrative, inaccurate, and incomplete" (p. 1); and the third wave, later studies or studies with sporadic commentaries regarding American Indians (Fulford, 1984; Garcia,

³³ In the eighties, G. Patrick O'Neill's (1984) Canadian study, "Prejudice Towards Indians in History Textbooks: A 1984 Profile", was an attempt to revisit the textbook studies of the seventies that examined bias and distortions concerning Native Americans. O'Neill (1984) questioned whether the "stereotypes proliferated, moderated, been modified or eliminated" in ten high school history textbooks (p. 34). He specifically examined what types of "descriptors" textbook authors used to describe North American Indians; what type of consistency or variation exists between descriptors; and Indian contributions to society [Canadian] noted (34). He used the Evaluation Coefficient Analysis (ECO), a quantitative content analysis that "provides a system for identifying words that express value judgments about a particular group; in this case, the North American Indian" (p. 35). O'Neill (1984) found that "the problem of prejudice towards Indians in recent history textbooks is less serious than earlier works indicated", but O' Neill cautions that there is "still ample room for improvement" (p. 37). O'Neill attributes the increased positive treatment of American Indians to attitudinal changes towards minorities; increased publicity of issues faced by Indians; and Native people becoming more active and militant in lobbying for their own needs (pp. 37-38).

1978, 1980; Jackson, 1976) were conflicting—some stating textbook treatment of American Indians remained unchanged (Garcia, 1978), while others stating moderate (Jackson, 1976), or enormous (Fulford, 1984) improvements (1). Specifically, O'Neill (1987) found that "[f]indings based on contextual descriptive" or qualitative studies were unanimous in that most "accounts of the North American Indian remain disjointed, distorted and incomplete" (p. 4). Studies that found improvements in the treatment of Indians in textbooks were a result of "scaled numerical" or quantitative studies that found that "much of the biased language, found in earlier textbooks, has been eradicated" (p. 4) but their portrayal remained simplistic and stereotypical (p. 5). Studies that O'Neill (1987) labeled as "impressionistic data", or "idle inference" were prone to find fundamental changes in textbook treatment of American Indians, but these findings, O'Neill (1987) argued are unreliable. O'Neill affirms that the "status of North American Indian in most history and social studies textbooks has not substantially improved in the last 20 years" (p. 5). This is no surprise because social studies textbooks, I argue are a key conveyor of settler-state ideology.

These studies, which examined the treatment of Indians in history textbooks, arrive at similar conclusions, finding that Indians in history textbooks are treated in a stereotypical and bias fashion. Some of these representations include Indians portrayed as savages, unintelligent, and/or they are romanticized and infantilized, and inactive agents of history. Indians are also treated as remnants of the past, and not contemporary figures in the United States. These studies also found that while Indian representation increased in the time periods they examined, this representation remained problematic as history textbooks continued to promote a Eurocentric perspective. In this regard, a limitation of these studies is their dated nature. One could argue, that while these studies produced important insights concerning stereotypes, distortions, and prejudice concerning Indians, textbooks today may do a better job in their treatment of Indians. However, these studies reveal the entrenched and unchanged nature of settler- state ideology, more accurately described as settler mythology. In this way my dissertation adds to this body of literature by offering a contemporary and richer analysis of the treatment of Indians in U.S. History textbooks.

Missing from these studies is a critique of the western metaphysical assumptions produced and transmitted through social studies textbooks. In addition, while these studies found the same limitations and were aware of previous research, most did not go on to identify the larger ideological reasons for these continued stereotypes and distortions. For this reason, my examination of contemporary history textbooks extends the important work of these researchers by demonstrating that indeed, stereotypes, distortions, and prejudice towards Indians continue to be reproduced. Also unlike these earlier examinations of Indians in history texts, I do not use quantitative methods to measure the amount of times Indians are mentioned or pictured in textbooks as a gage to measure textbook representation. Instead, I focus on themes generated from the texts concerning Native Americans to examine deeper foundational epistemological and ontological issues.

C. Current Examinations of Textbooks

More current examinations of textbooks have found similar biases and distortions (Foster, 1999; Martinez, 1998; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Sleeter and Grant (1991), in "Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in Current Textbooks," point out that existing studies that examine what they call racial bias in school textbooks—those done during the seventies and more contemporary studies, expose that over time, the inclusion of people of color over time has increased (Butterfield et al., 1979; Charnes, 1984; Glazer & Ueda, 1983; Kane, 1970; Michigan Department of Education, 1971). However, while receiving more content inclusion, the treatment remains problematic (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). In the book De Colores Means All of Us: Latina Views for a Multi-Colored Century, Elizabeth Martínez (1998) examines California elementary and middle school social studies textbooks and also finds that while minorities are included at higher rates than in the past, current textual inclusion promote a problematic brand of multiculturalism. Finally, Foster (1999) examines the role of U.S. History textbooks in developing American national identity in response to the historical movement of a variety of ethnic immigrant groups.

Sleeter and Grant's (1991) own analysis of fourteen social studies textbooks examine how race (and other subjects) are treated. Sleeter and Grant (1991) use the following methods in their analysis of history textbooks: picture analysis (tallying of pictures including race and gender); the people to study analysis (tallying the race and sex of people mentioned in texts); language analysis (examining language use for sexist, racist, or loaded words with regards to stereotypes, and obscuring words); the storyline analysis (whose story is being told, which group receives the most attention, how groups are presented, how do groups "cause" or "solve" issues); and miscellaneous. Martinez (1998) uses a combination of analysis techniques, including critical content analysis. Foster (1999) examines the role of history textbooks, beginning in the nineteenth century and moving into the contemporary period. He does this by examining a variety of popular history textbooks used in schools beginning in the nineteenth century.

Sleeter and Grant's (1991), Martinez (1991), and Foster (1999) found that whites, particularly males dominate the narrative of American history promoting a Eurocentric perspective. Additionally, Sleeter and Grant (1991) point out that people of color "are not portrayed as solvers of their own problems" and discussions of historical struggles faced by people of color are presented from a white point of view (p. 86). Furthermore, textbooks affirm the idea of individuality and collectivity appears minimally, for example in reference to reservation life (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Of particular importance the authors argue that textbooks function as an extension of social control by presenting "…constructed relations among groups as natural", and "[t]he vision of social relations that the textbooks…analyzed for the most part project is one of harmony and equal opportunity…" (p. 99). Like the earlier textbook studies, contemporary textbooks center white perspectives, which are a central aspect of the racial grammar and ordering of settler-mythologies.

Martinez's (1998) analysis of California social studies textbooks finds similar projections, providing further context for the racial grammar of the settler-state. For example, Martinez (1998) argues that the textbook content perpetuates the "nation of immigrants" narrative, framing the United States as a "salad bowl" of diverse cultures living harmoniously. Martinez (1998) adds that textbooks perpetuate the "origin myth" of the United States, which serves as a basis for national identity that distorts how genocide, slavery, and imperialism are key elements of this myth. In conclusion, Sleeter and Grant (1991) argue that increased representation of minorities is key in gaining a broader idea of different groups' histories, but that the move towards multiculturalism of the sixties and seventies has stymied, returning towards a more monolithic representation favoring white-males. Martinez (1998) calls for a similar move towards a "new origin narrative and national identity...that lays the groundwork for a multicultural, multinational identity centered on the goals of social equity and democracy" (p. 48). Martinez's (1998) work is important because it explicitly locates key components of settler mythologies, including what she identifies as "origin myths."

Foster (1999) discusses the conservative attacks on multicultural representations in U.S. History textbooks that responded to what appeared to be an overrepresentation of minorities in history textbooks at the expense of a discussion of a cohesive national identity in favor of "political correctness" (Glazer & Ueda, 1983; Schlesinger, 1992; Sewall, 1988). However, Foster (1999) illuminates, textbooks written post civil rights movements maintain a Eurocentric dominant narrative that emphasize what Foster

(1999) names "three enduring and essentially conservative themes" (p. 267): American history remains a nationalistic endeavor, favoring triumphant and patriotic narratives in which immigrants came to America to achieve their dream of land and opportunity; second there is an "absence of conflict and controversy" in which racism is presented as an "amorphic" problem of the past that is overcome by history enabled by never presenting racism and oppression from the perspective of those oppressed; and finally the theme of mentioning, or "adding content to the text without altering the book's organizing framework or central message..." underscoring "...the conviction that the experiences of ethnic groups are only important in so far as they contribute to the larger story of an American history dominated by white society" (p. 271), replicating the Council's (1977) findings that minorities are included as "contributors." Foster's (1999) study similarly identifies what Zeus Leonardo (2007) describes as white nationalism, which like the oscillating nature of Indian policy grows and shrinks with what Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) identify as safety zone theory. In this case Foster's (1999) study identifies a period of reduction, responding to a more conservative character of white nationalism.

Sleeter and Grant (1991), Martinez (1998), and Foster's (1999) studies of social studies texts affirm both the Indian specific and the broader race and gender textbook examination reviewed earlier. These studies conclude that specific perspectives dominate history textbooks—namely a Eurocentric perspective that promotes the perspective of history in terms of white settler actions and communities of color

interactions with whites (never inter-group or across ethnic group). Also, a variety of narratives such as national identity are used in textbooks to reproduce views that favor white-settler ideologies and institutions. However, merely increasing inclusion of people of color, or Indians, in textbooks, as suggested by Sleeter and Grant (1991) does not address deeper epistemological and ontological issues found in textbooks. In this way Sleeter and Grant's (1991) study, like the other studies reviewed, is limited. Martinez's (1998) suggestion of moving towards a new multinationalism provides more room for epistemological exploration (Champagne, 2005b; Terren, 2007). I argue it is not through the creation of a new origin myth as she suggests, but instead through a deeper understanding of the epistemological and ontological, or metaphysical reasons of these profound differences. Finally Foster's (1999) study concludes that it is not accident that history textbooks are constructed the way they are. Foster (1999) points out that because textbooks operate within an economic market, it is in publishers best interests to produce textbooks that are not controversial and easily adoptable by many constituents:

In order to conform to the pressures of a highly competitive market, to stave off damaging criticism from the influential political right and to appease those who control the theatre of education, textbook publishers keenly adhere to established practices. Textbooks remain servants of political orthodoxy. They celebrate national achievements, venerate the Western tradition and emphasize a shared American experience (p. 278).

Thus, coupling these studies with my current examination provides a broader portrait of how textbooks perpetuate deeper epistemological and ontological ideologies that have far larger ramifications for Indians and other colonized peoples. In particular, U.S. History textbooks leave little room for legitimate perspectives on tribal sovereignty and nation building.

II. Concepts

As stated, the scholarship reviewed finds that textbooks perpetuate Eurocentric standpoints. Coupled with the insights gained from the previous chapters, this perspective is more appropriately identified as <u>Settler-perspectivism</u>. Settler perspectivism incorporates a Eurocentric perspectivism, narrow perspectivism, and single perspectivism identified by the Council's (1977) work. Moreover, settler-perspectivism situates identity from the standpoint of the white settler. For example, settler-perspectivism in history textbooks functions as follows: whites are the center of the story line; history is told from the perspective of whites; the narrative of history unfolds from both the time periods and geographic location central to European settlers, following their trajectory from the Eastern seaboard towards the west. Finally, settler-perspectivism promotes settler mythologies, and accommodates the waxing and waning nature of whiteness. In this way textbooks promote a Colonial Model of Education (CME), which stresses settler perspectives.

The concept of <u>immigrant-nation</u>, linked to settler perspectivism, represents the narrative that the history of the United States, and indeed the nation itself, is a nation of immigrants, a key settler mythology. This discourse is utilized to subsume diversity, or difference, into a larger narrative of immigration, that links up ideology to the idea of a

white settler-nationalism, again reifying a CME. Indeed U.S. history textbooks function to manufacture hegemonic positions regarding the narrative of the United States as a nation of immigrants in order to instill a broader, universal creed of American National Identity (Gordan, 2007), which Leonardo (2007) identifies as white nationalism.

National Identity is also directly correlated to the narratives of settler perspectivism and the immigrant-nation narrative, and promotes the belief that there is one singular national identity based upon a narrow definition and history of whiteness, and as such is a key aspect of the racial grammar of the settler state. Martinez (1998) explains that "linking the national identity with race is not unique to the United States. National identity always requires an 'other' to define it. But this country has lined its identity with race to an extraordinary degree, matched only by two other settler states: South Africa and Israel" (p. 45). Schooling has played a central role in what Lowe (1999) states is the "development and transmission of a sense of nationhood" (p. 231) while at the same time constructing nationhood in ways that deny certain peoples access to this sense of nationhood. In addition Lowe (1999) points out that the building of national identity is also constructed in ways that have been resisted by "local populations" (p. 232). This construction of national identity is not accidental. Richard Drinnon (1997) points out that racism with regard to Indians "defined natives as nonpersons with the settlement culture and was in a real sense the enabling experience of the rising American empire" (p. xxvii). This other is part of the United States

historical and geographical imagination (Wolfe, 2006). National Identity in the United States draws from Enlightenment ideals of equality, citizenship and individualism (Anderson & Domosh, 2002)

These three ideas work simultaneously to center specific epistemological and ontological projects. This system of ideology, I argue has directly grown out of settler conflict with indigenous peoples. These narratives promote discourses that justify the genocide of Indians; the taking of Indian territories; and the remaking of settler identity into natives (Perez-Huber et. al, 2008). In this way these three ideas function in contemporary education to perpetuate colonial models of education that serve settler ideologies and institutions.

CHAPTER SIX U.S. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I provide the results of the textbook content analysis I performed, followed by an in depth study of the meaning of the findings. First I provide a detailed description of the findings gathered from the textbook review, divided into form and content. Next, I offer a narrative analysis of a sample of four U.S. History textbooks approved for use in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD), for the grade 11 course United States History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century. In this narrative analysis I focus on three time periods. These are pre-contact, westward expansion, and civil rights. In addition, I focus on a series of explicit, generated, and missing themes that I identify in my findings for each time period.

The following are the four specific research questions, based on the four broad research questions that frame this dissertation that guide my textbook analysis:

- ➤ How do textbooks embody western metaphysics?
- ▶ How do textbooks reproduce a Colonial Model of Education (CME)
- \succ What types of lessons do the textbooks promote that are antithetical to indigenous cultures and sovereignty?
- ▶ What are the sources of western metaphysics in textbooks?

The use of the explicit, generated, and missing categories aid in examining how textbooks embody western metaphysics and reproduce CME. In addition, my analysis of the three time periods illustrates how textbooks promote lessons that are antithetical

to indigenous cultures. Finally, the missing themes and the use of indigenous metaphysics help me identify the sources of western metaphysics.

I. Findings

As stated, I performed a content analysis of U.S. History textbooks in order to demonstrate how educational curriculum reproduces western metaphysical assumptions. Specifically, in my examination of textbooks I do the following: 1) examine how Native themes are explicitly dealt with in the textbooks in order to establish what types of learning students are explicitly intended to receive and how these lessons reaffirm western knowledge organization; 2) examine what types of categories and themes emerge, or are generated from the texts and standards, which significantly conflict with Native metaphysical systems; 3) analyze texts in order to recommend where Native American issues should be included, but are missing in order to make curriculum organization receptive to multiple epistemological systems; and 4) link up how current treatment of Native peoples in social studies curriculum reproduce colonial models of education as they relate to Native groups in the U.S.

As described in chapter four, the content analysis of the textbooks is guided by specific methodological frameworks, including Smith's (2002) decolonizing methodologies (DM), and Strauss & Corbin's (1998) Grounded Theory (GT), and Calderon's (2006a, 2006b) Critical Interstitial Methodology (CIM). Through the CIM approach, I link DM of indigenizing, intervening, reading, and reframing, which center Native metaphysics, with GT interpretive codes.

My textbook findings are separated into two general areas, form and content. In defining form and content I draw from Apple and Christian-Smith's (1991) work that explains that textbooks are artifacts of "political, economic, and cultural activities," and through their content and form, "signify...particular constructions of reality, particularly ways of selecting and organizing the vast universe of possible knowledge" (pp.1-2, 3). Specifically the form of the textbook selects and organizes knowledge in the texts in a manner that reproduces and reaffirms western metaphysics. The specific methods that comprise the form of the text include chronological narratives, universalism, and white-settler perspectivism. The content of the textbooks similarly reflect specific "political, economic, and cultural activities" and "particular constructions of reality" (Ibid). In addition the content reflects the "selective tradition" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991), which in textbooks manufactures a particular "vision of legitimate knowledge and culture" that disenfranchises other cultural knowledge systems (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; 4).

A. Form Findings (U.S. History Textbooks)

The organization of the content reveals western metaphysical imprints, including linearism, compartmentalization, and grammar. The manner in which the story of U.S. History is told in the textbooks all follow western organization and perpetuation of knowledge. Specifically, the U.S. History textbooks all utilize the same structural function to organize their textbooks. They rely on

- <u>Linear & chronological narratives</u>- U.S. history textbooks follow chronological & linear narratives of history, and is accomplished through a variety of mechanisms such as chronological ordering of chapters, and use of tense appropriate language (Ninnes, 2007).
- <u>Knowledge compartmentalization</u>- U.S. history textbooks are divided into units, chapters, sections, and subsections. Students as readers of the texts are treated as informational managers (Freebody *et al.*, 1991), in which the reader organizes and brings past knowledge to inform the text. Mastery of informational management is determined and measured by the chapter and chapter section reviews and questions (Freebody et al., 1991).
- <u>Textbook Grammar</u> (Luke, 1989)- the language used in the texts, such as tense usage and rhetorical devices, works in conjunction with knowledge compartmentalization to order knowledge in perpetuate Eurocentric perspective. It affirms a decontextualized approach to literacy.

These form, or structural functions do not operate separately; rather they operate interconnected in the way textbook form is organized.

The linear and chronological functions are generally organized in the following

ways. U.S. History texts provide either an expansive chronological history of the United

States, ranging from pre-modern times to the twenty first century, or they are split into

two volumes. For example, the first volume recounts pre-modern history to the Civil

War period, and the second volume begins with the history of Reconstruction and ends

with twenty first century American history.

In conducting this analysis, I found that textbooks were organized according to

the following time periods which I identify as:

- Pre-Contact (pre 1492);
- Contact (late 15th century to early 16th century);
- Colonial Period (16th-17th century);
- Westward expansion and settlement (18th-19th century);
- Civil War and reconstruction (1861-1877);
- The early twentieth century (1900-1950);

- The civil rights period and other struggles for equality (1950-1970)
- The sixties & seventies;
- The eighties; and
- Contemporary times.

These time periods are consistent with Garcia's (1978) and Swanson's (1977) findings that Indian inclusion in U.S. History textbooks are generally organized to similar categories, including Indian removal from the East (Swanson, 1977) or Westward Expansion (Garcia, 1978). They are representative of white settler state organization of new history.

Within each time period, the U.S. History textbooks I examined overwhelmingly address the same material. The pre-contact history material consists of explaining how American Indians arrived to the United States, their settlement of the region, and geographic exploration of the different Native cultures located within the boundaries of the United States. Contact periods provide narratives concerning the arrival of Europeans to the New World, including the Spanish, French, Portuguese, Dutch, and British, and the meeting of three worlds (Europe, Africa, and Native America). The Colonial period expands on the meeting of the three worlds, and transitions into a focus on the development of the colonies on the Eastern seaboard of the United States. The westward expansion and settlement narratives focus on the movement of Europeans from the East Coast towards the western territories, the impact on Native Americans, and the need for new territories. The civil war and reconstruction periods focus on the civil war and the period of reconstruction that followed. The early twentieth century focuses on the two World Wars, the Great Depression, and the New Deal policies of the time. The Civil Rights and other movements for equality narratives focus on desegregation in the South and the African American civil rights movement, and other minority groups' movements for equality. The sixties and seventies period covers the war in Vietnam, the student and anti-war movements, along with the women's liberation movement. The eighties period focuses on the Reagan era and economic prosperity and the end of the cold war. Finally, the contemporary period focuses on contemporary issues such as affirmative action, the Iraq wars, and other contemporary issues.

In addition textbooks frame the narrative in past tense, reflecting a specific grammaticism (Luke, 1989). This maintains a temporal dislocation between past and present. With regards to Indians, Ninnes (2000) explains that "[t]ense can be thought of as a way of representing the temporal location of indigenous knowledge and indigeneity" (p. 613). The U.S. history textbooks representations of indigenous cultures describe cultural practices of Indians in the past tense. Ninnes (2000) argues that "...the use of past tense to describe extant beliefs and practices can give the impression that these practices and beliefs have been...'superannuated by history'" (p. 613). The tendency of American history textbooks to reify time compartmentalization, i.e. past, present, and future, leaves little room to engage different cultural conceptions of time. This compartmentalization of time perpetuates the narrow perspective (Council on

Interracial Books for Children, 1977a), and it runs counter to many indigenous perspectives on temporality (Deloria, 1992). Moreover, many of the rhetorical devices employed in the textbooks demonstrate the "single perspective." For example, the textbook narrative language is authoritative.

B. Content Findings (U.S. History Textbooks)

As stated in the methodology section, in my analysis of the textbook content, three categories emerged in relation to Native Americans while I coded the data. These three categories are **explicit** (what is foregrounded), **generated**/implicit (what is in the background), and **missing**.³⁴ In addition, themes emerged within each category during the coding process³⁵, which I examine in detail below. I begin by analyzing the **explicit** category and its accompanying themes. Specifically, the U.S. History textbooks I examined **explicitly** frame Native Americans in relation to U.S. History in the same fashion. I labeled the **explicit** themes I found as follows:

- Native cultures (as part of the three worlds of Europe, native America, and Africa meeting in the New World);
- Land-Bridge Narrative
- Contact/Colonization;
- Colonial Period;
- Westward Expansion (settlers clash with Indians);
- Poverty;
- Congressional Action
- The New Deal & Indians

³⁴ The methodologies of indigenizing, intervening and reframing guide what is included in the missing category

³⁵ During this coding process, I used both Encoding/Decoding (guided by Smith's (2002) decolonizing methodologies) with Grounded Theory to guide my work.

- Civil Rights (minority);
- Legal Action/ Congressional Action.

Similarly, I found the following generated themes:

- Western Origins/Christianity;
- Western Scientific Rationales
- Westward Expansion (Manifest Destiny);
- Immigration;
- Technology/Industrialization
- Racism;
- Diversity;
- Civil Rights (Equality); and
- Environment.

The labeling of both the explicit and generated categories and their corresponding

themes follow the chronological outline contained in the U.S. History texts. Finally, I

find that the following **missing** themes are useful instructional material:

- Tribal Origins
- Tribal Religions/Philosophies
- Tribal perspectives on contact and colonization
- Multiple Tribal perspectives on westward expansion
- Review of Federal Indian Law accompanied by Tribal perspectives on Indian Law
- Tribal Sovereignty
- Tribal Cultural Continuity
- Tribal Self-Determination
- Tribal lands

From an indigenous standpoint, the political, economic, and cultural activities

are products of western metaphysics, and thus both the form and content in the textbooks reinforce colonial models of learning and teaching. While I examine these functions separately, in practice form and content function simultaneously to validate and reproduce western metaphysics, while disenfranchising other ways of learning and teaching.

II. Analysis

In my analysis below I focus on three time periods consistent in the textbooks, pre-contact, westward expansion and Civil Rights. Within these three time periods I examine a sample of **explicit** and **generated** themes, and investigate how the addition of the **missing** themes challenge or add insights to the textbook narratives. Specifically, within each time period I focus on the following themes: Pre-Contact-land-bridge, western scientific rationales, and tribal origins; Westward Expansion- settlers clash with Indians, manifest destiny, and tribal perspectives of expansion; and Civil Rights-minorities; equality; and tribal perspectives on sovereignty and self-determination. **Table 6.1** below is a representation of this analysis.

Table 6.1: Textbook Analysis Organization

	Pre-Contact	Westward Expansion	Civil Rights
	Time Period	Time Period	Time Period
Explicit Themes	Land-Bridge	Settlers Clash with Indians	Minorities
Generated Themes	Western Scientific Rationales	Manifest Destiny	Equality
Missing Themes	Tribal Origins	Tribal Perspectives on Expansionism	Tribal Perspectives- Sovereignty & Self- Determination

While I examined all U.S. History textbooks approved for use in LAUSD,³⁶ I

focus on four textbooks in this analysis:

- Nash, G. B. (1997). American odyssey: The United States in the twentieth century. New York: Glencoe/McGraw-Hill.
- Appleby, J., Brinkley, A., Broussard, A. S., McPherson, J. M., & Richie, D. A. (2005). *The American vision*. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
- Danzer, G. A., Klor de Alva, J. J., Krieger, L. S., Wilson, L. E., & Woloch, N. (2006). *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st century* (California Edition ed.). Evanston, Illinois: McDougal Littell.
- Cayton, A., Perry, E. I., Reed, L., & Winkler, A. M. (2002). *America: Pathways* to the present, modern American history. Needham, MA: Prentice Hall.

Within the textbooks, I focus on three time periods described in the textbooks (precontact, westward expansion, and civil rights) because they represent portions of the textbooks in which Native Americans are mentioned most. I also focus on these three time periods for analytical clarity.

<u>A. Content & Form Analysis of Pre-Contact, Westward Expansion, and Civil Rights</u>

1. Pre-Contact

As mentioned, the U.S. History textbooks I examine begin their account of U.S. history with a description of the U.S. pre-European arrival, focusing on Native Americans and their lands. This description of North American Indians is treated geographically. For example, U.S. history textbooks describe the Indian tribes of the

³⁶ I examined the list of books approved for in the LAUSD, revised in May of 2006, June of 2007, and March 2008 (See Appendix 1 for a full list). The only book I include in this analysis not to carry over into the 2007 list is the Nash textbook. However, because it is included in the previous years list, I include it in this analysis as well.

eastern seaboard, the southwest, the Northwest, and western coasts. As found in the 1977 study *Stereotypes Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks*, current U.S. History textbooks extensively describe Native American pre-Columbian cultures, but little to no continuity between the Native values and beliefs in contemporary times and pre-Columbian ancestors are described. In the pre-contact period, the land-bridge narrative represents a central **explicit** theme that is accompanied by the **generated** theme of western scientific rationales. **Missing**, in these narratives are tribal, or indigenous, perspectives concerning these narratives, and the conflict that land-bridge theories produce for indigenous peoples. The western metaphysical components represented in this section include: originary standpoints that maintain western scientific beliefs; temporal perspectives that emphasize linear time (in this case pre-history); and ontological perspectives that center anthropocentric narratives that favor human action and dualistic perspectives that dichotomize human and nature in the form of geography.

1a. Explicit Theme: Land-Bridge Narrative

As stated, the **explicit** category refers to descriptions in the social studies texts where Native Americans are explicitly mentioned, maintaining hegemonic positions. In this vein, the U.S. History textbooks I examined begin with an **explicit** narrative describing how the indigenous people arrived to the United States over the Beringia land straight. I label this **explicit** narrative the "land-bridge" theme. This theme of the land-bridge found in textbooks perpetuates the "nation of immigrants" narrative. As Elizabeth Martinez (1998) explains, "this view [a nation of immigrants] sees Native Americans as the first 'immigrants,' based on their having come across the Bering Strait from Asia" (p. 33).

For example, Gary Nash's (1997) U.S. History textbook states:

Archaeological evidence indicates that across the wide, grassy land bridge that once connected Asia and North America trekked the first people to settle in North America...The **first settlers** stalked big game such as mammoths and bison...Scientists disagree on when people first came to the Americas and on how many waves of settlement they rode [emphasis added] (p. 22).

Nash (1997) promotes the narrative that Native Americans migrated to North America,

affirming the "nation of immigrants" narrative, and thus represent the "first settlers."

Gary Nash (1997), professor and director of the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA, is widely considered to promote progressive and multicultural versions of U.S History (Martinez, 1998). Yet when viewed from an indigenous perspective Nash promotes a version of indigenous peoples' histories that relies on western metaphysical structural and informational content.

Joyce Appleby, et. al. (2005), in *The American Vision*, promote the land-bridge theme in a similar fashion :

Native Americans are descended from Asians who probably began migrating to North America approximately 15,000 to 30,000 years ago...

No one can say for certain when the first people arrived in America. The Folsom discoveries proved that people were here at least 10,000 years ago, but more recent research suggests that humans arrived much earlier. Presently, scientific speculation points to a period between 15,000 and 30,000 years ago—much earlier than what scientists believed...

How long ago the **first Americans** appeared remains a hotly debated question. Scientists can state much more confidently, however, who these earliest people were, how they arrived in America, and what their lives were like. To learn the origins of ancient peoples, scientists study their skulls, bones, and teeth. In recent years they have been able to examine DNA...From DNA and other evidence, researchers have concluded that the **earliest Americans** probably came from Asia" [emphasis mine] (pp. 12-13).

Appleby, et. al. (2005) rely on the same scientific discourse to promote the land-bridge story, placing science at the center of this debate. Appleby, et al (2005) also affirm the view that Native Americans, like other peoples, migrated to North America, and thus represent the "first Americans."

One more example of the ubiquitous land-bridge theme contained in U.S.

History textbooks is promoted by Danzer, et al (2006):

No one knows for sure when the **first Americans** arrived, but it may have been as long as 22,000 years ago. At the time, the glaciers of the last Ice Age had frozen vast quantities of the earth's water, lowering sea levels and possibly creating a land bridge between Asia and Alaska across what is now the Bering Strait. Ancient hunters may have trekked across the frozen land, known as Beringia, into North America [emphasis mine] (pp. 4-5).

In this passage, the notion that Native Americans migrated to the land mass of the U.S. is presented as fact, and it validates the narrative of the United States being a nation of immigrants, Indians, being the "first." Although Danzer, et. al.(2006) qualify their statement that "Ancient hunters **may** [emphasis added] have trekked across the frozen land, known as Beringia into North America" (p. 5), this qualification relates to how Native Americans arrived here, and nothing else. Danzer, et. al. (2006) continue:

Archaeologists believe that the **earliest Americans** lived as big-game hunters. That way of life changed around 12,000 to 10,000 years ago when temperatures warmed, glaciers melted, and sea levels rose once again. The land bridge disappeared under the Bering Sea, bringing to an end land travel between the Asian and North American continents. As the climate grew warmer, the large

animals no longer thrived. People gradually switched to hunting smaller game and fish and gathering nuts and berries (p. 5).

Danzer, et al. (2006) display, like Nash (1997) and Appleby, et al. (2005), certitude that the ancestors of Native Americans crossed a land-bridge into the Americas, and are thus the first Americans.

Following this trend, Cayton, et al. (2002), also claim definitively that the ancestors of Native Americans crossed the land-bridge to the Americas to become the "first" Americans:

Archaeologists think the **first Americans** may have arrived as many as 40,000 years ago. At that time, known as the Ice Age, the lowering of the level of the world's oceans created a temporary land bridge between Asia and what is now Alaska. As groups arrived from Asia they dispersed, and their settlements eventually ranged from the Arctic Circle to South America's tip. by the late 1400s, when the first Europeans arrived, Native Americans had developed a variety of distinct languages and customs [emphasis mine] (p. 19).

This passage affirms that Native Americans, like all others, are merely immigrants to this country. Additionally, like the Danzer, et al. (2006) qualification concerning the date of arrival of peoples to the Americas, Cayton, et al. (2002) claim: "No one knows exactly when people first came to the Americas. It is known, however, that some early peoples left fingerprints in New Mexico mud that hardened 28,000 years ago, and that weapons have been chipped from Alaskan stone 12,000 years ago" (p. 19). Unifying these passages from the textbooks examined is the reliance on western scientific rationales to explain both the land-bridge narrative and the evidence relating to when these earliest Americans might have migrated.

1b. Generated Theme-Western Scientific Rationales

The western scientific rationales, although treated in relation to the land-bridge narratives I define as falling within the **generated** category, materials that exist in the background (Smith, 2002). As stated, I define the generated category as concepts and ideas that do not explicitly name or mention Native Americans, but instead represent ideas and concepts that directly conflict with Native epistemologies and/or have been utilized to validate colonial models of education. While one can argue that western scientific rationales appear in direct relation to Native Americans, I view this rationale as falling within the generated definition because they appear to support the explicit theme of land-bridge. For example Nash (1997) states in relation to the land-bridge: "Archaeological evidence indicates that across the wide, grassy land...trekked the first people to settle in North America...Scientists disagree on when people first came to the Americas and on how many waves of settlement they rode" [emphasis added] (p. 22). Appleby, et. al.(2005) go into further deal concerning western scientific rationales:

The **Folsom discoveries** proved that people were here at least 10,000 years ago, but **more recent research suggests** that humans arrived much earlier. Presently, **scientific speculation** points to a period between 15,000 and 30,000 years ago—much earlier than what scientists believed [emphasis added] (pp. 12-13).

While Appleby, et. al. (2005) hints that there is scientific debate concerning the time period when humans arrived in North America, the authors nevertheless retain their perspective that humans migrated here. For example, the authors' state:

How long ago the first Americans appeared remains a hotly debated question. **Scientists** can state much more confidently, however, who these earliest people were, how they arrived in America, and what their lives were like.

To learn the origins of ancient peoples, **scientists study** their skulls, bones, and teeth. In recent years they have been able to examine DNA...From DNA and other evidence, **researchers have concluded** that the earliest Americans probably came from Asia [emphasis added] (p. 13).

Danzer's, et. al.' (2006) reliance on western scientific rationales do not appear

as boldly:

Archaeologists believe that the earliest Americans lived as big-game hunters. That way of life changed around **12,000 to 10,000** years ago when temperatures warmed, glaciers melted, and sea levels rose once again. The land bridge disappeared under the **Bering** Sea, bringing to an end land travel between the Asian and North American continents. As the climate grew warmer, the large animals no longer thrived. People gradually switched to hunting smaller game and fish and gathering nuts and berries [emphasis added] (p. 5).

Danzer's et al. (2006) narrative concerning the land-bridge, nevertheless affirms a reliance on western scientific rationales to frame the discussion surrounding the landbridge theory, as evidenced by the reference to archaeology. Interestingly, Danzer et al. (2006) does not note that this is indeed a theory subject to dispute within scientific circles.

Cayton et al (2002) rely on the same western scientific sources to explain the evidence concerning Native American migration to the Americas, yet initially provide two contrasting theories concerning this arrival: "No one knows exactly when people first came to the Americas. It is known, however, that some early peoples left fingerprints in New Mexico mud that hardened 28,000 years ago, and that weapons have been chipped from Alaskan stone 12,000 years ago" (p. 19). Cayton et al (2002) explain that: "**Archaeologists think** the first Americans may have arrived as many as 40,000 years ago" [emphasis added] (p. 19). It is not made clear that the so-called migration of Indians to the Americas is subject to debate within scientific circles. While Cayton et al. (2002) make clear that it is unknown when these migrations occurred, they do not state that the dates they present rely on different scientific theories concerning this migration.

1c. Missing Theme-Indigenous Origins/Perspectives

In constructing the missing category, I was guided by Smith's (2002) Decolonizing Methodologies, which center indigenous metaphysics. In this manner, by intervening (Smith, 2002) in the texts, and offering indigenized (Smith, 2002) perspectives, the land-bridge and western scientific rationale themes can be read and reframed (Smith, 2002) in a decolonizing manner. In addition, Wildcat (2001) states that "American Indians must elaborate our own indigenous systems of metaphysics and contrast them with the dominant metaphysics of Western civilization" (p. 47), and so in elaborating upon the **missing** themes, I contrast indigenous metaphysics from western metaphysics. **Missing** from both the explicit and generated categories related to <u>precontact</u> time period are discussions of tribal views of origins. Indigenous perspectives require critical discussions of western scientific rationales as a paradigm of western metaphysics and indigenous science approaches informed by indigenous metaphysics.

As stated the aforementioned examples of land-bridge and western scientific rationales, although one is explicit, and the other is generated, demonstrate how prevalent western metaphysical systems are in relation to narratives concerning indigenous peoples in the Americas. For example, the texts rely on western scientific rationales to legitimate their views of indigenous history. These examples are found universally in the instructional texts analyzed for this dissertation. There is no mention, or qualification, in any texts, that indigenous creation stories relate completely different accounts about origins and contain their own scientific thought (Cajete, 2000; Harding, 2003; Maffie, 2003). For instance, the Pueblo tribes' share emergence stories, which situate their origins from locations in the Southwest. To be sure indigenous metaphysics center relationships to place that inform being differently than the narratives included in the textbooks. In fact, many native peoples dismiss the notion of the land-bridge.

Peter Nabokov (2002) provides a telling example where a Navajo elder is asked to comment on his thoughts concerning land-bridge theory. The elder provides his answer through a translator, but the answer he provides repudiates the western theories promoted by the U.S. History instructional texts: "As for pathways from Western Alaska south, he said that, 'maybe some other guys came over like that, but us Navajos came a different way."" (p. 30). This tribal member's individual response to the landbridge theory relates back to his tribe's creation stories. Vine Deloria (1997) explains that "American Indians, as a general rule, have aggressively opposed the Bering Strait migration doctrine because it does not reflect any of the memories or traditions passed down by the ancestors over many generations" (p. 81).

Deloria (1997) elaborates that "some tribes speak of transoceanic migrations....and others speak of the experience of creation", while others "even talk about migrations from other planets" (p. 81). In addition, the consequences of promoting the land-bridge narrative are critical, as it has been used politically to challenge native sovereignty (Deloria, 1997). Anne Waters (2004) explains that the reasoning behind this theory promoted in segments of western science supposes that since Indians themselves migrated to these territories, indigenous peoples are thus only the earliest inhabitants, a perspective consistently reproduced by the U.S. history textbooks I examined. In spite of this, indigenous peoples maintain their own origin stories, and it is in these origins where indigenous peoples locate their rights to self-governance (Champagne, 2007b).

Exploring particular indigenous metaphysical frameworks provide more context for this position. For example, *Ni[ch' i,* place, or geographies are important elements in the Navajo creation story. McNeley (1997) provides an insight to the belief Navajos have concerning their origins:

At the place of emergence are four layers (worlds). They emerged with it (Wind) from there-the Holy People came out through twelve big reeds connected together. They came up from there with ceremonials. Wind exists from there, from way back then. It did not form recently (BY)" (p. 15).

Duane Champagne (2002) provides another example of how indigenous tribes view their relationship to geographic territory in relation to origins:

First and foremost, Mohave national identity and homeland were dreamed and sung realities. They emerged in the era of supernatural ancestors such as Frog, Serpent, and Buzzard, whose homes and exploits were commemorated in place names. Then human ancestors claimed these places, amalgamated them into a sacred geography, and through more dreaming and singing maintained communication with Frog and Buzzard's parallel plane of existence (p. 128).

Thus, U.S. History textbooks promote a position that is at odds with indigenous knowledge and accounts of creation and origins. This land-bridge narrative is presented as largely fact, and this is accomplished by including western scientific sources in order provide scientific backing. Western science, however, is a product of its western metaphysical origins, which many times dismiss indigenous knowledge as primitive and unreliable.

With regards to western scientific rationales, Sandra Harding (1998) illuminates that western science itself represents "...a delineation of distinctive characteristics of European culture and practices, including beliefs about nature and about sciences and technologies", or Europology (p. 56). Harold Booher (1998) in Deloria (2002) explains that "'modern science originated in the Western Judeo-Christian world rather than the pantheistic East because of a belief in a god that transcends nature and placed man in a similar kind of transcendence" (p. 14). Booher (1998) adds, ""[t]his allows man to *observe* objectively truth about nature" (p. 14). Moreover, Harding (1998) explains that an important cognitive core of western science is its claim to cultural or value neutrality and when this scientific approach is introduced or applied to other cultures "...it is experienced as a rude and brutal cultural intrusion" that devalues local or indigenous

knowledge systems and legitimizes "outside experts" (p. 61). Vine Deloria (2002) points out that with "science asserting that its answers to these questions [concerning origins and cosmology] are complete and accurate, we have inherited a strange body of doctrine that has limited our understanding considerably" (p. 15). With regards to the land-bridge narrative Deloria (1997) points out that "[m]ost scholars today simply begin with the *assumption* that the Bering Strait migration doctrine was proved a long time ago..." when in fact it has not been proven (p. 70).

In addition U.S. History textbooks promote narratives that are highly contested even within western circles, western science is consistently changing according to new methodologies, discoveries, and paradigms (Klein & Schiffner, 2003; National Academy of Sciences, 1993). While some textbooks such as the Nash (2007) textbook state: "Scientists disagree on when people first came to the Americas and how many settlements they rode" (p. 22). He nevertheless indicates that these migrations came over a land-bridge. Both the Appleby et. al. (2005) and Danzer (2006) texts have similar qualifications, stating that there are scientific debates concerning when the "first Americans" crossed the land-bridge. However, as the following Encyclopedia Smithsonian (2007) entry on Paleoamerican Origins articulates new perspectives on the ancient movement of peoples:

Recent discoveries in New World archaeology along with new scientific methods for analyzing data have led to new ideas regarding the origin of the first peoples of the Americas and their time of arrival.

The **traditional theory** held that the first Americans crossed the land bridge from Siberia to Alaska around 11,500 years ago and followed an "ice-

free corridor" between two large Canadian ice sheets (the Laurentide and Cordilleran) to reach unglaciated lands to the south. These first inhabitants, whose archaeological sites are scattered across North and South America, were called the Clovis people, named after the town in New Mexico where their fluted spear points used for hunting mammoth were first found in 1932.

There is now convincing evidence of human habitation sites that date earlier than the Clovis culture including sites located in South America. Monte Verde, a well-studied site located along a river near southern central Chile, dates 12,500 years ago. This site contains the buried remnants of dwellings, stone tools including large bifacial projectile points, and preserved medicinal and edible plants. How did people manage to settle this far south at such an early date? A coastal migration route is now gaining more acceptance, rather than the older view of small bands moving on foot across the middle of the land bridge between Siberia and Alaska and into the continents. Emerging evidence suggests that people with boats moved along the Pacific coast into Alaska and northwestern Canada and eventually south to Peru and Chile by 12,500 years ago—and perhaps much earlier [emphasis added] (Fitzhugh *et al.*, 2007)

As this simply entry describes, the land-bridge theory, while not dismissed is giving way to other theories. For example, a recent study has found evidence that indeed Polynesians may have landed on the coasts of the Americas, supporting perspectives of transoceanic voyages to the Americas pre Columbus, and disrupting unique land-bridge migrations (Storey *et al.*, 2007). Other theories support or examine the idea of transoceanic migrations to the Americas in general (Montenegro *et al.*, 2006)

Yet reliance on western scientific rationales represents an extension of western metaphysics as discussed in the chapter three. Western metaphysics go unnoticed by most because it is a normalized standpoint within the west, and textbooks are artifacts of this cultural process. Moreover the project of colonization imposed this system of knowledge and being upon peoples throughout the world through a variety of mechanisms, some of the most important being conversion to western religions (particularly Christianity), occupation of non-western lands, and the creation of whitesettler states. A variety of discourses and paradigms have been produced within the framework of western metaphysics including theology, science, and particular forms of politics, economics, and social order. From an indigenous standpoint, many scholars have written extensively on this system or world view (Ball, 2002; Cajete, 2000; Champagne, 1995; Deloria, 1979, 1992, 1997, 2002; Jojola, 2004; Smith, 2002). Therefore it is important to draw from the insights of these scholars and indigenous peoples in general in order to illuminate and make visible western metaphysical imprints. In the current example, it is important to make visible how textbooks reliance on western scientific theories as universal interpreters of truth in fact perpetuate specific cultural, or world-views about other peoples.

In this next section I examine how specific paradigms perpetuated territorial expansion by white settlers, pushed on by ideologies deeply formulated in western metaphysical assumptions.

2. Westward Expansion

Like pre-contact narratives universally contained in the U.S. History instructional texts examined, the narrative concerning westward expansion and settlement in the U.S. is ubiquitous in the materials examined. Westward expansion in the textbooks evaluated contains both **explicit** and **generated** categories. Specifically, explicit mention of Indians in relation to westward expansion has to do with the clash between white settlers and Indians as the settlers move west. Generated categories with regard to westward expansion, such as manifest destiny, do not explicitly mention Indians, but nevertheless manifest destiny represents a topic that clearly has great implications for Native Americans. The **missing** themes have to do with tribal, or indigenous perspectives, concerning westward expansion. These indigenous standpoints provide interesting counterpoints to the explicit and generated themes of westward expansion found in the texts. Again, the same western metaphysical components of origins, temporality, and ontology, developed in the pre-contact narratives, are repeated in this section. Regarding origins, the focus of this time period on westward expansion centers on the expansion of white European settlers within the North American continent and the inevitable movement and progress made by this expansion. Likewise linear and chronological methods chart settlers' expansions west, and the ontological focus remains anthropocentric.

a. Explicit Theme-Westward Expansion (White settlers clash with Indians)

Focusing on the same four instructional texts, the narratives of westward expansion deal at length with various episodes where Native American tribes and white settlers clash, specifically focusing on two time periods in which white settlers pushed west, the early and late 19th century. For example, Nash (1997) explains in the section titled "Territorial Expansion, November 7, 1805: Explorers Reach the Pacific Ocean":

Only 40 years earlier, the **frontier**—the shifting zone where colonist-controlled lands met Native American- controlled lands—began at the Appalachian Mountains. Over the next decades white settlers steadily displace Native Americans as they pushed this frontier westward (p. 130).

Nash (1997) describes that during this time, "the threat pioneers feared most, however,

was an attack from Native Americans" (p. 133). On the other hand, Nash (1997)

counters:

The greatest threat to Native Americans, in turn was white settlers. For more than 150 years Native Americans had watched a tide of settlers stream west, threatening their ways of life Usually, however, the conflicts between settlers and Native Americans arose over land.

In theory, the United States government insisted on respect for Native American land claims. In 1787 the Northwest Ordinance declared: 'The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed.'—The Northwest Ordinance, 1787

This well-intentioned promise proved flimsy, however, in the face of land-hungry settlers (pp. 133-134).

Nash (1997) further describes the impact of this early 19th century expansion on the Shawnee and the Cherokee, relating the story of Tecumseh and the Trail of Tears. Nash (1997) writes: "The Cherokee learned that many conflicts between white settlers and Native Americans were resolved using the written laws of the state governments...[t]hese efforts, however, did not protect the Cherokee from Southern whites who hungered to obtain Cherokee land to grow cotton" (p.135). He concludes, "the Cherokee were unable to stop the relentless westward advance of white people"

(ibid).

Nash's (1997) account of late 19th century expansion explores the conflict

between settlers and Native Americans in the Great Plains and Oklahoma and the

Homestead Act:

The success of the Oklahoma rush led the government to open more lands in the West. The following year, federal authorities authorized settlement on millions of acres of Sioux land in South Dakota. The government could not hold back the tide of eager settlers, and after 1900 thousands descended on the former Native American reservation (pp. 196-197).

Nash (1997) further describes that the opening of the west was enabled by the

completion of the transcontinental railroad, but the expansion of the railroad proved to

be disastrous for Native Americans:

The rapid settlement of the lands west of the Mississippi River after the Civil War led to a generation of violent conflict. Settlers fought the dozens of Native American nations that had inhabited these lands for generations.

In 1871 the federal government decreed that all Western Native American nations must agree to relocate to one of two reservation areas. The northern Plains nations were assigned to the western half of present-day South Dakota; the southern Plains nations were assigned to what is now Oklahoma.

Government policy, as well as military conflict with those who resisted, undermined Native American cultures. In 1871 the government ended the practice of treating each Native American nation separately. Under the new policy, Native Americans lost two rights. They could no longer negotiate treaties to protect their lands and they could no longer vote on laws governing their fate...

Some reformers compared this act [Dawes Act] to the Emancipation Proclamation: just as enslaved people were set free, so Native Americans would gradually gain citizenship...Within 20 years after the Dawes Act, Native Americans retained control of only 20 percent of their original reservation lands (pp. 200-201).

Nash's (1997) narrative concerning white settler expansion into the western territories

of the United States presents a dark time in the history of the United States, which

condemns white settlers for their "land hungry" actions and the inaction of the United

States in respecting treaties.

However, Nash (1997) also presents this aspect of American Indian history as

an inevitable result, as evidenced by the following excerpt:

A newspaper editor in that year summed up the prevailing feeling among the [white] settlers: 'Sympathy and sentiment never stand in the way of the onward march of empire.' The Oglala Sioux leader Red Cloud...expressed the corresponding Native American lament in 1870: 'When we first had all this land we were strong; now we are all melting like snow on the hillside, while you are growing like spring grass'" (p. 201).

These two accounts, one provided by a white settler, and one by a popularly featured

Native American leader, both express the idea that both white expansion and Native

American removal and termination were an inevitable result of the march of the

American nation.

Appleby, et. al. (2005) provide a similar narrative that begins with a description

of early white settler expansion:

By 1790 the area between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River had become the most rapidly growing region in the United States. Drawn by abundant land, fertile soil, wide rivers, and a wide variety of fish and game, Americans flocked to the region. In less than a decade, Kentucky had grown from a few hundred settlers to over 70,000, and in 1792, it became a state. Four years later, Tennessee became a state as well. In the meantime, other settlers were moving steadily west from Pennsylvania and Virginia into the Northwest Territory. The rise in white settlement led to confrontations with Native Americans in the region (p. 217).

In addition, Appleby, et al. (2005) describe the late 19th century surge of white settler

expansion into the west, focusing on the Native cultures of the plains.

As ranchers, miners, and farmers moved onto the Plains, they deprived Native Americans of their hunting grounds, broke treaties guaranteeing certain lands to the Plains Indians, and often forced them to relocate to new territory. Native Americans resisted by attacking wagon trains, stagecoaches, and ranches. Occasionally an entire group would go to war against nearby settlers and troops. The first major clash on the Plains began in 1862, when the Sioux people in Minnesota launched a major uprising (p. 426)

The authors describe conflicts between the white settlers and Sioux and Cheyenne tribes in particular. With regards to the impact that this settler expansion into the west had on native peoples, the authors explain that there were Americans who opposed the treatment of Indians by the U.S.:

Some Americans had long opposed the treatment of Native Americans. Author Helen Hunt Jackson described the years of broken promises and assaults on Native Americans in her book, *A Century of Dishonor*, published in 1881. Jackson's descriptions of events such as the massacre at Sand Creek sparked discussions—even in Congress—of better treatment for Native Americans (p. 430).

However, the recommendations of these concerned Americans, though is presented

uncritically:

Some people believed that the situation would improve only if Native Americans could assimilate, or be absorbed, into American society as landowners and citizens. That meant breaking up reservations into individual allotments, where families could become self-supporting.

This policy became law in 1887 when Congress passed the Dawes Act. This act allotted to each head of household 160 acres of reservation land for farming...The land that remained after all members and received allotments would be sold to American settlers, with the proceeds going into a trust for Native Americans.

This plan failed to achieve its goals. Some Native Americans succeeded as farmers or ranchers, but many had little training or enthusiasm for either pursuit. ...

In the end, the assimilation policy proved a dismal failure. No legislation could provide a satisfactory solution to the Native American issue, because there was no entirely satisfactory solution to be had. The Plains Indians were doomed because they were dependent on buffalo for food, clothing, fuel, and shelter. When the herds were wiped out, Native Americans on the Plains had no way to sustain their way of life, and few were willing or able to adopt American setters' lifestyles in place of their traditional cultures (p. 430).

Appleby, et. al's (2005) discussion of the impact of westward expansion and ensuing

U.S. policy towards Indians echoes Nash's (1997) accounts, providing specific

examples of European settlers encountering various tribes as the whites pressed west.

However, it does not provide a critical account of the policies enacted upon Indians and

the beliefs that drove them.

Danzer, et. al (2006) offer analogous narratives in the text *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century*, beginning with early 19th century settler expansion into the west:

As various presidents established policies in the early 19th century that expanded U.S. territory, American settlers pushed first into the Northwest Territory and then headed farther west.

For a quarter century after the War of 1812, only a few Americans explored the West. Then, in the 1840s, expansion fever gripped the country. Many Americans began to believe that their movement westward was predestined by God. The phrase "manifest destiny" expressed the belief that the United States was ordained to expand to the Pacific Ocean and into Mexican and Native American territory. Many Americans also believed that this destiny was manifest, or obvious and inevitable" (pp. 130-131).

In this case Manifest Destiny is linked to the westward expansion into Native American

territory, but it does so in an uncritical way.

Danzer et al. (2006) describe that in the late 19th century the tide of western

expansion was propelled by differing belief systems. In chapter 5, "Changes on the

Western Frontier", Danzer, et al. devote a section, "Cultures Clash on the Prairie" on

the interactions and clashes between white settlers and the Indians of the great plains.

They describe Native American cultural life in brief detail:

Native Americans on the plains usually lived in small extended family groups with ties to other bands that spoke the same language...The Plains Indian tribes believed that powerful spirits controlled events in the natural world....Despite their communal way of life, however, no individual was allowed to dominate

the group. The leaders of a tribe ruled by counsel rather than by force, and land was held in common for the use of the whole tribe (p. 203).

Danzer, et al. (2006) go on to distinguish Native American land usage from that of

white settlers:

The culture of the white settlers differed in many ways from that of the Native Americans on the plains. Unlike Native Americans, who believed that land could not be owned, the settlers believed that owning land, making a mining claim, or starting a business would give them a stake in the country. They argued that Native Americans had forfeited their rights to the land because they hadn't settled down to "improve" it. Concluding that the plains were "unsettled," migrants streamed westward along railroad and wagon trails to claim the land (p. 203).

In addition, the authors relate that white settlers were driven by economic incentives

created by the discovery of gold in the west.

The authors explain that the increased number of settlers, spurred by

government policy, infrastructural development, and cultural attitudes set the stage for

increased number of conflicts between settlers and Indians:

While allowing more settlers to move westward, the arrival of the railroads also influenced the government's policy toward the Native Americans who lived on the plains. In 1834, the federal government had passed an act that designated the entire Great Plains as one enormous reservation, or land set aside for Native American tribes. In the 1850s, however, the government changed its policy and created treaties that defined specific boundaries for each tribe. Most Native Americans spurned the government treaties and continued to hunt on their traditional lands, clashing with settlers and miners—with tragic results (p. 204).

Like Appleby, et al. (2005), Danzer, et al. (2006) describe the same battles and skirmishes between the settlers and the Cheyenne (massacre at Sand Creek), Sioux (Bozeman Trail, Wounded Knee), Comanche (Red River war) and others, maintaining a partiality towards plains Indian representation.

Danzer, et al. (2006), like Appleby et al. (2005), also include content on Helen

Hunt Jackson, the representative figure of Americans unhappy with the treatment of Native Americans: "The Native Americans still had supporters in the United States, and debate over the treatment of Native Americans continued. The well-known writer Helen Hunt Jackson, for example, exposed the government's many broken promises in her 1881 book *A Century of Dishonor*" (206). Like Appleby et. al. (2005), Danzer, et. al.

(2006) point out that

At the same time many sympathizers supported assimilation, a plan under which Native Americans would give up their beliefs and way of life and become part of the white culture.

...The Dawes Act. In 1887, Congress passed the Dawes Act aiming to "Americanize" the Native Americans. The act broke up the reservations and gave some of the reservation land to individual Native Americans—160 acres to each head of household and 80 acres to each unmarried adult. The government would sell the remainder of the reservations to settlers, and the resulting income would be used by Native Americans to buy farm implements. By 1932, whites had taken about two-thirds of the territory that had been setaside for Native Americans. In the end, the Native Americans received no money from the sale of these lands." (pp. 206-207).

Danzer, et. al end this section, mentioning the Battle of Wounded knee, stating, "[t]his

event... brought the Indian wars—and an entire era—to a bitter end" (p. 208).

The Cayton, et al. (2002) textbook provides a similar lengthy narrative concerning westward expansion, examining early and late 19th century expansion. The authors explain that as trappers and traders explored the west, they brought back with them "tales" of land that "encouraged thousands of American to begin pushing westward into Texas, New Mexico, California, and Oregon" (p. 76), but this expansion

into the west resulted in tense encounters and conflicts with Native Americans.

Cayton et. al (2002) describe the first wave of this push west:

Throughout the early history of the United States, treaty upon treaty was made and broken with Native Americans. Then in 1830 congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which allowed the President to move eastern Indian peoples to lands west of the Mississippi River. Over the next ten years, most eastern Native Americans were driven west.

One of the groups forced west during this time was the Cherokee... and in 1837 and 1838, the United States Army gathered about 15,000 Cherokee and forced them to migrate west...

Although the United States had proclaimed all land west of the 95th meridian to be "Indian Country," Native Americans would soon find that this offered them no protection. Thousands of white settlers continued to pour into Oregon, California, and other western regions. Meanwhile, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, created to deal with Native American issues, tried to "extinguish" Native American land claims through treaties and yearly payments. By the 1850s the government increasingly championed the idea of forcing Indians onto reservations." (p. 77)

Cayton et al. (2002) also describe the westward movement of the late 19th century and

the beliefs that drove the settlers:

For generations, many Americans viewed the West as a wild, empty expanse, freely available to those brave enough to tame it. But the West was not empty. Other had been living there for centuries....

...Following the Civil War, the railroad companies began pushing their way deeper into the West. With each mile of track laid, the Native Americans' chances for survival became bleaker. The Plains soon swarmed with settlers, many of whom felt justified in taking Native American lands. Settlers believed they had a greater right to the land because they improved it by producing more food and wealth than did the Native Americans (p. 180).

The authors attempt to provide a Native American perspective, adding: "To Native

Americans, on the other hand, the oncoming settlers were simply invaders. The Indian

peoples wanted to continue to live off their lands as they had been doing, free of the

influence of outsiders" (p. 180). They continue:

Some Native Americans tried to initiate friendly contacts. Others, however, resisted violently. Many groups, realizing that they were outgunned and outnumbered, eventually signed treaties that sold their lands. These nations accepted federal government demands that they live within reservations, or federal lands set-aside for Native Americans.

Often these agreements fell apart. One reason was that many had been signed without the full approval of the affected Indian groups. In addition, Native Americans and white settlers had widely different concepts of owning land. When Native Americans signed treaties, they often did not realize that settlers would not let them continue using the land. Isolated acts of violence on both sides set off cycles of revenge and counter-revenge." (p. 180).

While Cayton et al. (2002) attempt to provide a Native perspective, it is limited and

generalized to all Native Americans, and they do not explore the reasons white settlers

and tribes approached and understood their relationships to land differently.

Cayton et al. (2002) go on to describe what they call "the final destruction" of

Native American groups describing the defeat of the Cheyenne, and Sioux, continuing

the focus on Plains tribes, supplementing it with the defeats of the Navajo and Apache.

In this textbook, we again find Helen Hunt Jackson, but the authors do make the point

that while people condemned the treatment of American Indians they nevertheless

continued to hold negative views about Indians:

As sincere as reformers were, however most believed that Native Americans still needed to be "civilized." Christian missionaries, who ran schools on the reservations, shared this belief. The government supported this opinion and passed a criminal code in 1884 forbidding Indians to practice their religion.

Other reformers sought to break Native American traditions by requiring Indians to farm individual plots. The Dawes Act of 1887 gave separate plots of

land to each Native American family headed by a male. Much of the land was not suitable for farming, however, and many Native Americans had no interest or experience in agriculture. Many simply sold their lands to speculators..." (p. 182) Cayton, et al. (2002) explain that government policies, such as homesteading increased the number of settlers into Indian territory:

For the nearly 70 Indian nations that had been forced into Indian Territory, worse was to come. Following the Civil War, a flood of settlers began to enter the territory. Many were squatters, tempted by the territory's farmland.

Although Native Americans protested and the government tried to stop them, squatters continued to come. Other would-be settlers pressured Congress to allow legal settlement in the territory. In 1889 Congress responded, opening for homesteading nearly 2 million acres in Indian Territory that had not been assigned to Native Americans (p. 183)

Arguably this passage minimizes the fault of the U.S. Government in opening up Indian territory, proposing that Congress was merely responding to the pressure of settlers, instead of acknowledging that the interests of Congress and the settlers were one in the same.

While the U.S. history textbooks vary in detail regarding the impacts of westward expansion they do articulate the reality that Native Americans were displaced, many times violently, as a function of this. This displacement was encouraged by ideologies and policies that facilitated expansionism. The narrative of westward expansion is told from the Eurocentric perspective, with a limited attempt to include Native viewpoints (however hegemonic). In addition, the textbooks point out that White settlers and Indians had differing views regarding land, but they fail to explore the reasons for these differing cultural attitudes. In addition they fail to critically engage how the settler cultural attitude shaped and defined policies that were detrimental for Indian peoples.

b. Generated Theme-Westward Expansion (Manifest Destiny)

Coupling the **explicit** categories of westward expansion with the **generated** categories of the same time period provides a larger and more intimate portrait of western metaphysical approaches in history. For example, within the **generated** category of westward expansion, I found U.S. History textbooks point to the role of Manifest Destiny in promoting westward expansion. In this regard, implicit in the narratives of westward expansion is the foundational ideology of the frontier. Martinez (1998) argues that "the frontier myth embodied the nineteenth-century concept of Manifest Destiny, a doctrine that served to justify expansionist violence by means of intrinsic racial superiority" (p. 45); manifest destiny is thus the belief that white expansion was a necessary component of progress, which stood in opposition to the backwardness of Indians that needed to be removed (Martinez, 1998).

Gary Nash (1997) writes on the subject of Manifest Destiny:

American settlers were flooding into territories throughout the country. Settler in foreign-owned territories such as Oregon, Texas, and California wanted a government of their own, and they wanted to be part of the United States....James K. Polk was the settlers' champion. When Polk ran for President in 1844, he warmly supported expansionism, the process of increasing the territory of the United States. After his election, Polk set out to gain Oregon as well as the Southwest. Polk and many other Americans supported the concept of **Manifest Destiny**—the notion that the United States was a superior country and had a right to invade, conquer and occupy the North American continent and beyond [emphasis added] (p. 219).

The Appleby, et. al. (2005) textbook states:

In 1845 a magazine editor named John Louis O'Sullivan declared that it was the "**manifest destiny**" of Americans "to overspread the continent allotted by Providence...." Many Americans believed in this concept of **Manifest**

Destiny—the idea that God had given the content to Americans and wanted them to settle western lands" [emphasis added] (pp. 294-295).

Danzer, et. al. (2006) echo:

Many Americans began to believe that their movement westward was predestined by God. The phrase "**manifest destiny**" expressed the belief that the United States was ordained to expand to the Pacific Ocean and into Mexican and Native American territory. Many Americans also believed that this destiny was manifest, or obvious and inevitable (p. 130).

Interestingly, Cayton, et al. (2002) description of manifest destiny immediately follows

the section titled, "Native Americans lose their land." However, there is no explicit link

made between the mentioned section, and the section on manifest destiny. Regarding

manifest destiny, Cayton et al. (2002) state:

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, some Americans dreamed of continental empire stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They believed that the United States had a divine mission to spread liberty across the continent. A New York journalist named John L. O'Sullivan neatly captured this sense of mission when he coined the phrase **manifest destiny**. O'Sullivan claimed it was the nation's "manifest destiny" to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent [emphasis added] (p. 77).

While a student may be able to connect the ideology of manifest destiny to the displacement of Native Americans (and other groups such as Mexicans in the Southwest), the overall nature of the discussion in the textbooks concerning manifest destiny does not make this connection clear. Furthermore, the texts examined many times mitigate the injustice of white settlement in Native territory by claiming it was inevitable as settlers had practical reasons motivated by economics and abundance of land available in "new" territories.

c. Missing Themes-Native Perspectives

What are **missing** from the westward expansion narratives contained in the texts are the perspectives of tribes, or indigenous peoples, with regard to these territorial intrusions. In addition, missing are indigenous perspectives concerning the chronological approach to the narration of westward expansion. The insights provided by these passages do not link up how these past wrongs continue to benefit white settler society today, promoting a disconnect between past wrongs and today's reality. In essence these insights promote the narrow perspective identified by studies decades old (Costo & Henry, 1970; Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977a; C. H. Swanson, 1977). In this way, the textbooks perpetuate settler-perspectivism, which functions to legitimize the conquest and occupation of Indian lands, minimizing past acts that are key in forging a cohesive national identity that obfuscates the genocide, removal, and taking of Indian peoples and lands that to this day continue to reward settler society. As Olund (2002) argues the "project of removal and reterritorialization of Native people and land is the history of any modern settler state. It marks the crucial difference between settler colonialism and overseas imperialism...Yet, like its overseas cousins, American 'internal' colonialism was and still is a project of bringing indigenous people into the orbit of Western history" (p. 132).

For example, in the discussions of westward expansionism, the reliance on specific ways of dealing with history, fail to connect the origins of expansionism to foundational tenets of western world-views, such as Christianity, Enlightenment and the belief in white supremacy. For this reason it is important to pair how the U.S. History instructional texts **explicitly** deal with Native American history as it relates to the U.S., to the findings in the **generated** category. In addition, the textbooks do little to connect leading ideologies of expansionism, such as Manifest Destiny to the displacement of Native Americans. The concept of Manifest Destiny, "the idea that God had given the content to Americans and wanted them to settle western lands" (Appleby *et al.*, 2005), was part of a larger discourse of the frontier, that continue to shape Americans' perceptions of themselves (Fredrickson, 1997). Frederick Jackson Turner (1893), historian and author of the popularly called "Turner thesis", advanced the idea that the settlement of the West produced a cohesive American national identity—a melting pot of European immigrants that came together to form the rugged, individualist American, champion of democracy. Turner's (1893) thesis is a key component of the building of 'new American' identity of settlerism. With regard to the territories of the West, Jackson (1893) famously stated: "The most significant thing about the American frontier is , that it lies at the hither edge of free land" (p. 3).

This "closing" of the American frontier, is central to settler perspectivism, and settler national identity. Anderson Olund (2002) again provides a provocative analysis that applies here, explaining "Indians could only become Americans if 'lawless' Indian Country were actively reconstituted as a governable space comprising individual, private properties" (p. 133). The governable space during the period of westward expansion in the 19th century was east of the frontier line, defined by Nash (1997) as the "shifting zone where colonist-controlled lands met Native American-controlled lands"

(p. 13). In order to open Indian territories to settler expansions, the textbooks describe that a series of governmental action and inaction created the means with which to achieve the opening of these territories. Olund (2002) maintains, that "[t]o this end, Indian reformers, including those working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, pursued a legislative agenda [Major Crimes Act of 1885 & Dawes Act of 1887] of extending US judicial sovereignty over reservations and allotting the land to individuals, transformations that could only make sense in terms of one another" (p. 133). Although the textbooks do not reference the Major Crimes Act, they do provide passages relating how the Dawes Act was used to discourage Indian culture through the breaking apart of reservation lands. Olund (2002) concludes that these "...acts mark a particular transformation in the geography of American colonialism from one of displacement and segregation to that of governance and individuation, a transformation that enabled the erasure of conquest from the discourse of American liberal governance" (p. 133). This gave way to the frontier myth and an American national identity, free from the baggage of the Indian problem, which I identify as White Settler Nationalism (WSN).

Similarly, both the **explicit** and **generated** themes relating to westward expansion are **missing** how the ideologies that promulgated expansionism are a reflection of western metaphysics. For this reason the discourse of the land-bridge theme, cannot be separated from the ideological underpinnings of manifest destiny that promoted westward expansion. Taken together, these narratives serve as a psychological excuse, on top of the ideological and territorial excuses mentioned above, to legitimate the removal of Indians from these territories. Vine Deloria (1997) explains that Americans "want to believe that the Western Hemisphere, and more particularly North America, was a vacant, unexploited fertile land waiting to be put under cultivation according to God's holy dictates" (pp. 67-68). In conjunction with this belief, Deloria (1997) argues "is the idea that American Indians were not original inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere" (p. 68). Therefore, if Indians were immigrants, then "they had no *real* claim to land that could not be swept away by European discovery" (Ibid).

Textbooks, explicitly in some cases and implicit in others, retain the problematic biases found in early textbooks. Although, these biases may not utilize the same terminology, the connection can be made between Deloria's (1997) insights and Vogel's (1968) work. For example, while current textbooks condemn the treatment and displacement of Native Americans, they manufacture a sort of disconnect between past actions and current privileges enjoyed by white settler society. This disconnect is synonymous with the second school of historical treatment of Indians, defined by Vogel (1968) as disembodiment—acknowledgement of "the existence of the Indian, but only as a subhuman nomad, a part of the fauna belonging to the wilderness yet to be conquered; in short, a troublesome obstacle to be overcome" (p. 18). It can be directly linked to Costo and Henry's (1970) findings that textbooks present white settler expansion as an inevitable result of progress—a manifest destiny.

The ideological underpinnings of concepts such as manifest destiny laid the historical foundations for a white settler ideology, indeed WSN that allowed not only for the displacement of American Indians, but also for Jim Crow laws and segregation, and the displacement of Mexicans following the 1845 Texas annexation, and the 1848 cession of Mexican lands to the United States. Interestingly, two bodies of Supreme Court law developed in relation to African-Americans (subsequently racial minorities) and American Indians, Civil Rights and Federal Indian law respectively. While indigenous peoples view their rights to self-government originating from their creation teachings (Champagne, 2007b), the U.S. government perceives these rights to be granted by a series of treaties and law (Wilkins, 1994; Williams, 1990). Even though the U.S. has made this distinction, albeit through its own rule of law and not that of indigenous peoples, U.S. history textbooks fail to address this, opting instead to present Indians as minorities.

3. Civil Rights

U.S. History textbooks overwhelmingly address Native Americans in the modern period in the sections dealing with minority movements for equality. Specifically, the context of minority rights is framed within the discourse of the Civil Rights Movement. While the term minority rights is used to explicitly describe responses to Civil Rights, the notion of equality **generatively** speaks to the broader ideas encompassed by the Civil Rights movement, that while not explicitly mentioned

in regard to Native Americans, necessarily impact them. The **missing** category continues with the trend found in pre-contact and westward expansion periods. Missing from the texts are indigenous perspectives concerning minority rights and equality. Certainly, Native American movements for indigenous rights were shaped and buttressed by the African American Civil Rights and other movements for equality, yet the framing of Native Americans as minorities excludes a more involved discussion that articulates Native American sovereignty and cultural notions of nationhood. Like the time periods of pre-contact and westward expansion described above, the civil rights narratives contained in the textbooks strictly adhere to western metaphysical perspectives of origins, time, and ontology. Regarding origins, the framing remains within the settler-state, affirming settler state mechanisms, which define ontology through legal mechanisms, such as civil rights. These origins and ontological forms remain anthropocentric, leaving little room for indigenous informed metaphysics.

a. Explicit Theme-Civil Rights (Minority Rights)

U.S. history textbooks begin with detailed reviews of the African-American Civil Rights movement. Following the chapters or sections on Civil Rights, the instructional texts generally follow with narratives concerning "other" movements for equality, including the women's liberation movement, Latino, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans, which they describe [excepting women] as minority right's movements. In addition, Native Americans are treated as "protestors", affirming the decades old study by the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977), Stereotypes Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks.

With regards to form and knowledge compartmentalization, the Nash (1997) textbook is organized in the following way: Unit 8-Toward Equality and Social Reform. This unit is divided into three chapters: Chapter 20-The Civil Rights Struggle; Chapter 21-The Kennedy-Johnson years; and Chapter 22-Voices of Protest. Chapter 22, in particular, is organized according to three sections, which examine the "Revival of Feminism", Hispanic American Organizing, and Land Claims of Native Americans. Appleby, et. al's. (2005) text similarly places Native Americans within the context of protest and civil rights in Chapter 31 titled, "The Politics of Protest, 1960-1980", which includes sections on the student movement, the feminist movement, and "New Approaches to Civil Rights". In this chapter, Native American movements are examined in the "New Approaches to Civil Rights" section that describes both "Hispanic Americans" and "Native Americans" organizing. Similarly, the Danzer, et. al. (2006) textbook examines Native Americans during this time period in the chapter titled "An Era of Social Change", in the first section titled, "Latinos and Native Americans Seek Equality". This section on Latinos and Native Americans is followed by the section heading, "Women Fight for Equality". Finally, in the Cayton et al. (2002) textbook Native Americans are included in the chapter " Other Social Movements, 1960-1975", which is divided into three sections: 1. The Women's Movement; 2. Ethnic

Minorities Seek Equality (subsections, the Latino Population, Asian Americans Fight Discrimination); and 3.Native American Struggles.

While some texts point out that Native Americans sought autonomy during this time period, occupied a unique legal status in the United States, and were not immigrants (in the modern sense), the texts nevertheless reaffirm a primary minority status of Native Americans. Nash's (1997) textbook *American Odyssey: The United States in the 20th Century* states:

As with Hispanic Americans, assimilation was an issue among Native Americans and a factor in government decisions for several decades. Unlike other minorities [emphasis added], Native Americans had never been immigrants, for they were already here when Europeans first colonized the country (p. 743).

One can ascertain from this statement, that Native Americans, despite their immigrant

or non-immigrant status, continue to be minorities. Furthermore, while Nash (1997)

states Native Americans are not immigrants, he continues to affirm the western view

that Native Americans migrated to this territory before the Europeans arrived, though

Nash (1997) does introduce the concept of self-determination:

...Many Native Americans did not want to blend their traditional cultures with the American mainstream. They wanted self-determination, the opportunity to participate themselves in the political and economic decisions that affected their lives" (p. 743).

Even as Nash (1997) addresses self-determination, he frames it as participation in the

U.S. political and economic process, and he does not address Native views of selfdetermination. The Appleby, et. al. (2005) text utilizes similar accounts describing Native Americans as protestors within this period of U.S. history. First the narrative frames Native Americans as a minority group: "Using the **civil rights movement** as a model, women, Hispanic Americans, and **Native Americans** also organized to gain greater recognition and equality" [emphasis added] (p. 918). In section 3 titled "Native Americans Raise their Voices", the textbook states:

Native Americans in 1970 were one of the nation's **smallest minority groups**, constituting less than one percent of the U.S. population. Few minority groups, however, had more justifiable grievances than the descendants of America's original inhabitants...Most urban Native Americans suffered from discrimination and from limited education and training. The bleakest statistic of all showed that life expectancy among Native Americans was almost seven years below the national average. To improve conditions, many Native Americans began organization in the late 1960s and 1970s [emphasis added] (p. 936).

While the authors clarify that Native Americans are the original inhabitants of the United States this is qualified as "descendants of Americas original inhabitants", placing primary emphasis on belonging to the United States and not their own tribal nations. Appleby, et. al. (2005), like Nash (2007) do include language concerning self-determination:

Unlike **other groups** demanding more assimilation into mainstream society, many Native Americans wanted greater independence from it. They took a step toward this goal in 1968 when Congress passed the Indian Civil Rights Act. It guaranteed reservation residents the protections of the Bill of Rights, but it also recognized the legitimacy of local reservation law [emphasis added] (pp. 936-937).

While this represents a more detailed discussion of native self-determination, it nevertheless falls short of explaining sovereignty, nationhood, and Native cultural views

of tribal life. Nevertheless, Native Americans are firmly located within the discourse of "other groups", or minorities in the Appleby, et. al. (2005) textbook, qualified as minorities who want to maintain some independence form American society.

Danzer et. al. (2006) maintain this position of Natives as minorities in a section titled, "Native Americans Struggle for Equality":

As are Latinos, Native Americans are sometimes viewed as a single homogeneous group, despite the hundreds of distinct Native American tribes and nations in the United States. One thing that these diverse tribes and nations have share is a mostly bleak existence in the United States and a lack of autonomy, or ability to control and govern their own lives. Through the years, many Native Americans have clung to their heritage, refusing to assimilate, or blend, into mainstream society...Despite their cultural diversity, Native Americans as a group have been the poorest of Americans and have suffered from the highest unemployment rate [emphasis added] (p. 771).

This passage makes clear that the authors are treating Native Americans as a minority group, akin to Latinos and subject to the same issues of cultural continuity and assimilation. It is also interesting to note some of the negative descriptors used by the authors concerning Native life in the U.S., including "bleak existence" and "Native Americans have "clung to their heritage".

As is typical of the other texts, Danzer, et. al. (2006) include narratives

on Indians as protestors, like Latinos, African-Americans and women:

Voices of Protest. Many young Native Americans were dissatisfied with the slow pace of reform. Their discontent fueled the growth of the American Indian Movement (AIM), an often militant Native American rights organization. While AIM began in 1968 largely as a self-defense group against police brutality, it soon branched out to include protecting the rights of large native American populations in northern and western states. For some, this new activism meant demanding that Native American lands, burial grounds, and fishing and timber rights be restored. Others wanted a new respect for their culture..." (pp. 771-772).

It seems that Danzer, et. al. (2006) continue to attach negative descriptors to describe Native Americans' social protest activity, including, militant and violent. Important in these passages, though, Danzer, et.al., (2006) do include specific indigenous issues such as fishing and timber rights, and as demonstrated below, the honoring of treaty rights:

Confronting the Government. In its early years, AIM, as well as other groups, actively—and sometimes violently—confronted the government. In 1972, AIM leader Russell Means organized the "Trail of Broken Treaties" march in Washington, D.C., to protest the U.S. government's treaty violations throughout history (p. 772).

In addition, Danzer, et. al. (2006) include content that speaks to Indian self-

determination, and their status as nations:

Congress and the federal courts did make some reforms on behalf of Native Americans. In 1972, Congress passed the Indian Education Act. In 1975, it passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. These laws gave tribes greater control over their own affairs and over their children's education...Armed with copies of old land treaties that the U.S. government had broken, Native Americans went to federal court and regained some of their rights to land...Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Native Americans won settlements that provided legal recognition of their tribal lands as well as financial compensation (pp. 772-773).

While the content seems to demonstrate sensitivity to important issues of Indian

self-determination, such as treaty rights, the authors nevertheless remind the

reader that Indians are minorities. The following sentence directly follows the

previous quote:

...While the 1960s and the early 1970s saw a wave of activism from the **nation's minority groups**, another group of Americans also pushed for changes. Women, while not a minority group, were in many ways treated like

second-class citizens, and many joined together to demand equal treatment in society [emphasis added] (p. 773).

Like Danzer et al. (2006), Cayton et al. (2002) does state that Native Americans

occupy a unique status in the United States. Cayton et al. (2002) describe this unique

status, in more detail than the other texts:

As the original inhabitants of North America, Native Americans occupied a unique social and legal position. Although Indian cultures and languages varied among peoples, white society viewed them as one group. By 1871 the United States no longer recognized Indian nations as independent powers. It did not, however, extend Native Americans full citizenship.

From the 1800s on, government agencies limited self-government for Native Americans and often worked to erase their traditional lifestyles. Not until the Snyder Act of 1924 was citizenship granted to all Native Americans born in the United States. After 1924 Native Americans were recognized as citizens of both the United States and their own nations or tribal groups (p. 601).

However this is prefaced with the following:

Native Americans made up another **minority group** that was inspired by the civil rights movement to seek equality and control over their own lives. Shifting government policies had caused Native Americans great suffering over the years. Activists began using legal challenges and direct action to reach their goals [emphasis added](p. 601).

By prefacing the description of Native Americans unique status with the statement that

Native Americans are minorities, Cayton (2002) affirm that Indians are minorities with

interesting legal relationships.

Cayton et al. (2002) continue:

As a whole, Native Americans have routinely been denied equal opportunities. Many states refused to give them the vote until pushed by Native American communities. It was not until 1948 that Arizona and New Mexico granted Indians the right to vote. Native Americans had higher rates of unemployment, alcoholism, and suicide, as well as a shorter life expectancy, than white Americans. Many communities have suffered from poverty and poor living conditions. Like other **non-white groups**, Native Americans have been the victims of centuries-old stereotypes reinforced by the images in movies and other media [emphasis added] (p. 601).

In this context, Cayton et al. (2002) suggest the plight of Native Americans is very

similar to the plight of African-Americans, and other minority groups presented in the

textbook.

Similarly, like other minorities, key figures, or protestors are featured in the

Cayton, et al.(2002) textbook.

One of the primary activist movements was started in Minneapolis in 1968 by Dennis Banks and George Mitchell, both Chippewa...The new organization came to be called the **American Indian Movement (AIM)**. It originally focused on the special problems of Native Americans living in the cities. Following the example of militant black groups, AIM set up Native American patrols to monitor street activity...Eventually AIM's goals broadened to include the protection of Native American legal rights. They began to fight for autonomy, or self-government, with respect to local matters, especially natural resources... (p. 602).

Like Danzer (2006), Cayton et al. (2002) follow the description of aim with the following statement: "Many people, both white and Native American, criticized AIM's militant approach" (p. 603). Furthermore, the Cayton et al. (2002) textbook explains

that

Native American activism brought some responses from the government...A number of laws passed in the 1970s favored Native American rights. The Indian Education Act of 1972 gave parents and tribal councils more control over schools and school programs. The Indian Self-Determination Act of 1974 upheld Native American autonomy...Native Americans also continued to win legal battles to regain land, mineral, and water rights (p. 605).

Cayton et al. (2002) are much more inclusive of issues of Indian self-determination, mentioning the policies that respected this position. Yet, despite this, Native Americans are nevertheless explicitly named a minority group, who have some unique rights, but ultimately seek the same type of rights and goals as other minorities, namely equality. For this reason, the notion of equal treatment, with regards to American Indians, demands further exploration.

b. Generated Theme: Civil Rights (Equality)

Although I did not find substantial content in the Nash (1997) and Appleby et. al., (2005) discussions of Civil Rights with regards to Native Americans, what I did find presents substantial insights. For example, Nash (1997) states the following: "Meanwhile, other minorities who also thought of themselves as disenfranchised looked to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and the 1960s as a model for their own efforts" (695). Coupled with Nash's (1997) grouping of Indians as minorities in the narratives cited earlier, it is clear, that this statement refers to Indians as well. Similarly, the Appleby, et. al. (2005) textbook, as indicated in the section above, explicitly links Native Americans to the goals of the civil rights movement. Regarding civil rights and the idea of equality, Appleby, et. al. (2005) write the following apparently neutral statement regarding equality: "Equal Treatment. All Americans, **regardless of race**, religion, or political beliefs, have the right to be treated the same under the law" [emphasis added] (p. 186). As with Nash (1997), this latter statement, coupled with the Appleby, et. al. (2006) categorization of Indians as a racialized minority, indicates that Indians, like other minorities, are Americans and therefore have the right to the same protection under the law. While this is not a negative statement, it nevertheless hints to deeper assumptions about American Indians.

While the narrative describing the Civil Rights movement seems benign, it nevertheless generates ideas and concepts that are applied to Native peoples, in ways that are many times at odds with Native political, economic, and cultural realities. Danzer, et. al (2006) describe the Civil Rights movement as follows:

The Civil Rights Movement was successful in changing many discriminatory laws. Yet as the 1960s turned to the 1970s, the challenges for the movement changed. The issues it confronted—housing and job discrimination, educational inequality, poverty, and racism—involved the difficult task of changing people's attitudes and behavior (p. 722).

Danzer, et. al. (2006) later add how this movement for equity influenced other

minority groups: "Minority groups assert their equal rights, demanding changes

to long-standing practices and prejudices" (p. 767). Cayton et al. (2002) describe

equality with regards to one of the central delivery mechanisms of equality-

citizenship:

From the 1800s on, government agencies limited self-government for Native Americans and often worked to erase their traditional lifestyles. Not until the Snyder Act of 1924 was **citizenship** granted to all Native Americans born in the United States. After 1924 Native Americans were recognized as **citizens** of both the United States and their own nations or tribal groups.

As a whole, Native Americans have routinely been denied **equal opportunities.** Many states refused to give them the vote until pushed by Native American communities. It was not until 1948 that Arizona and New Mexico granted Indians the right to vote [emphasis added](p. 601).

But as Cayton et al. remind us, "Native Americans made up another minority group that was inspired by the civil rights movement to seek **equality** and

control over their own lives" [emphasis added] (601). When coupled with the explicit treatment of minority groups and rights, it becomes clear why these discourses serve to inculcate in students that American Indians are minority groups, who may have some differing legal rights, but ultimately are a part of the larger fabric of the United States.

c. Missing Themes: Native Perspectives (Sovereignty)

As demonstrated Indian perspectives concerning civil rights and notions of equality are missing from the textbooks. Specifically, indigenous notions of selfdetermination and sovereignty, if mentioned, do not attempt to define what sovereignty is. Tribal sovereignty has to do on the one hand, "with a tribe's right to retain a measure of independence from outside entities and the power of regulating one's internal affairs, including the ability to make and execute laws, to impose and collect taxes, and to make alliances with other governments" (Wilkins, 2002; p. 48). However, Wilkins (2002) clarifies this nation-nation relationship is not based on legal rights and relationships with federal and state governments. Rather, he insists "tribal sovereignty has a unique cultural and spiritual dimension which differentiates it from the sovereign power of a state or the federal government" (p. 48). Champagne (2007b) provides further insight, explaining that the "roots of American Indian self-government ... precede the treaties and the formation of the U.S. Constitution. American Indian nations are not parties to the U.S. Constitution, and therefore not part of the original consensus that is American government" (Champagne, 2007b). Unlike racialized minorities, who are party to the U.S. Constitution, David Wilkins (1994) continues, "...Indians' legal status, then, derives from their recognized citizenship in a tribal nation, a status no other minority group can claim" (p. 2).³⁷

American Indian insistence to self-determination and self-government are vitally important on multiple levels, and the fact that U.S. History textbooks insist on treating Indians as minorities presents challenges for Indians. Champagne (2005b) explains this in further detail:

Native communities predate the formation of modern nation-states and predate the arrival of settler colonists by thousands of years. Native communities have governed themselves from time immemorial and have maintained independent institutions, cultures, and territories. Native peoples seek to preserve their territory and rights to self-government, and want to continue and develop their institutions, culture, religion, and governments. Native communities have found it difficult to follow the usual paths of assimilation and integration chosen by most immigrant-settler communities. Native peoples insist on rights to land and self-government that are highly unusual and outside the theory of the formation and growth of nation-states. The treating of indigenous peoples as ethnic or racial groups ready for nation-state assimilation and integration has resulted in considerable abuse and much resistance from Native peoples (pp. 3-4).

This treatment of indigenous peoples as "ethnic or racial groups," or minorities, is reproduced in the textbooks examined above. It is not a mistake that Indians are treated as minorities. In fact, as demonstrated in the introduction, it has been a consistent policy of the United Sates to assimilate Indians. The following excerpt from President Ronald Reagan's 1988 speech, featured in Drinnon (1997), describes the sentiment that drives assimilationist policies: "Maybe we made a mistake in trying to maintain Indian

³⁷ I am not arguing that Indians do not experience racism, and are subject to the repercussions of racism, instead I focus on the perception that Indians are minorities, and the impact this has on Native work for sovereignty. This issue is explored in further depth in chapter 5.

cultures. Maybe we should not have humored them in that, wanting to stay in that primitive life style. Maybe we should have said: no, come join us. Be citizens, along with the rest of us" (Ronald Reagan in Drinnon, 1997; xiii). Drinnon (1997) points out that indeed, American Indians, seemingly unbeknownst to Reagan, have been citizens of the United States since 1924, but more importantly, implicit in Reagan's speech is "...the historic certitude that 'we' white Americans have a national right to say yes or no to these aboriginal neighbors" (p. xiii). Reagan's speech is an example of the exercise of settler domination over indigenous peoples.

Furthermore, what this conflict represents is a deeper metaphysical issue reflecting different underlying epistemologies concerning how peoples view the world. Whereas western metaphysics insist upon linear, universal stories that tell a perceived 'truth,' an investigation of indigenous metaphysics reveal that stories are diverse, contradictory, and incomplete when seen from a differing perspective. Verna J. Kirkness (1977) found that textbooks of the period tended to promote the same biases regarding Indians because they used the same sources. Likewise, the textbooks I examine promote the same narratives regarding Indians, if not because they rely on the same sources, but also because the textbooks abide by California content and curriculum standards developed for U.S. history.

In the next chapter I examine the corresponding content standards and curriculum framework established in the *History Social-Science Framework for California Public Schools*, 2005 edition.

CHAPTER SEVEN CALIFORNIA HISTORY SOCIAL SCIENCE CONTENT STANDARDS

In this chapter I examine the 2005 *History and Social Science Framework for California Public Schools (Framework)*. First I provide a brief history and description of the development of standards nationwide and in California. I also describe the textbook adoption process in California in relation to the California standards. Next I devote a section to a review of research on social studies standards in California and generally. From this review of research I generate a series of concepts that build upon the Colonial Model of Education (CME) and the white settler state. The final section of this chapter is a detailed description of the *Framework* (2005) itself.

Moving from the examination of U.S. History textbooks approved for use in LAUSD,³⁸ I now turn my attention to the history-social science standards adopted for use in California. Content and curriculum standards, in essence, shape and define what content is included in textbooks, and in order to understand why textbooks contain the information they do, it is important to therefore examine the content standards that these textbooks are built from. Peterson (1998) defines content and curriculum standards in the following way:

1. Content standards define what students should know and be able to do, specifying skills or knowledge at various grade levels [citation omitted] In the past, schools often used whatever content was found in their textbooks. With this reform, content standards are defined by national subject areas

³⁸ Interestingly, the textbook adoption process in California has consequences for other states, as publishers create textbooks to meet California standards.

associations, local districts, or states. Schools are then expected to develop curriculum standards within and across subjects.

2. Curriculum standards usually describe instructional techniques or classroom activities that help students achieve the content standard [citation omitted]. Curriculum standards are often developed at each grade level in all the core subjects as well as others as defined by the school or district. These curriculum standards are aligned with content standards and identify what goes on in classrooms to help students achieve the standard. (Peterson, 1998).

In California the *History-Social Science Frameworks for California Public Schools* presents the California content standards approved for history-social science, in conjunction with a curriculum framework and course descriptions.

In 1987, the *History–Social Science Frameworks for California Public Schools* were first adopted, and readopted in 1994, 1998, 2001 (Sleeter, 2002). According to the California State Board of Education, the standards developed "…'reflect knowledge and skills necessary for California's work force to be competitive in the global, information-based economy of the 21st century'" (p. 1). The California content standards detail what knowledge students should know. California history-social science standards have been designed to define what knowledge, concepts, and skills students should learn concerning history-social science, at each grade level. Students, statewide, are tested to measure mastery of these standards. Christine Sleeter (2002) explains that not only do the textbooks adopted in California conform to the standards; these textbooks were actually written, to a degree, to fit the California standards "because California adoptions are so lucrative…" (p. 22).

While the California State Board of Education (CSBE) has a process for adopting K-8 textbooks, it does not adopt textbooks for secondary grade levels. Instead, the state requires school districts adopt secondary grade level textbooks. The CSBE requires that textbooks adopted for use by school district align with or exceed state standards (Education Code Section 60400) (Los Angeles Unified School District Division of Educational Services, 2001). Next, I provide a brief review of the literature relating to standards, and then I provide a detailed portrait of California history-social science standards.

I. Review of the Literature: Critical Examinations of Curriculum Standards

As the review of selected literature in the previous chapter demonstrates, textbooks reflect the power dynamics of larger society (Altbach *et al.*, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). Similarly, curriculum standards respond to these power dynamics (Apple, 1993, 2001; Kanpol & McLaren, 1995; Ross, 1996; McCarthy, 1994; Sleeter, 2002; Sleeter, 2005; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). Reports such as *A Nation at Risk* (1983), *Raising Standards for American Education* (1992) and policies such as George H.W. Bush's America 2000 education goals and William J. Clinton's Goals 2000: Educate America Act (amended in 1996), responded to the perception that students were failing to learn skills to be successful in a technologically advanced society. In order for the U.S. to remain economically competitive, these reports and policies advanced that school reform should emphasize higher standards and

accountability (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Sleeter, 2002; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005; Wixson *et al.*, 2003).

Responding to these findings, conservative critiques (Bloom, 1998; Hirsch, 1988; Ravitch, 1990; Schlesinger, 1992) were launched against multiculturalism and bilingual education that had grown out of the Civil Rights movement and the protest movements of the sixties (McCarthy, 1994; Sleeter, 2004; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). Critics claimed these educational programs were damaging educational progress and disrupting national and social cohesion. As a result educational policy moved towards the elimination of these programs in favor of highly rigid standards (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). No Child Left Behind (NCLB) represents the latest and most extensive federal policy ensuring states' commitment to standards and assessment aimed at raising student performance and as a result, all fifty states have some type of standards. *Safety Zone Theory* (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006) might help in explaining the larger context within which these policies and attitudes wax and wane.

In general, the studies that critically examine standardization and its impact on curriculum argue current standards negatively impact inclusion of epistemological diversity in the curriculum (Bohn & Sleeter, 2000; McCarthy, 1994; Sleeter, 2005). They contend standardization is driven by neo-liberal policies aimed primarily at creating standards at the service of the market economy (Altbach et al., 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Leonardo, 2007; McLaren, 2006; Sleeter, 2004, 2005). Standards marginalize students of color (Bohn & Sleeter, 2000; McCarthy, 1994), are anti-democratic (Apple, 2000a; Ross, 1996; Sleeter, 2005), and are increasingly rigid (Sleeter, 2005).

Studies that examine social studies standards in general (Ross, 1996), and California history-social science standards in particular (Sleeter, 2002; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005) have found that social studies curriculum while not a major emphasis of NCLB, nevertheless promote similar goals. Wayne Ross (1996) finds that the development of social standards nationally, which influences the crafting of state standards, reflect specific ideological orientations in his article "Diverting Democracy: The Curriculum Standards Movement and Social Studies Education". Similarly, Christine Sleeter's (2002) examination of California's *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools* in the study "State Curriculum Standards and the Shaping of Student Consciousness" and Christine Sleeter and Jamy Stillman's (2005) study, "Standardizing Knowledge in a Multicultural society" both examine California history-social science standards in order investigate the connection of these standards to larger power relations. These studies examine how ideology is used in the standards to perpetuate specific types of thinking.

Regarding the influence of national projects in the development of social studies standards, Wayne Ross's (1996) reports that

...the debate over social studies curriculum has been heavily influenced by a small group of conservative foundations, academics and the federal government, with an eye toward creating ideological consensus around a curriculum that promotes a national identity and strives to preserve the European American dominant culture and promote it as the common culture of all Americans (p. 23).

In this same vein, Sleeter (2002) finds that the California *Framework's* U.S. history narrative is centered on the experiences of white men. The narrative follows the progression of Europeans west and people of color only appear in relation to this westward movement (Sleeter, 2002), affirming decades old research (Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977). Like Ross (1996) Sleeter (2002) finds the California history-social science standards explicitly state that U.S. history should promote a common national identity. The major mechanism used in the California history-social science standards to promote this common identity is the centering of the narrative of the United States as a nation of immigrants (Sleeter, 2002; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). This research illustrates that the goal of history-social science standards affirm white settler nationalism (WSN) and the myths and assumptions that sustain WSN.

With regards to racism, the California U.S. History-Social Science Framework (Framework) manages to mention slavery, the Civil Rights movement, without mentioning the racist structural and ideological mechanisms that laid the foundations for slavery and segregation (Sleeter, 2002). Ross (1996) finds that social studies curriculum in general make white racism invisible. Sleeter (2002) also points out that while the history of colonialism is mentioned in the California history-social science standards and its accompanying framework it is given short attention, providing students little knowledge concerning colonization and conquest. Furthermore, Sleeter (2002) states that the California history-social science *Framework* "teaches students that

a representative democracy like that in the U.S., coupled with free-market unregulated capitalism, is the one best system to emerge from world history" (p. 18). In essence the California *Framework* promotes settler myths and assumptions of white settler superiority, which I identify as white supremacy.

Providing more context, Sleeter and Stillman (2005) explain that the California *Framework* "is constructed as a detailed story, sequenced over several grade levels, and organized around historically dominant groups' perspectives, experiences, and ways of seeing the world" (p. 38). In addition, the learning encouraged by the *Framework* directs students to consume interpretations of history prepared by others [textbooks], rather than co-constructing history (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). As stated, this interpretation of history is one, which stresses the narrative of the U.S. as a nation of immigrants, specifically European ones, founded upon Judeo-Christian values and European institutions (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). These mythologies actualized in the *Framework* serve to maintain WSN, and the larger structure of the white settler state (WSS).

The battle over social studies standards is one that is seen to have broader implications, outside of schooling. The battle to control standards, particularly social studies standards has been largely controlled by a coalition of former federal appointees, academics (both liberal and conservative) and government policies that perpetuate what Cornbleth and Waugh (1993) name the "neo-nativist agenda". In fact, Cornbleth and Waugh (1993) argue that this agenda "has set the tone and terms of the debate to influence the course of school curricula into the 21st century" (p. 32). The "neo-nativist agenda" has laid the groundwork for content standards that promote a narrow definition of what it means to be American (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1993)—a national identity defined by European origins, ideas, and culture, at the expense of diversity and multiculturalism (Ross, 1996). Cornbleth & Waugh's (1993) insights correspond to the a ideological function of the WSS: the creation of a 'new' American, or 'new native.'

In California this agenda was carried out by Charlotte Crabtree and Diane Ravitch, coauthors of the 1987 history-social science framework (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1993). The *Framework* was revised in 1997, adopted in the 1998 History-Social Science Content Standards, and incorporated in the 2005 History-Social Science Framework, remaining, according the California Department of Education (2004), essentially unchanged from its 1987 origins. These standards subsume the experiences of people of color under the narrative of European immigration (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1993). As the previous studies of the California *History-Social Science Framework* demonstrate (Sleeter, 2002; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005), this continues to be the case. Cornbleth and Waugh (1993) argue: "To control school or curriculum knowledge is a means of exercising power beyond school walls by shaping how we understand ourselves, others, our nation, and our world. Curriculum knowledge affects individual and collective identity, capacity, attitude, and action" (p. 31). Undoubtedly, curriculum is a central tool used to preserve and indoctrinate WSS ideologies and structures.

These studies of the History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools affirm insights gained from my examination of textbooks. In addition, these studies provide important findings concerning curriculum and content standards, namely that the California history-social science Framework affirms a Eurocentric perspective (Ross, 1996; Sleeter, 2002; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). The Framework emphasizes the notion that the United States is a nation of immigrants (Sleeter, 2002; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). It also emphasizes Judeo-Christian origins (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). It also reflects the power dynamics of a western capitalist society and neo-liberalism (Altbach et al., 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Sleeter, 2002; Sleeter & Stillman 2005) and it emphasizes the goal of instilling a narrow definition of national identity (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1993; Ross, 1996; Sleeter, 2002). In other words, the California *Framework* not only promotes fundamental aspects of WSN, the Framework actively deploys the CME. These methods include the centering of western metaphysics echoed in the emphasis on Judeo-Christian origins and the affirmation of settler political domination through the constrictive formulation of WSN.

To be sure, the *Framework* operates to protect white settler ideologies and the WSS. It is worth repeating a formative ideological function and characteristic of the white settler state. This is the relationship between white settlers and indigenous peoples. Therefore, one of the most useful contributions from these studies is Sleeter's (2002) analysis of how the California history-social science *Framework* treats American Indians. Sleeter (2002) explains that indigenous people appear in the standards in

relation to the history of Euro-Americans, echoing the findings of previous studies that people of color appear in relation to whites. In essence, Sleeter (2002) finds the *Frameworks*

...keep indigenous people locked in the past and locates their study mainly at the elementary level. /It is possible for teachers to add indigenous people to the curriculum, but the main story is already structured and the curriculum as a whole is packed. To center the U.S. story on any group the U.S. conquered would disrupt the *Framework's* immigration paradigm, as well as the assumption that the mission of the U.S. is to bring freedom to the rest of the world (p. 15).

It is not a mistake that indigenous peoples are represented figures existing only in the Nation's past. As described in chapter two, the discursive erasure of indigenous peoples must be maintained in order to protect the formulation of WSN as the 'new native.'

These studies reviewed here, while accurately assessing the limitations of the social studies curriculum in general and the California *Framework* in particular, fail to properly situate these limitations within the broader ideological and structural apparatus they are produced in. The history social-science standards they critique function the way they do because they are created within the CME, whose goal it is to protect the WSS. The Missing from these insightful studies is an analysis of how content standards embody western metaphysics, and therefore preclude critical engagement with differing epistemological and ontological constructs. As stated while the aforementioned studies provide important insights concerning how standards reproduce power dynamics of a market drive, neo-liberal state, they fail to engage how standards reproduce deeper epistemological and ontological assumptions that if not brought to the forefront, will continue to preclude truly authentic pluralistic diversity. What follows is such an undertaking, where I examine how content standards promote western metaphysical assumptions that conflict with, in this case, indigenous metaphysics.

II. Concepts

Before I provide the concepts I derived from the literature review, I review the definitions from previous chapters in order to build upon the insights and key concepts provided by the above studies. <u>Western metaphysics</u> represents the encompassing and normative epistemology and ontology of white settlers that shape the ideas, institutions, politics, economics, and social order of the United States. <u>Indigenous metaphysics</u> represents the diverse epistemological and ontological knowledge systems of the various Indian tribes of the Americas, with a special emphasis on tribes located in the geographical boundaries of the United States. Western metaphysics and indigenous metaphysics represent the broad knowledge systems that are examined in this dissertation. These broad concepts are coupled with specific ideologies that have developed to perpetuate western metaphysics, including <u>settler perspectivism</u>, and <u>immigrant-nation</u> discourse. These concepts are part of the larger project of white settler national (WSN). Moreover within each of these ideologies are further sub-concepts that

aid in fully exploring these concepts as they specifically relate to textbooks and content standards. For example, <u>settler perspectivism</u> is developed in textbooks by Eurocentrism, narrow perspectivism, and single perspectivism (Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977b). <u>Immigrant-nation</u> discourse promotes the idea that the United states is a nation of immigrants and is aided by a type of flattened notion of diversity, utilized to subsume diversity, or difference, into a larger narrative of immigrant-nation discourse promotes the idea that Americans are settlers. The <u>immigrant-nation</u> discourse promotes the myth that Indians no longer exist. Related to this erasure, <u>settler perspectivism</u> promotes the belief that there is one singular national identity based upon a narrow definition and history framed by the nation of immigrants narrative and the flattened notion of diversity, all components of the larger settler ideologies of WSN.

From the studies reviewed in this chapter, we once more find the sub-narratives of WSN, which include <u>settler perspectivism</u> and <u>immigrant-nation</u> discourse. Added to the previous definitions, these definitions help broaden the perspective on how these ideas are transmitted from state mandate, school policies, standards, to texts. The <u>immigrant-nation</u> discourse defined in the previous chapter is continued in the studies reviewed here. This <u>immigrant-nation</u> discourse perpetuates the idea that the United States is a nation of immigrants more appropriately conceived as European immigrants that transformed themselves into the 'new native.' The discourse surrounding national identity can be further characterized as a <u>standardizing national identity</u> discourse that

promotes a colorblind (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Perez-Huber *et al.*, 2008) framing of national identity. This standardizing functions to protect WSN and the WSS.

III. History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools

The California State Board of Education (CSBE) defines content standards in the following way: "Content standards were designed to encourage the highest achievement of every student, by defining the knowledge, concepts, and skills that students should acquire at each grade level" (California Department of Education, 2007). The CSBE defines curriculum framework: "Frameworks are blueprints for implementing the content standards adopted by the California State Board of Education and are developed by the Curriculum Development and Supplemental Materials Commission" (California Department of Education, 2007). Sleeter (2002) points out that California "leads the nation in developing a comprehensive system of state standardized curricula" (pp. 10-11), which it achieves through a highly centralized system.

The 2005 *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools (Framework)* incorporates California's history–social science content standards, which, according to the 2005 *Framework*, "are the basis for statewide instruction and assessment in history–social science" (p. v). The express intent of the *Framework* (2005) is to provide "guidance for instruction through which students will understand historical trends and current social, political, economic, and cultural conditions" (p. v).

The *Framework* (2005) states that students should learn and understand the "ideas central to liberty, responsible citizenship, and representative government and how these elements have evolved into institutions and practices that guide their decision making as future voters and leaders" (p. v).

As Sleeter (2002) explains, the *Framework* (2005) not only outlines what is taught in schools, it its conceptually designed around three core <u>learning goals</u>. These <u>learning goals</u> are: "(1) promoting knowledge and cultural understanding (defined as literacy in history, ethics, culture, geography, economics, and politics); (2) promoting democratic understanding and civic values; and (3) promoting skills attainment and social participation" (p. 12).

In addition, the *Framework* (2005) is organized according to theme, time period, and geographic location (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). The *Framework* (2005) also provides corresponding intellectual skills that students should gain following each sequence of history social science (elementary, middle, and secondary). The <u>learning goals</u> mentioned above are, in turn, guided by the *Framework's* (2005) authors' vision of a rapidly changing and globalizing world. Particular, the *Framework* (2005) focuses on the idea of continuity and change:

The study of continuity and change is, as it happens, the main focus of the history–social science curriculum. The knowledge provided by these disciplines enables students to appreciate how ideas, events, and individuals have intersected to produce change over time as well as to recognize the conditions and forces that maintain continuity within human societies (p.2).

This continuity and change is a central feature of the *Framework* (2005), which is explicitly emphasized in Grade Three course "Continuity and Change" and Grade 11 course, "United States History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries."

The *Framework* (2005) outlines general lessons and mandates for history-social science that will achieve 21st century readiness in a market driven economy. These lessons are guided by loyalty to the United States, and an understanding of the U.S. as the central figure in global politics:

As educators in the field of history-social science, we want our students to perceive the complexity of social, economic, and political problems. We want them to have the ability to differentiate between what is important and what is unimportant. We want them to know their rights and responsibilities as American citizens. We want them to understand the meaning of the Constitution as a social contract that defines our democratic government and guarantees our individual rights. We want them to respect the right of others to differ with them. We want them to take an active role as citizens and to know how to work for change in a democratic society. We want them to understand the value, the importance, and the fragility of democratic institutions. We want them to realize that only a small fraction of the world's population (now or in the past) has been fortunate enough to live under a democratic form of government, and we want them to understand the conditions that encourage democracy to prosper. We want them to develop a keen sense of ethics and citizenship. And we want them to care deeply about the quality of life in their community, their nation, and their world (p. 2).

Furthermore, this *Framework* (2005) emphasizes democratic engagement and citizenship, and more importantly democracy as a unique and upstanding form of government that is special to the United States.

In order to accomplish the above-mentioned mandates, the Framework (2005)

emphasizes the study of history-social science as an interdisciplinary process that

incorporates history, geography, economics, political science, anthropology, psychology, sociology, and the humanities (California Department of Education, 2005). The *Framework* (2005) also outlines the following critical thinking skills as central goals: ethical understanding; understanding the connection between ideas and behaviors; that history is a result of individual choice; that history is shaped by both the ideas and actions of governments and individuals; and how "people in other times and places have grappled with fundamental questions of truth, justice, and personal responsibility and to ponder how we deal with the same issues today" (p. 3). The abovementioned lessons and critical thinking goals are guided by "studying the ideas of great thinkers, major religions, and principal philosophical traditions" (ibid).

In addition, the *Framework* (2005) identifies seventeen instructional characteristics, or teaching goals, for history-social science curriculum, which are listed in **Appendix 3.** These instructional characteristics represent the best practices, according to the *Framework* (2005) authors, with which to "strengthen education in the history– social science curriculum" and achieve the intellectual goals, critical thinking skills, and content benchmarks (p. 4). These seventeen teaching goals are intended to provide the best methods with which to successfully deliver curriculum, which I describe next.

The *Framework* (2005) focuses on material developed to meet the history-social science content standards and accompanying learning mandates. The *Framework* (2005) identifies three <u>learning goals</u> with relation to the content standards. In addition, each of

these three learning goals are accomplished by following specific <u>curriculum strands</u>, or lessons, drawn from interdisciplinary fields and practices of history-social science. Finally each of these <u>curriculum strands</u>, or lessons, is further aided by <u>essential learnings</u> that outline what specific types of lessons are to be used in order to achieve the appropriate learning. **Table 7.1** provides a diagrammatic representation of learning goals, curriculum strands and essential learnings;

 Table 7.1: Learning Goal Outline

I.	I. Learning goal		
	A.	Curr	iculum strand
		1.	Essential Learning

1. Learning Goals; Curriculum Strands, & Essential Learnings

As stated, the *Framework* (2005) identifies three broad <u>learning goals</u> for the history-social science curriculum. These three learning goals are: knowledge and cultural understanding (**KCU**); democratic understanding and civic values (**DUCV**); and skills attainment and social participation, (**SASP**). Table 7.2 lists these <u>learning goals</u> along with a brief definition of each <u>learning goal</u>.

Learning	Knowledge &	Democratic	Skills Attainment
Goal:	Cultural	Understanding and	and Social
	Understanding	Civic Values	Participation
	(KCU)	(DUCV)	(SASP)
	"incorporating learnings	"incorporating an	"including basic study
Description:	from history and the other	understanding of our	skills, critical thinking
Desemption.	humanities, geography, and	national identity,	skills, and participation
	the social sciences" (p. 10)	constitutional heritage, civic	skills that are essential
		values, and rights and	for effective
		responsibilities" (p. 10)	citizenship" (p. 10).

Table 7.2: The Learning Goals with description

These three <u>learning goals</u> are not treated as mutually exclusive in the *Framework* (2005) Instead the <u>learning goals</u> are integrated across grade levels. In order to assist with this cross-grade integration, the CSBE developed what they call <u>curriculum strands</u> to further develop each of the three <u>learning goals</u> of **KCU**, **DUCV**, and **SASP**. The *Framework* (2005) describes that "[t]hese basic learnings [or curriculum strands] are first introduced in the primary grades, in simple terms that young children understand, and then regularly reappear in succeeding years, each time deepened, enriched, and extended" (p. 10).

 Table 7.3 is a visual representation of the <u>curriculum strands</u>, defined above that

 develops the three <u>learning goals</u> of KCU, DUCV, and SASP.

Learning	KCU	DUCV	SASP
Goals			
	Historical literacy strand; Ethical literacy strand;	National identity strand; Constitutional heritage strand	Participation skills strand Critical thinking skills strand
Corresponding Curriculum Strands	Cultural literacy strand; Geographic literacy strand; Economic literacy strand; & Sociopolitical literacy strand	Civic values, rights, and responsibilities strand	Basic study skills strand

Table 7.3: Curriculum Strands for each Learning Goal

As **Table 7.3** above demonstrates, the **KCU** <u>learning goal</u> consists of six <u>curriculum</u> <u>strands</u>: historical literacy; ethical literacy; cultural literacy; geographic literacy; economic literacy; and sociopolitical literacy. The second <u>learning goal</u> of **DUCV**, consists of three <u>curriculum strands</u>: national identity strand; constitutional heritage strand; and the civic values, rights, and responsibilities strand. Finally, the third <u>learning</u> <u>goal</u> of **SASP**, consists of three <u>curriculum strands</u>: participation skills; critical thinking skills; and basic study skills.

Each <u>curriculum strand</u> is, in turn, broken down into <u>essential learnings</u> that are integral in the development of each of the <u>curriculum strands</u>. As stated, **KCU** has six <u>curriculum strands</u> developed to aid in student comprehension of **KCU**. The first <u>curriculum strand</u> of **KCU** is the *historical literacy* curriculum strand, which stresses the following six essential learnings:

- 1. Developing research skills and a sense of historical empathy;
- 2. Understanding the meaning of time and chronology
- 3. Analyzing cause and effect
- 4. Understanding the reasons for continuity and change
- 5. Recognizing history as common memory, with political implications and
- 6. Understanding the importance of religion, philosophy, and other major belief systems in history

Next, to develop the *ethical literacy* strand of KCU, the 2005 Framework lists the

following essential learnings:

- 1. Recognizing the sanctity of life and the dignity of the individual
- 2. Understanding the ways in which different societies have tried to resolve ethical issues
- 3. Understanding that the ideas people profess affect their behavior
- 4. Realizing that concern for ethics and human rights is universal and represents the aspirations of men and women in every time and place.

The third literacy strand of the KCU goal of the Framework (2005) is the cultural

literacy strand, organized according to these essential learnings:

- 1. Understanding the rich, complex nature of a given culture: its history, geography, politics, literature, art, drama, music, dance, law, religion, philosophy, architecture, technology, science, education, sports, social structure, and economy
- 2. Recognizing the relationships among the various parts of a nation's cultural life;
- 3. Learn about the mythology, legends, values, and beliefs of a people;
- 4. Recognizing that literature and art shape and reflect the inner life of a people
- 5. Take pride in their own cultural heritages and develop a multicultural perspective that respects the dignity and worth of all people.

The geographic literacy strand of KCU is characterized by the following essential

learnings:

- 1. Developing an awareness of place
- 2. Developing locational skills and understanding
- 3. Understanding human and environmental interaction
- 4. Understanding human movement
- 5. Understanding world regions and their historical, cultural, economic, and political characteristics.

The fifth and second to last literacy strand of KCU, economic literacy, is

developed by these essential learnings:

- 1. Understanding the basic economic problems confronting all societies
- 2. Understanding comparative economic systems
- 3. Understanding the basic economic goals, performance, and problems of our society
- 4. Understanding the international economic system.

The final literacy strand of the **KCU** goal is *sociopolitical literacy*, characterized by the following <u>essential learnings</u>:

- 1. Understanding the close relationship between social and political systems
- 2. Understanding the close relationship between society and the law
- 3. Understanding comparative political systems.

Table 7.4 below provides a diagrammatic model of the essential learnings associated

with each of the literacies developed for the first learning goal, KCU.

Learning	Curriculum	Essential Learnings
Goal 1	Strand	
0	Strand Historical Literacy (To gain literacy students must achieve the following essential learnings) Ethical Literacy Cultural Literacy	 Develop research skills and a sense of historical empathy; Understand the meaning of time & chronology; Analyze cause & effect; Understand the reasons for continuity and change; Recognize history as common memory, with political implications; & Understand the importance of religion, philosophy, & other major belief systems in history. Recognize the sanctity of life & the dignity of the individual; Understand the ways in which different societies have tried to resolve ethical issues; Understand that the ideas people profess affect their behavior; Realize that concern for ethics and human rights is universal & represents the aspirations of men and women in every time and place. Understand the rich, complex nature of a given culture: its history, geography, politics, literature, art, drama, music, dance, law, religion, philosophy, architecture, & economy; Recognize the relationships among the various parts of a nation's cultural life; Learn about the mythology, legends, values, & beliefs
		 of a people; 4- Recognize that literature & art shape and reflect the inner life of a people; & 5- Take pride in their own cultural heritages & develop a multicultural perspective that respects the dignity & worth of all people.
	Geographic Literacy	 Develop an awareness of place; Develop locational skills and understanding; Understand human & environmental interaction; Understand human movement; & Understand world regions & their historical, cultural, economic, and political characteristics.
	Economic Literacy	1- Understand the basic economic problems confronting all societies;
		2- Understand comparative economic systems;

 Table 7.4: Knowledge & Cultural Understanding (KCU) Essential Learnings

	 3- Understand the basic economic goals, performance, & problems of our society; & 4- Understand the international economic system
Sociopolitica l Literacy	 Understand the close relationship between social & political systems; & Understand the close relationship between society & the law; & Understand comparative political systems

The second <u>learning goal</u>, **DUCV**, has three <u>curriculum strands</u> (national identity; constitutional heritage; and civic values, rights and responsibilities). Each <u>curriculum strand</u> is further developed by a series of <u>essential learnings</u>. For example,

the national identity strand is composed of the following essential learnings:

- 1. Recognizing that American society is and always has been pluralistic and multicultural, a single nation composed of individuals whose heritages encompass many different national and cultural backgrounds
- 2. Understanding the American creed as an ideology extolling equality and freedom
- 3. Recognizing the status of minorities and women in different times in American history
- 4. Understanding the unique experiences of immigrants from Asia, the Pacific Islands, and Latin America; fifth, understanding the special role of the United States in world history as a nation of immigrants;
- 5. Realizing that true patriotism celebrates the moral force of the American idea as a nation that unites as one people the descendants of many cultures, races, religions, and ethnic groups.

The second curriculum strand of DUCV is the constitutional heritage, which is

developed by two essential learnings:

- 1. Understanding the basic principles of democracy
- 2. Understanding the historical origins of basic constitutional concepts such as representative government, separation of powers, and trial by jury.

Finally, the civic values, rights and responsibilities curriculum strand of DUCV is also

composed of two essential learnings:

- 1. Understanding what is required of citizens in a participatory democracy
- 2. Understanding individual responsibility for the democratic system.

Table 7.5 below offers a diagram representation of the second learning goal, DUCV, its

curriculum strands, and accompanying essential learnings.

	Curriculum	Essential Learnings
	Strand	
DUCV (To gain of democratic understanding and civic values understanding, educators focus on curriculum strands)	National Identity (To gain literacy students must achieve the following essential learnings)	 Recognize that American society is and always has been pluralistic and multicultural, a single nation composed of individuals whose heritages encompass many different national and cultural backgrounds; Understand the American creed as an ideology extolling equality and freedom; Recognize the status of minorities and women in different times in American history; Understand the unique experiences of immigrants from Asia, the Pacific Islands, and Latin America; Understand the special role of the United States in world history as a nation of immigrants; & Realize that true patriotism celebrates the moral force of the American idea as a nation that unites as one people the descendants of many cultures, races, religions, and ethnic groups.
	Constitutional Heritage	 1- Understand the basic principles of democracy; & 2- Understand the historical origins of basic constitutional concepts such as representative government, separation of powers, and trial by jury.
	Civic Values, Rights, and Responsibilities	 Understand what is required of citizens in a participatory democracy; & Understand individual responsibility for the democratic system.

 Table 7.5: DUCV Essential Learnings

The third, and final learning goal of SASP consists of three curriculum strands

(participant skills, critical thinking skills, and basic study skills). Each curriculum strand

consists of essential learnings. Participant skills is made up of three essential learnings:

- 1. Developing personal skills
- 2. Developing group interaction skills
- 3. Developing social and political participation skills.

The critical thinking skills curriculum strand is guided by three essential learnings:

- 1. Defining and clarifying problems
- 2. Judging information related to a problem
- 3. Solving problems and drawing conclusions.

Finally, the *basic study skills* curriculum strand consists of six essential learnings:

- 1. Acquiring information by listening, observing, using community resources, and reading various forms of literature and primary and secondary source materials
- 2. Locating, selecting, and organizing information from written sources, such as books, periodicals, government documents, encyclopedias, and bibliographies
- 3. Retrieving and analyzing information by using computers, microfilm, and other electronic media
- 4. Reading and interpreting maps, globes, models, diagrams, graphs, charts, tables, pictures, and political cartoons
- 5. Understanding the specialized language use in historical research and social science disciplines
- 6. Organizing and expressing ideas clearly in writing and in speaking.

Table 7.6 is a visual model of the third and final learning goal of SASP, the

curriculum strands that characterize it, and the essential learnings that in turn develop

each curriculum strand.

Table 7.6: SASP Essential Learnings

Curriculum	Essential Learnings
Strand	

SASP (To gain the goal of skills	Participant Skills (To gain literacy students must achieve the following essential learnings)	 Develop personal skills; Develop group interaction skills; & Develop social and political participation skills.
attainment & skills participation, educators focus on	Critical Thinking Skills	 1- Define and clarify problems; 2- Judge information related to a problem; & 3- Solve problems and draw conclusions.
curriculum strands)	Basic Study Skills	 Acquire information by listening, observing, using community resources, and reading various forms of literature and primary and secondary source materials; Locate, select, and organize information from written sources, such as books, periodicals, government documents, encyclopedias, and bibliographies; Retrieve and analyze information by using computers, microfilm, and other electronic media Read and interpret maps, globes, models, diagrams, graphs, charts, tables, pictures, and political cartoons; Understand the specialized language used in historical research and social science disciplines; & Organize and express ideas clearly in writing and in speaking.

Following these three <u>learning goals</u> are the course descriptions. The *Framework* (2005) describes that the course descriptions "... provide an integrated and sequential development of the goals of this curriculum" (p. 28). The course titles are as follows:

- Kindergarten—Learning and Working Now and Long Ago
- Grade One—A Child's Place in Time and Space
- Grade Two—People Who Make a Difference
- Grade Three—Continuity and Change
- Grade Four—California: A Changing State
- Grade Five—United States History and Geography: Making a New Nation

- Grade Six—World History and Geography: Ancient Civilizations
- Grade Seven—World History and Geography: Medieval and Early Modern Times
- Grade Eight—United States History and Geography: Growth and Conflict
- Grade Nine—Elective Courses in History–Social Science
- Grade Ten—World History, Culture, and Geography: The Modern World
- Grade Eleven—United States History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century
- Grade Twelve—Principles of American Democracy (One Semester) and Economics (One Semester)

In the textbook examination I focus on textbooks approved for the Grade 11 course title. The *Framework* (2005) explains that there is an increased emphasis on chronological sequencing of history, and that beginning in grade six, "each course in this series contributes to students' learning of historical chronology" (p. 29). Beginning in grade seven, "each course provides for a review of learnings from earlier grades" (p. 31). In addition, the *Framework* (2005) describes that each course listed above provides the opportunity for students to study particular time periods in depth. Finally the *Framework* (2005) emphasizes that each course provides students the opportunities to link the present.

In turn, the courses are subdivided into age appropriate curriculums, including primary curriculum (K-3), middle grades curriculum (4-8), and secondary curriculum (9-12). Each age appropriate curriculum is guided by developmental considerations, and each course titles are accompanied by subtitles. Following the developmental considerations, the *Framework* (2005) delves into detailed course descriptions for each grade, supplemented with the accompanying standards for the course. For the middle grades (4-8) and secondary grades (9-12), the *Framework* (2005) adds "Historical and

Social Science Analysis Skills"—intellectual, reasoning, reflection and research skills that are supposed to be "learned through, and applied to" the content standards" of the age appropriate curriculum (p. 115).

Finally, the *Framework* (2005) provides "Criteria for Examining Instructional Materials-Kindergarten Through Grade Eight." Sleeter and Stillman (2005) point out that in this regard secondary school teachers "have more latitude than elementary teachers to choose texts, but are held accountable through student testing" (p. 39). In addition, secondary school teachers choose textbooks that have been adopted by their district that conform or exceed the California standards. In LAUSD the choice is limited to three texts. In the next chapter, I provide the findings of my examination of the *Framework* (2005).

CHAPTER EIGHT CALIFORNIA HISTORY-SOCIAL SCIENCE FRAMEWORK FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

In this chapter I present my findings and analysis from the review of the *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools (Framework)*. First I describe my findings drawn from the *Framework* (2005). I discuss how the *Framework* (2005) and included content standards explicitly and implicitly treat and organize American Indians, tying in these findings with those generated in the U.S. History textbooks. I also provide an extensive review of how the standards contained in the *Framework* (2005) align with the textbooks I examine earlier. Finally I analyze both the form and content findings of the *Framework* (2005). Particularly in the form analysis of the *Framework* (2005) I include the characteristics of the *Framework* (2005) I reviewed in the previous chapter. Additionally, in my narrative analysis, I continue my examination of the three time periods of pre-contact, westward expansion, and civil rights subcategories, or themes, focusing on the same explicit, generated, and missing subcategories used in the textbook analysis of chapter six.

In conducting this analysis I am guided by the questions of this study as they relate to standards:

- How do standards embody western metaphysics?
- ➤ How do standards reproduce the Colonial Model of Education (CME)?
- What types of lessons do the standards promote that are antithetical to indigenous cultures and sovereignty
- > What are the sources of western metaphysics?

By examining the *Framework* (2005) and standards contained within it, I describe how standards embody western metaphysics and reproduce CME. Examining the standards allows me to illustrate, how akin to the U.S. History textbooks I examine in chapter six, the *Framework* (2005) relies on lessons that promote western metaphysics and therefore are antithetical to indigenous cultures and sovereignty. Finally, a close examination of the *Framework* (2005) allows me to map on how the concepts identified in previous chapters reveal the sources of western metaphysics in the *Framework*.

I. Content Standards

School districts are required to adopt textbooks for use in high school that meet or exceed the California standards outlined in the *Framework* (2005). For this reason, I turn my attention to the standards that shape textbook content. In the following section, I examine how the *Framework* (2005) as a whole informs textbook content. While I examine U.S history instructional texts approved for use in the Grade 11 U.S. History course, my findings reveal that the corresponding Grade 11 U.S. History standards contained in the *Framework* (2005) explicitly mention American Indians only once. However, content standards, and their accompanying framework are not supposed to be read in isolation. Instead, the *Framework* (2005) is developed to sequentially and comprehensively build upon previous grade level work .

Students in California begin to learn about American Indians as soon as the first grade. To begin, the first grade history-social science content standard **1.5** for the course "A Child's Place in Time and Space" requires "students describe the human

characteristics of familiar places and the varied backgrounds of American citizens and residents in those places" (p. 41). Substandard **1.5.2** requires students "[u]nderstand the ways in which American Indians and immigrants have helped define Californian and American culture" (p. 41). Students revisit learning about American Indians in grade three, which emphasizes "continuity and change". Sleeter (2002) explains that in grade three students are study local history and geography. In this context, the grade three standards introduce indigenous peoples of the past, in relation to the local history and geography (Sleeter, 2002). Specifically, content standard **3.2** requires "[s]tudents describe the American Indian nations in their local region long ago and in the recent past" (p. 52). Furthermore, standard **3.2** and substandards **3.2.1-4** require the following learnings:

- 1. Describe national identities, religious beliefs, customs, and various folklore traditions.
- 2. Discuss the ways in which physical geography, including climate, influenced how the local Indian nations adapted to their natural environment (e.g., how they obtained food, clothing, tools).
- 3. Describe the economy and systems of government, particularly those with tribal constitutions, and their relationship to federal and state governments.
- 4. Discuss the interaction of new settlers with the already established Indians of the region (p. 52).

In addition, in grade three, standard 3.4 requires "[s]tudents understand the role of rules and laws in our daily lives and the basic structure of the U.S. government" (p. 53). This includes substandard **3.4.5.**, which requires students "[d]escribe the ways in which California, the other states, and sovereign American Indian tribes contribute to the making of our nation and participate in the federal system of government" (p. 53). In the fourth grade, Sleeter (2002) describes that students study indigenous nations of California's past as part of larger California history.

Continuing with American Indian content, grade four content standard "California-A Changing State", 4.2 provides "[s]tudents describe the social, political, cultural, and economic life and interactions among people of California from the pre-Columbian societies to the Spanish mission and Mexican rancho periods" (p. 61). Content 4.2.1 requires students "[d]iscuss the major nations of California Indians, including their geographic distribution, economic activities, legends, and religious beliefs; and describe how they depended on, adapted to, and modified the physical environment by cultivation of land and use of sea resources" (p. 61). In addition 4.2.3 requires students"[d]escribe the Spanish exploration and colonization of California, including the relationships among soldiers, missionaries, and Indians..." (ibid). In grade four, students are expected to learn about the "the structures, functions, and powers of the local, state, and federal governments as described in the U.S. Constitution" as defined by section 4.5 of the standards. With regard to Indians, subsection 4.5.5 requires students learn "the components of California's governance structure (e.g., cities and towns, Indian rancherias and reservations, counties, school districts)" (p. 63).

Beginning in the fifth grade, students are introduced to U.S. history in which a unit is devoted to the study of pre-Columbian peoples (Sleeter, 2002). Specifically, students' history-social science grade 5 education centers on how history and geography combine to create the history of the United States. Content standard **5.1** requires:

Students describe the major pre-Columbian settlements, including the cliff dwellers and pueblo people of the desert Southwest, the American Indians of the Pacific Northwest, the nomadic nations of the Great Plains, and the woodland peoples east of the Mississippi River (p. 71).

Substandards 5.1.1-5.1.3 outline that students know the following concerning

Indians:

1. Describe how geography and climate influenced the way various nations lived and adjusted to the natural environment, including locations of villages, the distinct structures that they built, and how they obtained food, clothing, tools, and utensils.

2. Describe their varied customs and folklore traditions.

3. Explain their varied economies and systems of government (p. 71).

Continuing, standard 5.3 and substandards 5.3.1-6 require:

- Students describe the cooperation and conflict that existed among the American Indians and between the Indian nations and the new settlers
- 1. Describe the competition among the English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Indian nations for control of North America.
- 2. Describe the cooperation that existed between the colonists and Indians during the 1600s and 1700s (e.g., in agriculture, the fur trade, military alliances, treaties, cultural interchanges).
- 3. Examine the conflicts before the Revolutionary War (e.g., the Pequot and King Philip's Wars in New England, the Powhatan Wars in Virginia, the French and Indian War).
- 4. Discuss the role of broken treaties and massacres and the factors that led to the Indians' defeat, including the resistance of Indian nations to encroachments and assimilation (e.g., the story of the Trail of Tears).
- 5. Describe the internecine Indian conflicts, including the competing claims for control of lands (e.g., actions of the Iroquois, Huron, Lakota [Sioux]).
- 6. Explain the influence and achievements of significant leaders of the time (e.g., John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Chief Tecumseh, Chief Logan, Chief John Ross, Sequoyah) (pp. 71-72).

Standard 5.4 requires "[s]tudents understand the political, religious, social, and

economic institutions that evolved in the colonial era" (p. 72). Substandard 5.4.1

requires students "Understand the influence of location and physical setting on the founding of the original 13 colonies, and identify on a map the locations of the colonies and of the American Indian nations already inhabiting these areas" (p. 72). Continuing, in grade 5, standard **5.6** requires "Students understand the course and consequences of the American Revolution" (p. 73). Substandard **5.6.1** requires be able to "[i]dentify and map the major military battles, campaigns, and turning points of the Revolutionary War, the roles of the American and British leaders, and the Indian leaders' alliances on both sides" (p. 73). In addition, substandard **5.6.6** requires students "[d]emonstrate knowledge of the significance of land policies developed under the Continental Congress (e.g., sale of western lands, the North-west Ordinance of 1787) and those policies' impact on American Indians' land." (p. 73). Sleeter (2002) notes that after sixth grade, American Indians appear less frequently, and when they do it is in relation to settler expansion westward.

In grade 8, "United States History and Geography: Growth and Conflict" standard, **8.2** requires "Students analyze the political principles underlying the U.S. Constitution and compare the enumerated and implied powers of the federal government" (p. 108). Substandard **8.2.3**. requires students know how to "[e]valuate the major debates that occurred during the development of the Constitution and their ultimate resolutions in such areas as shared power among institutions, divided state-federal power, slavery, the rights of individuals and states (later addressed by the addition of the Bill of Rights), and the status of American Indian nations under the

commerce clause." (p. 108). Continuing in grade 8, content standard **8.5** requires "Students analyze U.S. foreign policy in the early Republic" (p. 110). Substandard **8.5.3** states students need to "Outline the major treaties with American Indian nations during the administrations of the first four presidents and the varying outcomes of those treaties." (p. 110). Grade 8 standard **8.8**, "Students analyze the divergent paths of the American people in the West from 1800 to the mid-1800s and the challenges they faced" contains two substandards, **8.8.1 & 8.8.2**, pertinent to American Indians:

- 1. Discuss the election of Andrew Jackson as president in 1828, the importance of Jacksonian democracy, and his actions as president (e.g., the spoils system, veto of the National Bank, policy of Indian removal, opposition to the Supreme Court).
- 2. Describe the purpose, challenges, and economic incentives associated with westward expansion, including the concept of Manifest Destiny (e.g., the Lewis and Clark expedition, accounts of the removal of Indians, the Cherokees' "Trail of Tears," settlement of the Great Plains) and the territorial acquisitions that spanned numerous decades (p. 111).

Finally, grade 8 standard **8.12** reads, "Students analyze the transformation of the American economy and the changing social and political conditions in the United States in response to the Industrial Revolution" (p. 113). Substandard **8.12.2** requires students to accomplish the following with regards to Indians: "Identify the reasons for the development of federal Indian policy and the wars with American Indians and their relationship to agricultural development and industrialization" (p. 113).

Sleeter (2002) explains that in grade 8 content standards emphasize U.S. Indian policy, including Andrew Jackson's Indian removal, Indian treaties, and the defeats of American Indians. Following Grade 8, American Indians vanish from the curriculum

(Sleeter, 2002). Once students enter high school the political status of Indians, including treaty rights, are not referenced (Sleeter, 2002). The exception to this absence in secondary curriculum is the inclusion of American Indians with regards to Civil Rights (Sleeter, 2002). For instance, in the Grade 11 course "United States History and Geography-Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century", standard **11.10** requires "Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights" (p. 156). The pertinent substandard regarding American Indians and civil rights is substandard

11.10.5:

Discuss the diffusion of the civil rights movement of African Americans from the churches of the rural South and the urban North, including the resistance to racial desegregation in Little Rock and Birmingham, and how the advances influenced the agendas, strategies, and effectiveness of the quests of American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans for civil rights and equal opportunities (p. 156).

Sleeter (2002) concludes: "Although regaining land and sovereignty, and rebuilding economies is central today to the work of indigenous peoples [citation omitted], these issues are not mentioned, implying that Native Americans no longer exist politically and have been absorbed culturally" (p. 15). Sleeter's (2002) assessment of the treatment of American Indians in the curriculum corresponds to the ideological and structural functions that make up the white settler state (WSS). Undoubtedly, the *Framework* (2005) promotes a CME that reifies white settler nationalism (WSN) and blindly promotes western metaphysics.

Examining the content standards, grades kindergarten through twelve, I found that the standards incorporate American Indians in ten broad **explicit** themes:

- 1. <u>National Identity/ Nation of Immigrants</u>: Defined as standards that affirm the view of American Indians as part of the fabric of a larger national identity (Standards 1.5; 1.5.2).
- 2. <u>Geography & Culture</u>: Defined as the standards that introduce American Indians in relation to geography to teach how American Indian cultures were shaped by geography, including pre-Columbian cultures (Standards 3.2; 3.2.1; 3.2.2; 4.2; 4.2.1; 5.1; 5.1.1; 5.1.2; 5.4.1).
- 3. <u>Governance</u>: Defined as those standards that mention American Indians in relation to systems of government, including the mention of tribal constitutions, rancherias, and reservations (Standards 3.2.3, 3.2.4, 3.4, 3.4.5, 4.5; 4.5.5; 5.1.3).
- 4. <u>Relations</u>: This category encompasses those standards that describe Indian relationships with European figures, including settlers (Standards 4.2.3; 5.3, 5.3.1, 5.3.2).
- 5. <u>Indian Defeat/Indian Wars</u>: This category includes those standards that examine American Indian participation in battles/wars, their defeat, and relocation (Standards 5.3.3, 5.3.4, 5.6, 5.6.1).
- 6. <u>Internal Indian conflicts</u>: This category describes the standard(s) that examine internal Indian conflicts (Standard 5.3.5).
- 7. <u>Great Men</u>: This category (derived from the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977) encompasses individual American Indian figures featured in the standards (Standard 5.3.6).
- 8. <u>Federal Indian Policies</u>: This category, like its name suggests, covers standards that examine federal Indian policy (5.6.6; 8.5, 8.5.3, 8.8, 8.8.1, 8.12.2;).
- 9. <u>Westward Expansion</u>: This category, while also self-explanatory, is used to include standards that examine the impact of westward expansion on Indians (5.6.6;8.8.2).
- 10. <u>Civil Rights/Equality</u>: Finally, this category includes the standard(s) that examine American Indians in relation to Civil Rights (11.10.5).

While I separated the standards into these ten themes, the standards do not function so

rigidly and do overlap. As stated, the grade 11 standards only explicitly mention Indians

once, but when the standards are read as a whole, it becomes apparent how standards

shape textbook content.

The themes that emerged in relation to explicit treatment of Indians are aligned with the themes that emerged in the textbook analysis. This is not a mistake since standards shape what content is found in the textbooks For example, the explicit theme Geography & Culture that is defined as standards that treat American Indians in relation to geography and teach how American Indian cultures were shaped by geography, including pre-Columbian cultures, replicates the Native Cultures explicit theme from the textbook findings. Examining some of the standards that inform the Geography & Culture theme in closer detail, along with corresponding textbook content illuminates this alignment between standards and instructional texts. For example, standard 3.2.2 requires students be able to "[d]iscuss the ways in which physical geography, including climate, influenced how the local Indian nations adapted to their natural environment (e.g., how they obtained food, clothing, tools)" (p. 52). In addition, standard 5.1.1. requires students "[d]escribe how geography and climate influenced the way various nations lived and adjusted to the natural environment, including locations of villages, the distinct structures that they built, and how they obtained food, clothing, tools, and utensils" (p. 71). In other words, these standards require students describe how geography impacted Indian culture, and how Indians in turn reacted to their geography.

In this same fashion, the textbook themes I label <u>Native Cultures</u> describe pre-Columbian cultures and the role of geography in shaping Indian cultural attributes. For example in the textbook *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* by Danzer, et. al. (2006), in a section titled "Native American Societies of the 1400s", the authors

state:

The varied regions of the North American continent provided for many different ways of life. The native groups that populated the continent's coasts, deserts, and forests 500 years ago were as diverse as their surroundings.

Diverse Peoples. The inhabitants of California adapted to the region's varied environments. The Kashaya Pomo lived in marshlands along the central coast, hunting waterfowl with slingshots and nets. To the north of them, the Yurok and Hupa searched the forests for acorns and trapped fish in mountain streams.

The waterways and forests of the Northwest Coast sustained large communities year-round. On a coastline that stretched from what is now southern Alaska to northern California, groups such as the Kwakiutl, Nootka, and Haida collected shellfish from the beaches and hunted the ocean for whales, sea otters, and seals.

In the dry Southwest, the Pueblos and Pima tribes, descendants of the Anasazi and Hohokam, lived in multistory houses made of stone or adobe, a sundried brick of clay and straw, and grew maize (corn), beans, melons, and squash.

Beneath the forest canopy of the northeast, members of the Iroquois nation hunted fish and game, such as wild turkeys, deer, and bear. In the Northeast, where winters could be long and harsh, Northeast peoples relied heavily on wild animals for clothing and food. In the warmer Southeast, groups lived mainly off the land, growing such crops as maize, squash, and beans"(p. 6).

In this passage, the authors describe how Indian tribes from four different geographic areas adapted to their environments, and were simultaneously shaped by it, demonstrating alignment between standards and textbooks.

In this regard, the content of the textbooks is aligned to the *Framework's* (2005) content standards. Another example is the <u>Relations</u> explicit theme found in the standards, and the <u>Contact/Colonization</u> explicit theme found in the textbooks. The standards that have to do with the <u>Relations</u> theme describe Indian relationships with European figures, including settlers, and in turn the <u>Contact/Colonization</u> theme

demarks portions of the textbooks that describe interactions between the European settlers and Indians during contact and colonial periods. Similar alignment is found with regard to themes found in the **generated** category.

The **generated** category, which is defined as ideas or concepts found in the standards that do not explicitly name Native Americans, but nevertheless articulate concepts and ideas that greatly impact Native Americans, is made up of a variety of themes. These **generated** themes that arose out of my examination of the history-social science standards specifically are:

- 1. <u>Western Origins/Christianity</u>: Defined as standards that affirm and define western origins of the United States, including philosophy and religions, specifically Christianity, and how these have shaped our Constitutions and individual rights (Standards 5.4, 5.7; 7.11; 8.1, 8.2, 8.3; 11.1, 11.1.1.1.1.4, 11.3, 11.3.1-11.3.5).
- 2. <u>Immigration/Migration</u>: Defined as the standards & aspects of the *Framework* that emphasize the role of immigration in the creation of the United States, including geography, settler expansion and the role of migration in the creation of urban landscapes (Standards 4.4.3, 4.4.4; 5.8; 8.6.3, 8.8, 8.8.3-8.8.6, 8.12.5; 11.2; 11.2.3; 11.11; Curriculum Framework...)
- 3. <u>Technology/Industrialization</u> (Western Scientific Rationales): Defined as those standards that emphasize the role of science and technology in the industrialization of the United States, and how industrialization helped shape the character of the United States (Standards 6.1; 8.6.1, 8.6.2, 8.7, 8.12; 11.2.1, 11.2.2, 11.2.6, 11.8, 11.5.7, 11.7.6).
- 4. <u>Diversity</u>: This category encompasses those standards that describe the diversity of Americans, and the role of diversity in creating unique American cultural products (Standards 1.5; 8.6.4; 11.5, 11.5.4, 11.5.5).
- 5. <u>Race & Racism</u>: This category includes those standards that examine the role of race and racism in American history (Standards 8.7.4, 8.9, 8.10, 8.11; 11.2, 11.5.2, 11.10).
- 6. <u>Equality</u>: This category describes the standard(s) that examine the Civil Rights movement in American and the role of equality in

voting rights, and the underlying principal of equality (Standard 5.7; 11.10, 11.10.1-11.10.4, 11.10.6).

In this regard, the **generated** themes replicate those themes for the textbooks, for the most part, are conceptually similar. For example westward expansion is not treated as a separate **generated** theme here because in the standards I found it is subsumed under a larger discourse of immigration and migration. Whereas in the textbooks, entire chapters and sections are dedicated to the idea of westward expansion, and therefore receives its own label.

However, examining both **generated** themes from the standards and textbooks, titled <u>Western Origins/Christianity</u>, provides an excellent example how textbooks align the content of these generated themes with the content standards themselves. For example, the standards in grades seven, eight, ten and eleven emphasize the role of the Enlightenment as foundational in shaping the United States. For example, standard **11.1.1** states: "Describe the Enlightenment and the rise of democratic ideas as the context in which the nation was founded" (p. 151). Thus the textbooks narratives devote a great deal of material towards describing Enlightenment thinkers, their ideas, and their influence on American democracy and philosophy.

To further provide concrete evidence of this alignment of textbooks to standards, the textbook publishers themselves provide standards maps that illustrate how their textbooks align with the corresponding standards, in this case Grade 11 United States History and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century. As stated, textbooks for secondary grade curriculum are adopted by local school districts and not by the California State Board of Education (CSBE). School districts are therefore required to adopt books that meet or exceed the standards set out in the *Framework* (2005). While publishers are not required to provide standards maps, they are encouraged to do so by the CSBE (California Department of Education, 2007). The standard map describes how the textbook meets and exceeds the California standards. For example, Glencoe/McGraw-Hill provides the following standard map, demonstrating how Nash's (1997) *American Odyssey*, aligns with standard **11.1.1** described below (SE/TWE-Student Edition/Teacher's Wraparound Edition):

			PUBLISHER CITATIONS*		
Grade	Standard	Text of Standard	Introduced	Practiced	Taught to
	#				Mastery
11	(1)	Describe the Enlightenment and the rise of democratic ideas as the context in which the nation was founded.	SE/TWE: 54- 60, 61-63, 64 65, 68-70, 72 75, 78, 80- 85, 88-90, 91 109 TWE: 54A, 78A, 78B	60, 70, 75, 76, 77, 85, 90, 120	SE/TWE: 60, 70, 75, 76, 77, 85, 90, 120 TWE: 65

The publisher outlines on which pages standard **11.1.1** is introduced, practiced, and taught to mastery in the textbook.

Glencoe/McGraw-Hill provides the same standard map for Appleby's et al' (2005) *The American Vision*. The standard map for **11.1.1** is represented as follows:

Grade	Standard	Text of Standard	Introduced	Practiced	Taught to
	#				Mastery
11	11.1	Students analyze the significant events in the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence.			
11	(1)	Describe the Enlightenment and the rise of democratic ideas as the context in which the nation was founded.	SE: 111- 112, 120-128 TWE: U 128	'	SE: 130- 131, 132- 133 TWE: RB 113, 130; W 112, 129

Like the Nash (1997) textbook, the Appleby et al. (2005) textbook map describes on what pages standard **11.1.1**, which requires students understand the role of the Enlightenment in shaping the democratic ideals of the United States, is introduced, practiced, and taught to mastery. The same maps exist for the other two textbooks by Cayton et. al (2002) and Danzer, et. al (2006), but I will not provide them here as they provide the exact same information.

As these maps and my previous analysis demonstrate, standards shape the content contained in instructional texts. For this reason the subcategories or themes I identify for the standards are either the same or overlap with those I identify for textbooks. Regarding the **missing** category, those themes remain the same for textbooks and standards. In the next section, I analyze these findings utilizing the Smith's (2002) DM that centers the frameworks of indigenous and western metaphysics. I focus on the same three time periods examined in the chapter six—pre-contact, westward expansion, and civil rights—in order to examine how the categories that emerged in relation to

these time periods (explicit, generated, and missing) are embodied in the *Framework*. I have shown how standards are aligned with textbook contents. I now examine how the deeper western metaphysical assumptions perpetuated by the textbooks are reproduced by the standards.

II. Analysis

The sum total of the California *History-Social Science Framework* shapes how the content is incorporated into textbooks. This includes the learning goals and the historical and social science analysis skills contained in the *Framework* (2005), along with the content standards adopted in the *Framework* (2005). In sum, the *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools* shapes the form and content of textbooks. In this section, I analyze both the content and form findings of the *Framework* (2005) outlined in section one. I begin with the form analysis of the *Framework* and follow with the content analysis of the *Framework*

A. Form Analysis of Framework

In particular I examine one feature of form found in my examination of textbooks and content standards—chronological narratives of history. As mentioned in the previous chapter, U.S. history textbooks are organized according to chronological and linear historical narratives, a chief trait of western metaphysics. The emphasis on chronology is one of seventeen major "distinguishing characteristics" of the *History*-

regard to chronological organization:

1. This framework is centered in the chronological study of history. History, placed in its geographic setting, establishes human activities in time and place. History and geography are the two great integrative studies of the field. In examining the past and present, students should recognize that events and changes occur in a specific time and place; that historical change has both causes and effects; and that life is bounded by the constraints of place. Throughout this curriculum, the importance of the variables of time and place, when and where, history and geography, is stressed repeatedly (p. 4).

It follows that the U.S. history textbooks adopted for use in LAUSD, adopt chronological narratives of history, as it is a major characteristic emphasized by the *Framework*, and school districts are mandated to meet or exceed California state academic standards in their adoption of textbooks. Moreover, history as chronology is the major form of historical master narrative developed in the west, and as described in chapter three, chronology, or linearism are central concepts of western metaphysics.

Therefore, the subject, or project of "history" as it is popularly understood is a paradigm of western metaphysics that utilizes a variety of conceptual mechanisms, such as chronology. History in American schooling has, as it's central aim, to tell the official history of the nation (Apple, 2000; McLaren, 2006), and inculcate in students their place within this imagined narrative (Anderson). The *Framework* (2005) in this regard explicitly states that the following are goals of the history-social science framework:

As educators in the field of history-social science, we want our students to perceive the complexity of social, economic, and political problems. We want them to have the ability to differentiate between what is important and what is unimportant. We want them to know their rights and responsibilities as American citizens. We want them to understand the meaning of the Constitution as a social contract that defines our democratic government and guarantees our individual rights. We want them to respect the right of others to differ with them. We want them to take an active role as citizens and to know how to work for change in a democratic society. We want them to understand the value, the importance, and the fragility of democratic institutions. We want them to realize that only a small fraction of the world's population (now or in the past) has been fortunate enough to live under a democratic form of government, and we want them to understand the conditions that encourage democracy to prosper. We want them to develop a keen sense of ethics and citizenship. And we want them to care deeply about the quality of life in their community, their nation, and their world (p. 2).

The *Framework* (2005) is explicitly intended to teach students to support the WSS and the ideologies and structures that promote it. In addition one of the three learning goals established by the *Framework*, Knowledge and Cultural Understanding (KCU), contains the curriculum literacy of historical literacy, which in turn consists of the relevant essential learning on chronology and history. The essential learning promotes the following:

Understand the meaning of time and chronology. History inescapably deals with the dimension of time. Children must learn the meaning of such terms as decade, generation, century, and so on. As they grow more mature, students should learn not only when events occurred but also what else was happening at the same time in that society and elsewhere. To define a moment in time (and place) for study is to select a particular set of possibilities and constraints. Chronology defines relationships in time, and students should learn how major events relate to each other in time so that the past is comprehensible rather than a chaotic jumble of disconnected occurrences (p. 13).

The essential learning explicitly centers western metaphysical constructs of time, including linearism and progressivism. Furthermore, it promotes western metaphysical notions of place.

Accompanying the content standards for elementary, middle and secondary education, the *Framework* (2005) outlines that students should acquire certain analytical

skills. With regards to chronology in grades 9-12 the *Framework* (2005) states students should learn the following Historical and Social Science Analysis Skills:

Chronological and Spatial Thinking

- 1. Students compare the present with the past, evaluating the consequences of past events and decisions and determining the lessons that were learned.
- 2. Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.
- 3. Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, techno-logical innovations, and goods.
- 4. Students relate current events to the physical and human characteristics of places and regions (p. 177).

Chronological storytelling, or linearism, is thus explicitly utilized as a tool to accomplish the goals articulated by the *Frameworks*. In addition, the chronological and spatial thinking skills, these Skills smuggle in other western metaphysical instrumentalization.

How does the form of the textbooks, promoted by the *Framework* (2005) disseminate a particular worldview and how does this conflict with indigenous worldviews? In order to answer this question, it is important to delineate how history is in fact a cultural product that does not match up with indigenous metaphysics (Martin, 1987). Martin (1987) argues that the discipline of history is merely whites presuming "to document and interpret the history of a people whose perception of the world for the most part eludes us [whites]" (p. 27). He continues, the concept of history displays an

"ethnocentric bias': the tendency to interpret another culture using the norms and values of one's own culture as a point of reference" (ibid).

Vine Deloria (1992) describes that the very essence of history, time and place, reveal a great divergence between western immigrant, or settler society, and American Indian philosophies. Deloria (1992) explains that that when "one group is concerned with the philosophical problem of space and the other with the philosophical problem of time, then the statements of either group do not make much sense when transferred from one context to the other without the proper consideration of what is taking place" (p. 63). Because place is a central actor in indigenous metaphysics, knowledge production and indeed story telling proceed from these foundations (Deloria, 1992). On the other hand, settler societies or "Immigrants review the movement of their ancestors across the continent as a steady progression of basically good events and experiences, thereby placing history—time—in the best possible light" (ibid).

In essence what one has with regards to the past, is as Peter Nabakov (2002) claims "contrasting assumptions and priorities regarding the past" (p. 31). Furthermore, cultural ideas regarding the past shape the goals and ideals of a society in the present and in the future. While U.S. history in schools prioritizes imparting a particular narrative about the creation and establishment of the United States in order to solidify WSN and national identity, Indian accounts of the past are not so concerned with linear narratives and exact dates. Instead, indigenous accounts of the past have more to do

with relationships to places, obligations set out by creation stories, and the ceremonial life of a community, holistically engaging a tribe's sense of itself.

The contrast between indigenous metaphysics and western metaphysics results in very different assumptions about time. Yet school curriculum, in this case history, only draws from one. Western Europeans, indeed white settlers perspectives are not informed by place-based worldviews, but rather by time based, or linear perceptions of the world (Deloria, 1992). As characterized by the framework of western metaphysics the resulting white settler worldview is wedded to Christian ideas of a chosen people (Deloria, 1992). Extending Deloria's (1992) insights on western identity, Americans perceive themselves to be in guardians of the world, and guardians of the most enlightened political project—democracy. The *Framework* (2005), for instance states: "We want them [students] to realize that only a small fraction of the world's population (now or in the past) has been **fortunate enough** to live under a democratic form of government, and we want them to understand the conditions that encourage democracy to prosper" [emphasis added] (p. 2).

B. Content Analysis of *Framework*

In the chapter six I examine how U.S. History textbooks the three categories of explicit, generated, and missing are represented within the three time periods of precontact, westward expansion, and civil rights. Within the pre-contact time period, I examined the **explicit** theme of land-bridge, the **generated** theme of western scientific rationale, and the **missing** theme of tribal origins. Similarly, within the westward expansion and settlement period, I examined the **explicit** theme of white settler interactions with Indians, the **generated** theme of manifest destiny, and the **missing** Indian perspectives concerning westward expansion. Finally, in the civil rights period, I examined the **explicit** theme of minority rights; the **generated** theme of equality; and the **missing** Indian perspectives on sovereignty and self-determination from the civil rights time period.

In this section I extend my analysis to incorporate the pertinent content and curriculum standards and accompanying course descriptions regarding the three time periods (pre-contact, westward expansion, and Civil Rights). Textbooks, particularly in California, reflect the standards adopted as demonstrated in the findings above. For this reason, I build upon my findings and analysis from chapter six, supplementing it with similar analysis of the 2005 *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools (Framework)*, beginning with the examination of explicit and generated themes from the three time periods, and concluding with an examination of missing themes.

1. Pre-Contact

With regards to the pre-contact time period and the explicit theme of landbridge, the generated theme of western scientific rationales, and the missing theme of tribal origins, the California content standards do not explicitly state that students have to learn the land-bridge narrative. For example, content standard "11.1 Students analyze the significant events in the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence" (p. 161). The pre-contact narratives are presented as significant precursory events in the founding of the U.S. in textbooks. As shown, the history-social science standards, indeed the history-social science *Framework* (2005) in California is explicitly based upon sequential learnings that build upon previous grade learnings. Therefore examining the standards as a whole provide evidence that the history of Indians is intended to be read under the larger discourse of the explicit theme of national identity/nation of immigrants. This explicit theme is characterized as standards that affirm the view of American Indians as part of the fabric of a larger national identity. To understand this intent, closer examination of earlier grade standards is merited.

For example standard **1.5.1** requires students "Recognize the ways in which they are all part of the same community, sharing principles, goals, and traditions despite their varied ancestry; the forms of diversity in their school and community; and the benefits and challenges of a diverse population" (p. 41). Standard **1.5.2** explicitly adds, with regards to American Indians, that students "[u]nderstand the ways in which American Indians and immigrants have helped define California and American culture" (p. 41). Therefore, reading the standards as a whole, their explicit intent is to subsume the discourse concerning American Indians into the larger discourse of national identity. Moreover the *Framework* (2005) emphasizes, both in the standards (as shown above) and the learning goals, views that affirm western metaphysics. For example, when the

content standards are coupled with the Knowledge and Cultural Understanding (KCU) and the Democratic Understanding and Civic Values (DUCV) learning goals, detailed in the *Framework* for history-social sciences, it becomes apparent how content standards in combination with the curriculum framework function to determine what is found in texts.

One of the curriculum strands that makes up the KCU goal is geographic literacy. As demonstrated in the previous section, geographic literacy consists of a variety of essential learnings. Of particular relevance to the land-bridge narrative is the geographic essential learning, "understanding human movement," which requires students learn:

Humans have been on the move since the beginning of history. Students can observe how early humans migrated from place to place in quest of food, water, and security. Students can analyze how, later in history, great migrations carried people from one continent to another in the search for places of greater opportunity (p. 17).

Clearly, the land-bridge narrative is included as a learning goal of the history-social science frameworks, which teaches students a geographic literacy concerning human movement. In addition students are intended to learn the following Historical and Social Science Skills with regards to chronology and spatial thinking, that echoes the geographic literacy included above:

3. Students use a variety of maps and documents to **interpret human movement**, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and **settlement patterns**, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, techno-logical innovations, and goods [emphasis added] (p. 177).

The combination of the essential learning and the Skills emphasize lesson on human movement and migration framed by western metaphysical understandings of geography and peoples.

Similarly, the DUCV is developed by the following essential learning concerning the national identity curriculum strand:

To understand this nation's identity, students must: Recognize that American society is and always has been pluralistic and multicultural, a single nation composed of individuals whose heritages encompass many different national and cultural backgrounds. From the **first encounter between indigenous peoples and exploring Europeans**, the inhabitants of the North American continent have represented a variety of races, religions, languages, and ethnic and cultural groups [emphasis added] (p. 20).

Reading this essential learning goal in conjunction with the narratives, students are thus intended to read pre-contact narratives, including the land-bridge narrative, as part of a discourse that folds Indian peoples into the larger story concerning the nation's identity. This standard serves as the foundation for the immigrant-nation and national identity perspectives found in the textbooks.

By framing indigenous peoples as immigrants themselves, this erases an important aspect of indigeneity, of indigenous metaphysics—tribal origins. Many tribes' origins stories reject the land-bridge theory. Some tribal origin stories, for instance, describe that the people originated from specific geographic location within the United States. Yet by promoting this particular view of "human migration" the *Framework* (2005) erases indigenous ontology, facilitating the construction of white

settler nationalism (WSN), of which the discourses of immigrant-nation and standardizing national identity are key in constructing.

The **generated** western scientific rationales utilized by the textbooks examined in this pre-contact time period are not explicitly stated in the standards. In this regard western scientific rationales are also implicit in the *Framework*. The western scientific rationales used to frame the land-bridge narratives in the textbooks expressed reliance on the western discipline of archaeology. Moreover, the western scientific rationales reveal the embedded nature of western modern science as valid mode of inquiry and knowledge production that does not need to be named in the standards.

However, as the standards demonstrate there is little room for the inclusion of **missing** tribal origins. Instead, Indians are included to affirm a singular, or standardizing national identity. This emphasis on national identity is stressed throughout the *Framework* (2005), including the learning goals, the sequential grade content standards, and the course descriptions. This standardizing national identity discourse is further articulated in the remainder of the national identity curriculum strand that states, that as the course of history has progressed "...the United States has grown increasingly diverse in its social and cultural composition. Teachers have an obligation to instill in students a sense of pride in their individual heritages. Students must recognize that whatever our diverse origins may be, we are all Americans" (p. 20). This curriculum strand represents how the colorblind ideological function (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Perez-Huber et. al., 2008) of WSN operates.

As early as grade three, students are inculcated with this standardizing national identity discourse. For example, the grade three course description explains that through a variety of teaching mechanisms, including "...stories and the celebration of national holidays, children should learn the meaning of the nation's holidays and the symbols that provide continuity and a sense of community across time...They should learn the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag and the national songs that express American ideals, such as 'America the Beautiful,' the 'Star Spangled Banner,' and 'America.'" (p. 51). In grade five this national identity is further encouraged: "In this unit students examine the contributions of the different groups that built the American nation and, in the process, became a new people. Students should understand that we are a people of many races, many religions, and many different national origins and that we live under a common governmental system" (p. 69). In other words, the sum total of the standards require students to come to see that national identity embodies a diversity of peoples and experiences, united under a singular American identity, defined by democracy, individualism, and allegiance to the United States. Moreover the course unit expressly embraces the 'new American' identity identified in the construction of WSN in chapter two.

The sequential organization of history-social science, from primary, middle to secondary, and the *Frameworks* emphasis on reviewing previous grade learning is evident in the way the *Framework* shapes the content of textbooks.

2. Westward Expansion and Settlement

With regard to the time period of westward expansion, the Grade 11 U.S. History content standards do not explicitly mention the historical episodes that compromise westward expansion in the textbooks. Instead the Grade 11 content standards focus on generated concepts students should learn regarding the movement of peoples, specifically the **generated** <u>Immigration/Migration</u> theme, which I define as those standards that emphasize the role of immigration in the creation of the United states, including settler expansion. For example, standard **11.1.4** states students should "[e]xamine the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction and of the industrial revolution, including demographic shifts and the emergence in the late nineteenth century of the United States as a world power" (p. 151). Clearly, the westward expansion of European settlers westward represents such type of demographic shift.

More specific, the same essential learning "Understanding Human Movement" of the KCU learning goal applies for this historical narrative. It provides: "They [students] should understand major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, and the **frictions that develop between population groups from broadly distinct cultural regions**" [emphasis added](p. 17). Similarly the History and Social Science Analysis Skills tools outlined in the *Framework* (2005) students are intended to acquire provide a similar narrative:

3. Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing

environmental preferences and **settlement patterns**, the **frictions that develop between population groups**, and the diffusion of ideas, techno-logical innovations, and goods (p. 177).

In essence, the standards' learning goals and analysis skills emphasize an approach to studying western expansion and settler interactions with Indians that focus on settlement patterns, particularly those related to white settler expansion. Other groups are included only in as much as this settler expansion resulted in conflict with white settlers.

Analyzing the standards as a whole, the concept of westward expansion is **explicitly** incorporated beginning in grade 5. Specifically. I identify the three following **explicit** themes in relation to westward expansion: <u>Relations</u> (defined as those standards that describe Indian relations with settlers); <u>Federal Indian Policies</u> (standards that examined federal Indian policy, including that which enabled expansion); and <u>Westward Expansion</u> (those standards that examine the impact of westward expansion on Indians). In grade 5 for example, standard **5.3** requires "[s]tudents describe the cooperation and conflict that existed among the American Indians and between the Indian nations and the new settlers", emphasizing the relations that existed between settlers and Indians (p. 71). Standard **5.6.6** similarly requires students "[d]emonstrate knowledge of the significance of land policies developed under the Continental Congress…and those policies' impact on American Indians' land" (p. 73).

In grade 8, students are expected, in standard **8.5** "analyze U.S. foreign policy in the early Republic" (p. 110). Particular, substandard **8.5.3** states: "Outline the major

treaties with American Indian nations during the administrations of the first four presidents and the varying outcomes of those treaties" (p. 110). Standard **8.8** requires students "analyze the divergent paths of the American people in the West from 1800 to the mid-1800s and the challenges they faced" (p. 111) With regard to Indian policy, substandard **8.8.1** requires students "[d]iscuss the election of Andrew Jackson as president in 1828, the importance of Jacksonian democracy, and his actions as president (e.g., the spoils system, veto of the National Bank, policy of Indian removal, opposition to the Supreme Court)" (p. 111). Moreover, substandard **8.8.2** states that students should be able to do the following with regard to westward expansion:

Describe the purpose, challenges, and economic incentives associated with **westward expansion**, including the concept of **Manifest Destiny** (e.g., the Lewis and Clark expedition, accounts of the removal of Indians, the Cherokees' "Trail of Tears," settlement of the Great Plains) and the territorial acquisitions that spanned numerous decades [emphasis added] (p. 111).

This substandard thus incorporates both the **explicit** and **generated** themes from the westward expansion time period. The four textbooks examined all make mention of the impact white, or European settlers had on the Cherokee in the early 19th century, and on the Indians of the Great Plains in the late 19th century. In addition, the textbooks describe the role of Manifest Destiny in propelling settler expansion.

With respect to the **generated** textbook theme of manifest destiny, while the eighth grade history-social science standards mention manifest destiny, the 11th grade content standards do not explicitly mention this concept. The **generated** theme that is applicable in this time period is the <u>Immigration/migration</u> theme.

While the standards link the notion of manifest destiny to westward expansion, it is not clear how critically manifest destiny is to be taught. In the textbooks themselves, there is no explicit link made between the idea and the result. However, the course description provided for grade eight provides further insights on how westward expansion and manifest destiny are constructed in the *Framework* (2005). For the most part, the narratives concerning westward expansion in the course description of grade eight United States History and Geography: Growth and Conflict's unit on "The Divergent Paths of the American People: 1800–1850" follow traditional paradigms in their description of how students should come to understand "The West" during this time period. This includes emphasis on how westward expansion opened up new economic markets, offered new territory for European immigrants, and provided foundational stories concerning national identity. These foundational stories are described as "folklore of individualism and rugged frontier life that has become a significant aspect of our national self-image" (p. 102). Clearly textbooks reflect the Frameworks (2005) central goal of developing and encouraging a national-identity.

Within the context of the Grade 11 textbooks examined in the previous chapters, these lessons concerning national identity found in both the time periods of pre-contact and westward expansion are affirmed in the units focused on "Connecting with Past Learnings: The Nation's Beginnings" and "Connecting with Past Learnings: The United States to 1900."

3. Civil Rights

The time period of civil rights is dealt with more extensively by the content standards. The content standards regarding civil rights are found in standard **11.10**, which requires "Students analyze the development of federal civil rights and voting rights". The pertinent standard regarding American Indians and civil rights is substandard **11.10.5**:

Discuss the diffusion of the civil rights movement of African Americans from the churches of the rural South and the urban North, including the resistance to racial desegregation in Little Rock and Birmingham, and how the advances influenced the agendas, strategies, and effectiveness of the quests of American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans for civil rights and equal opportunities (p. 156).

This is the only section of the Grade 11 U.S. history content standards in which Indians are explicitly mentioned. Clearly, the content standards identify American Indians as minorities, as evidenced by the above quoted standard. It follows that the textbooks therefore treat American Indians as minorities. Specifically, regarding the civil rights time period, standards **explicitly** treat American Indians in the Civil Rights/Minority discourse. The **generated** standard theme of Civil Rights/Equality emphasizes how the principle of equality shaped the civil rights movement including voting rights.

The **generated** standard theme of equality is shaped by the conceptual learning goals that drive the history-social science *Framework* (2005). In particular, one of the three learning goals emphasized for the *Framework* (2005), informs the discourses concerning equality in the textbooks—the learning goal of Democratic Understanding and Civic Values (DUCV). Part of the DUCV learning goal includes the curriculum

strand that centers on national identity and it is within this curriculum strand that the pertinent essential learnings are developed concerning equality. For instance, the essential learning, "Understand the American creed as an ideology extolling equality and freedom" is characterized as follows in the *Framework* (2005):

The American creed is derived from the language and values found in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights...The creed provides the unifying theme of the memorable discourse of Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have a Dream": "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal..." Students should learn the radical implications of such phrases as "all men are created equal" and study the historic struggle to extend to all Americans the constitutional guarantees of equality and freedom (pp. 20-21).

This essential learning emphasizes an understanding of equality that rights are intended to be guaranteed to all citizens of the United States. In addition, this essential learning focuses on specific "historic struggles" that occurred in the United States regarding equal rights, which in the textbooks examined include the Civil Rights movement and other protest movements.

Another DUCV essential learning labeled, "Recognize the status of minorities and women in different times in American history" encourages students to consider the history of minorities in the United States:

Students should be aware of the history of prejudice and discrimination against **minorities** and women as well as efforts to establish **equality** and freedom. Students should understand how different minorities were treated historically and should see historical events through a variety of perspectives (p. 21).

Finally, the DUCV essential learning, "Realize that true patriotism celebrates the moral force of the American idea as a nation that unites as one people the descendants of

many cultures, races, religions, and ethnic groups" emphasizes the notion that while America consists of diverse peoples, they come together to emphasize a common national identity. Furthermore, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the *Framework* (2005) states the following regarding diversity and multiculturalism:

This framework incorporates a **multicultural** perspective throughout the history-social science curriculum. It calls on teachers to recognize that the history of community, state, region, nation, and world must reflect the experiences of men and women and of different racial, religious, and ethnic groups. California has always been a state of many different cultural groups, just as the **United States has always been a nation of many different cultural groups**. The experiences of all these groups are to be integrated at every grade level in the history-social science curriculum. The framework embodies the understanding that the national identity, the national heritage, and the national creed are pluralistic and that our national history is the complex story of many peoples and one nation, of e pluribus unum, and of an unfinished struggle to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution [emphasis added] (pp. 6-7).

The history of minorities has been one shaped by the fight for equality—to be recognized as equal citizens of the United States. In this regard, the idea of *e pluribus unum*, out of many one, affirms the standardizing national identity, emphasized by the *Framework* (2005). Therefore the history of minorities, like others, is shaped by an understanding that the history of the United States "is a complex story of many peoples and one nation", of one national identity, and the struggle of peoples to share in this identity (pp. 6-7). **Missing** from the *Framework* (2005) are discussions of tribal sovereignty.

In conclusion the *Framework* (2005) promotes discourses that normalize western knowledge organization and assumptions, promote western notions of being (metaphysics) and promote westernization of knowledge and its institutionalization

through means perceived as neutral. The type of narrative concerning minorities is subsumed within the larger narrative of multiculturalism within the standards. This multiculturalism stresses a melting pot ideology that stresses a standardizing national identity and relies on the discourse of the United States as immigrant-nation, a key characterization of the white settler state in social studies curriculum. The narratives of the pre-contact, westward expansion, and civil rights time periods promote this brand of multiculturalism as it relates to Indians. The land-bridge theme emphasizes Indians as the first Americans. White settler interactions with Indians emphasize the idea that multiculturalism has not been easily won and has been violent at times. Minority discourses emphasize that Indians are minorities and thus part of the plural fabric of the nation. In this way, the textbooks, and the *Framework* (2005) promote a type of multiculturalism that I label normative multicultural education (NMCE). I define NMCE in the following way:

- Characterizes African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Latino/as, and Native Americans as minorities.
- Folds Native Americans into minority discourses rather than engaging their sovereign status.
- Defines multiculturalism within settler-state discourses and institutions
- Emphasizes multicultural goals in relation to equality and citizenship rights
- Perpetuates the Colonial Model of Education
- Operates within traditional western metaphysical frameworks by emphasizing an anthropocentric and progressivist characterization of democracy.

NMCE is framed in such a manner that precludes legitimate discussions of tribal origins, tribal sovereignty and self-determination, and indigenous metaphysics in general. This is no mistake, as Duane Champagne (2007) illuminates that

multiculturalism is a paradigm developed in nation-states, or white settler states, to respond to the demands of diverse communities for inclusion within the state.

So far I have examined how textbooks reproduce western metaphysics, including narratives that promote white settler state ideology. In this chapter, I examine how content standards and their accompanying framework institutionalize western metaphysics that end up in the actual curriculum (textbooks) used in the classroom. In the next chapter I conclude this dissertation, providing examples of curriculums produced by and for indigenous peoples.

CHAPTER NINE INDIGENIZING CURRICULUM

In this concluding chapter I offer the examples of curriculums developed by both indigenous organizations and state education agencies for indigenous issues. First I look at independently designed curriculums that are offered as resources for either supplemental material or curriculum adoption. These examples are not district specific or tribal specific curriculums. Next I examine the state of Montana's Indian Education for All curriculums developed to meet Montana's policy that mandates all Montana students learn about Indian culture in a culturally responsive way under the Indian Education for All Act (MCA 20-1-501). I also offer how future research based on this dissertation work might look.

I. Indigenized Curriculums

A. The Indian Land Tenure Curriculum (Curriculum)

The Indian Land Tenure Foundation (ILTF) has developed a curriculum to help teach about Indian land ownership and what they refer to as stewardship of Indian lands. Moreover, they developed an educational curriculum in order to address the centrality of land in indigenous metaphysics, indeed culture. The Curriculum is meant to be flexible in order to fit into pre-existing curriculums. The Curriculum is structured into four grade level lessons. These are k-2, 3-5, 6-8, and 9-12. In addition, grade

specific lessons are organized according to the following content areas, which the ILTF defines as the standards of the Curriculum. These four standards are:

- 1. American Indian traditional land values
- 2. American Indian land tenure history
- 3. Contemporary American Indian land issues
- 4. Building a positive future for Indian communities through the land use and stewardship

The lessons contained within the standards address what the ILTF refers to as "core" subjects, including social sciences, language arts, and the sciences. It is important to note that the ILTF does not construct standards in the traditional manner standards are used in by school districts. Typically curriculums and standards are built subject or area specific as is the case with the *History and Social Science Framework for California Public Schools* that integrates social science approaches, including history, geography, and other social science disciplines. The ILTF curriculum, on the other hand, is issue specific, focusing on land issues and integrating a variety of disciplines such as history, science, and language to aid in the lessons. This model is promising as it *reframes* ways curriculums and standards are traditionally constructed and *indigenizes* curriculum and standards that address indigenous issues.

The first standard which examines American Indian traditional land values is built upon the following objective: "Students will demonstrate a knowledge and understanding of traditional American Indian land values that formed the foundation for Indian cultural identity, sense of place, and survival" (ILTF). The impetus behind this standard is the consideration of traditional indigenous land values. The ILTF states: "The survival of American Indian tribal societies is dependent upon their abilities to know and retain special connections to their homelands" (ILTF). In particular, this standard includes a key indigenous perspective missing from both the standards and the textbooks I examine earlier—tribal origins. In the ILT Curriculum, tribal origins play a central role: "The origin stories and related cultural practices that create unique tribal identities are often based upon particular places, land-related incidents or the use of specific natural resources and materials" (ILTF). This answers Wildcat's (2001) call to center indigenous metaphysics in education. Furthermore, the connection between origins, the role of place, and current indigenous survival is centered in this Curriculum: "Many tribal societies that were heavily dependent upon and sustained by their lands are seeking to restore that relationship in order to strengthen their communities" (ILTF).

The second standard, American Indian land tenure history, has the following as it objective: "Students will demonstrate a knowledge of key events in American Indian history and how these events relate to the current land tenure of American Indian tribes and individuals" (ILTF). This standard represents another theme missing from the textbooks and standards I examine earlier—tribal perspectives on westward expansion and lands.

The third standard, Contemporary Land issues, has the following objective: "Students will be able to discuss issues presently affecting American Indian lands and the ability of tribal nations to exercise sovereign powers over those lands" (ILTF). Finally, the fourth standard, Building a positive future for Indian communities, has the

following objective: "Students will explore how a return to American Indian traditional land values can help correct the effects of decades of land loss" (ILTF). Specifically regarding tribal perspectives on westward expansion, more appropriately identified as settler expansionism, the history of settler expansionism shapes "modern Indian land tenure" (ILTF). Without a doubt the history of "... land losses were a result of warfare, displacement, assimilation, broken treaties, tax lien foreclosures, congressional diminishment, executive orders, forced evictions, illegal settlement by non natives and illegitimate sales" (ILTF). To further understand the complexity of this history requires including the missing theme if Review of Federal Indian Law accompanied by Tribal perspectives on Indian Law. The ILTF states: "Furthermore, highly complex relationships between federal government, tribal governments, and state governments have evolved, created by treaties, legislation, executive orders and court decisions. All of this has had an enormous impact on modern Indian land tenure, which cannot be fully understood without an understanding of the history of American Indian colonization" (ILTF). Finally, the ILTF is motivated by a key concept I identify in this dissertation, framing the United States as a white settler state. This framing allows for a more nuanced and realistic assessment of U.S. history and policy. Indeed the (ILTFO argues: "In addition to exploring the history of domestic colonization and subsequent changes in land tenure, principles of European colonization are further explored in relation to indigenous homeland losses in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Africa and South America" (ILTF).

The final standard, Building a positive future for Indian communities, has as its objective: "Students will explore how a return to American Indian traditional land values can help correct the effects of decades of land loss" (ILTF). This represents, possibly the most important aspect of this curriculum. Not only has this Curriculum intervened in curriculum construction, it offers indigenized perspectives that reframe traditional settler state curriculum models. As an *indigenized* curriculum in assesses and addressed the contemporary needs of indigenous peoples, pairing learning and action: "The final standard looks to what Indian communities should consider as they work toward a successful future in managing their lands" (ILTF). The ILT Curriculum also does not shy away from the challenges facing this type of action oriented Curriculum. For instance, it stresses that the assimilatory policies of the white settler state and indeed the CME must be addressed: "Indians have had their lands severely diminished and, in many cases, they have been moved great distances from their original homelands. This diminishment and displacement has had significant impacts on tribal culture, clan and social structure, traditional education, languages and overall tribal health" (ILTF).

However, the ILT curriculum also stresses another key component I identified in my characterization of the settler state, indigenous relationships with the settler state. It addresses Champagne's (1996) insistence that indigenous peoples are not bystanders of this history. To be sure the ILT provides: "Tribal nations are finding the means of asserting their sovereign status and taking steps to correct some of the harm to their tribal societies and their land bases. This assertion can include acquisition of lost lands, halting the erosion of Indian land base, restoration of traditional land values and development of sustainable land-based tribal economies" (ILTF).

The sum total of these four standards imply a comprehensive approach to the realities indigenous peoples face in the United States and how educational discourses can be constructed in ways that meaningfully address them. The next curriculum I examine represents a more tradition approach to curriculum.

B. Montana's Indian Education for All (IEFA)

In this section I examine the various curriculums developed in Minnesota as part of the Indian Education for All (IEFA) Act, focusing on the social studies components of the curriculums. Specifically I review a number of the Montana Office of Public Instruction's (MOPI) IEFA curriculum materials offered through their website. The IEFA Act has called attention nationwide to the issue of Indian education not only for Indian student, but for all students as well with other states like South Dakota trying to follow in Montana's lead (Pember, 2002). The origins of the act, can be traced back to the Montana Constitutional Convention of 1972 (Pember, 2007). In that year Article X, Section 1(2) was added to the Montana Constitution, requiring "The state recognizes the distinct and unique cultural heritage of the American Indian and is committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural heritage" (Pember, 2007; 18). This was codified in 1999 into law with the passage of House Bill 528, now known as the Indian Education for All Act. The Act reads in part: Section 1: It is the constitutionally declared policy of this state to recognize the distinct and unique cultural heritage of American Indians and to be committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural heritage.

Section 2: It is the intent of the legislature that in accordance with Article X, section 1(2), of the Montana constitution:

(a) every Montanan, whether Indian or non-Indian, be encouraged to learn about the distinct and unique heritage of American Indians in a culturally responsive manner; and

(b) every educational agency and all educational personnel will work cooperatively with Montana tribes or those tribes that are in close proximity, when providing instruction or when implementing an educational goal or adopting a rule related to the education of each Montana citizen, to include information specific to the cultural heritage and contemporary contributions of American Indians, with particular emphasis on Montana Indian tribal groups and governments.

Section 3: It is also the intent of [sections 1 through 3], predicated on the belief that all school personnel should have an understanding and awareness of Indian tribes to help them relate effectively with Indian students and parents, that educational personnel provide means by which school personnel will gain an understanding of and appreciation for the American Indian people (MCA 20-1-501).

Responding to the IEFA, the MOPI has designed a series of resources to aid in the introduction of IEFA curriculum. However, funding issues has frustrated the implementation of IEFA.

The funding of IEFA was brought to the Montana Supreme Court. In 2003, the court held "that the state was required to provide enough funding to meet the constitutional requirements of the Act" (Pember, 2007; p. 18). However, Pember (2007) continues, "it still took another two years for legislators to allocate more than \$11 million to meet the mandates of IEFA, ensuring a 'quality' education to all Montana students" (p. 18). The Montana legislature was motivated to adopt IEFA by the

significant American Indian population and the prominence of American Indian legislative members in the state (Pember, 2007). There are twelve tribal nations in Montana, one of which is without a land base, and the remaining eleven are located on seven reservations in the state (Montana Office of Public Instruction, 2007). In Montana, 7.8 percent of the population identifies as American Indian or Alaska Native alone or in combination (Pew Hispanic Center, 2007).³⁹ American Indian students represent a little over 11 percent of students enrolled in public schools (Montana Office of Public Instruction, 2007). In addition of the total number of schools in Montana (850), 83 schools have populations with 50 percent or more American Indian students (ibid). Further, while white enrollment has been steadily declining in Montana public schools, American Indian enrollment is increasing (ibid). The IEFA is not only a response to the schooling of American Indians, it is also a response to Montana's assessment that understanding Indian cultures is a goal that serves larger issues of equity for all students.

Thus far the impact on student achievement has not been measured as the IEFA began implementation in the 2005-2006 school year (Starnes, 2006). What can be assessed at this current juncture is the curriculum that has been developed to meet the IEFA Act. Like with the Indian Land Tenure Curriculum, I focus on the guiding principles or objectives of the materials developed by the Montana Office of Public Instruction to fulfill IEFA.

³⁹ Only two other states, New Mexico and Oklahoma, have higher percentage rates of American Indians or Alaska alone or in combination (Pew Hispanic Center, 2007).

1. Montana Office of Public Instruction (MOPI) IEFA Materials

In response to IEFA, MOPI outlined seven lessons, or objectives, all Montana students need to know about Montana Indians. These lessons guide the curriculum developed for IEFA, in conjunction with the Montana standards. In this section I focus on social studies standards.⁴⁰ These seven lessons are titled the "Essential Understandings Regarding Montana Indians" and they are as follows:

- 1. There is great diversity among the 12 tribal Nations of Montana in their languages, cultures, histories and governments. Each Nation has a distinct and unique cultural heritage that contributes to modern Montana.
- 2. There is great diversity among individual American Indians as identity is developed, defined and redefined by entities, organizations and people. A continuum of Indian identity, unique to each individual, ranges from assimilated to traditional. There is no generic American Indian.
- 3. The ideologies of Native traditional beliefs and spirituality persist into modern day life as tribal cultures, traditions, and languages are still practiced by many American Indian people and are incorporated into how tribes govern and manage their affairs. Additionally, each tribe has its own oral histories, which are as valid as written histories. These histories pre-date the "discovery" of North America.
- 4. Reservations are lands that have been reserved by the tribes for their own use through treaties, statutes, and executive orders and were not "given" to them. The principle that land should be acquired from the Indians only through their consent with treaties involved three assumptions:
 - i. Both parties to treaties were sovereign powers.

⁴⁰ Montana social studies content standards are: Standard 1—Students access, synthesize, and evaluate information to communicate and apply social studies knowledge to real world situations; Standard 2—Students analyze how people create and change structures of power, authority, and governance to understand the operation of government and to demonstrate civic responsibility; Standard 3—Students apply geographic knowledge and skills (e.g., location, place, human/environment interactions, movement, and regions); Standard 4—Students demonstrate an understanding of the effects of time, continuity, and change on historical and future perspectives and relationships; Standard 5—Students make informed decisions based on an understanding of the economic principles of production, distribution, exchange, and consumption; Standard 6—Students demonstrate an understanding of the impact of human interaction and cultural diversity on societies.

- ii. Indian tribes had some form of transferable title to the land.
- iii. Acquisition of Indian lands was solely a government matter not to be left to individual colonists.
- 5. Federal policies, put into place throughout American history, have affected Indian people and still shape who they are today. Much of Indian history can be related through several major federal policy periods:

Colonization Period 1492 -Treaty Period 1789 - 1871

Allotment Period 1887 - 1934 Boarding School Period 1879 - - -Tribal Reorganization Period 1934 - 1958 Termination Period 1953 - 1988 Self-determination 1975 - current

- 6. History is a story most often related through the subjective experience of the teller. With the inclusion of more and varied voices, histories are being rediscovered and revised. History told from an Indian perspective frequently conflicts with the stories mainstream historians tell.
- 7. Under the American legal system, Indian tribes have sovereign powers, separate and independent from the federal and state governments. However, the extent and breadth of tribal sovereignty is not the same for each tribe (Montana Office of Public Instruction, 2008a).

In addition the MOPI developed a social studies model curriculum that incorporates the

Essential Understandings outlined above, in conjunction with social studies content

standards.

I now assess each Essential Understanding utilizing the **missing** category themes

I identify in chapter six and eight, along with Smith's DM and the framework of

indigenous metaphysics developed in chapter three. I include those themes I identified

as missing from the California texts and standards I examine earlier:

- Tribal Origins
- Tribal Religions/Philosophies

- Tribal perspectives on contact and colonization
- Multiple Tribal perspectives on westward expansion
- Review of Federal Indian Law accompanied by Tribal perspectives on Indian Law
- Tribal Sovereignty
- Tribal Cultural Continuity
- Tribal Self-Determination
- Tribal lands

Essential Understandings (EU) one and two both address issues of diversity among the twelve tribes of Montana, and among individual American Indians (MOPI, 2008). Regarding the tribes, EU one explains that diversity exists regarding governance, culture, history and language. For individual American Indians diversity exists regarding how Indians identify themselves, asserting there is no one thing that makes an 'Indian.' The notion of *diversity* represents a theme lacking from my own **missing** themes. This in turn represents a useful aspect of the IEFA curriculum, which is based on its building upon the local tribes of the state of Montana, versus a generalized treatment of American Indians found in the California standards and textbooks.

The third EU identifies that students should understand that indigenous beliefs and spiritual practices continue to inform tribal culture, tradition and language. Significantly this EU stresses the fact that these spiritual beliefs are "incorporated into how tribes govern and manage their affairs" (MOPI, 2008). This targets multiple themes I identify as **missing** in the California context, including tribal origins, tribal religions/philosophies, and tribal cultural continuity. As Champagne (2007) reminds us, indigenous peoples locate their rights to self-governance in their tribes' origin stories. Coupling Champagne's (200&) insights with the framework of indigenous metaphysics developed in chapter three, the mention of tribal religions/philosophies in EU two addresses, for instance tribe's attitudes concerning land-bridge theories. More importantly EU two stresses that the broader context of tribal spiritual beliefs be understood in how they continue to inform tribal life, stressing that actual beliefs themselves should not necessarily be a part of this lesson as many of these are sacred private matters.

EU four addresses the missing themes of tribal lands and Federal Indian policy in a manner that follows Smith's methods of *reframing* and *intervening*. The all too common discourse surrounding tribal lands, including reservations, is reframed pointing out that reservation lands were not "given" to tribes. Rather that through a process of political negotiation with the federal government, in light of settler encroachment, tribes' reserved land through series of treaties and policies from taking by settlers. This reframing of the common narrative Indians were given lands also centers indigenous peoples sovereign powers, addressing another theme missing from California social studies curriculum—tribal sovereignty.

EU five address the related missing theme of review of Federal Indian law and policy, focusing on the major historical Indian policy periods I reviewed in chapter two. This places this history into an appropriate historical perspective, which allows students to assess the impact of vacillating nature of Federal Indian policy. In addition this EU addresses the often over looked history of Indian schooling. By addressing this history the need of IEFA is made more readily apparent.

In addition EU six addresses another important component of the missing themes I identify, which is that of tribal perspectives of U.S. historical events. EU six explains that history is subjective, and by including multiple voices, history is expanded to include differing perspectives. Including Indian voices provides a much different narrative than to that of the typical settler expansionism narrative traditionally centered in social studies curriculum. For instance he background information on EU six challenges the typical narratives of westward expansion and manifest destiny, two themes dominant in the California example. In fact, the framing of EU six moves towards conceptualization more in accord with Lomawaima and McCarty's (2006) critical democracy.⁴¹ Finally EU seven, provides the opportunity for a more in depth look at tribal sovereignty and self-determination, discussions absent in the California example. Moreover EU seven stresses the fact that tribal sovereignty originates from indigenous peoples themselves (Champagne, 2007c). Sovereignty does not originate in any agreements made between tribes with the federal government (Wilkins, 1994, 2002b), realities oftentimes ignored or simply unknown by non-tribal peoples.

To summarize the seven Essential Understandings that guide IEFA represent important models of *intervening* in the way traditional social studies curriculum are conceptualized and developed to promote *indigenized* and *reframed* perspectives. The

⁴¹ Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) define critical democracy as a process, which embraces "more than a benignly neutral diversity that celebrates cultural differences while muting the ideological forces that privilege certain differences and marginalize others" (p. 281). Education is central in achieving a critical democracy, but it cannot be "merely a homogenizing and standardizing machine, unable to draw strength from diversity" (p. 281). Rather diversity, Lomawaima and McCarty (2002) argue, must "…tolerate American Indians living as they might choose, both as Native people and as U.S. citizens" in order to achieve the democratic ideals of equality and freedom.

EU listed above begin to meet Wildcat's (2006) call to center an indigenous

metaphysical orientations in education, and particularly curriculum.

The MOPI also offers a series of model lessons aligned with and the Montana social studies standards and Essential Understandings for secondary classroom use described above. These model lessons focus on twenty-one topics. These topics are:

- 1. Factors Causing Conflict and Cooperation Among Groups and Nations
- 2. Montana Tribal Governments
- 3. Tribal Leaders (contemporary and historical)
- 4. Tribal Sovereignty and Power
- 5. Government Protecting Rights and Needs of Citizens
- 6. Comparing Use of Land by Different Groups
- 7. Human Settlement Patterns Rethinking Columbus
- 8. Analyzing Montana Indians' Points of Historic Significance Two Medicine
- 9. Montana State Constitution and Indian Education for All
- 10. Analyzing Multiple Viewpoints The Lewis and Clark Expedition
- 11. The Colonization Era An Interview with Dr. James Loewen
- 12. The Treaty Period American Indian Perspectives
- 13. The Allotment Period American Indian Perspectives
- 14. The Boarding School Period American Indian Perspectives
- 15. Tribal Reorganization American Indian Perspectives
- 16. Termination American Indian Perspectives
- 17. Federal Indian Policy Self-Determination
- 18. Contemporary American Indian Issues
- 19. Comparing American Indian and European Economic Systems
- 20. Results of Forced Assimilation Loss of Native Languages
- 21. Who is an Indian? (i.e., Blood Quantum, Lineages, Personal Identity)

I focus on one lesson plan here.

The topic "Human Settlement Patters-Rethinking Columbus" is developed in a

model lesson plan provided by the MOPI. The goal of this lesson is for students to

"investigate, interpret, and analyze the impact of multiple historical and contemporary

viewpoints concerning events within and across cultures" (Montana Office of Public

Instruction, 2008b). This goal addresses social studies content standard six, which requires students "demonstrate an understanding of the impact of human interaction and cultural diversity on societies" and benchmark⁴² six, requiring students be able to "analyze the interactions of individuals, groups and institutions in society (e.g., social mobility, class conflict, globalization)" by the time they graduate high school (MOPI, 2008b). Additionally, this lesson plan is based on Essential Understanding six that requires students understand that history is subjective, and indigenous accounts often conflict with "mainstream" accounts. I focus on the third stage outlined by the lesson plan, designing the learning plan and activities to engage in EU six.

The lesson plan requires the teacher to:

- Introduce the topic of colonization
- Establish what students already know concerning colonization
- Emphasize that colonization is on-going—it continues to shape, for instance, how Indians are written about in history textbooks
- Emphasize that tribal histories are mostly told through European male perspectives
- Have students come up with a list of Indian related events/topics that they will interpret from differing standpoints. Examples from the lesson plan include: "Columbus and 'discovery', role of American Indians in the early colonial times, Pocahontas, influence Indians had on early colonial thinking, westward movement, Lewis and Clark, etc..."
- Discuss the guidelines outlined in the lesson plan with students regarding the material they will read.

The lesson plan offers the opportunity to reframe student understandings of

colonization. It also offers the opportunity to *intervene* in mainstream or whitestream

⁴² MOPI defines benchmarks as "expectations for students' knowledge, skills and abilities along a developmental continuum in each content area. That continuum is focused at three points—at the end of grade 4, the end of grade 8, and grade 12" (MOPI, 2008). Each of the six standards is accompanied by a series of benchmarks that state what students should know by grades 4, 8 and 12.

(Grande, 2004) narratives of history that are usually framed by settler perspectivism. In addition it serves to make indigenous issues and history contemporary, challenging typical representations of American Indians as remnants of the past. Finally, it offers the opportunity for a critical *reading* of history, challenging typical figures and events narrated in whitestream (Grande, 2004) settler histories.

Particularly, and just as important, the lesson plans offers the following guidelines for the teacher to offer students, which facilitate a *reframing* and *indigenization* of curriculum:

- With regard to events such as Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery, Montana tribal histories offer differing points of view from those expressed in your American history textbook.
- Your history textbook and a tribal history each represent "points of view"; the point of view changes, depending on whose story is being told.
- Identifying and respecting another culture's viewpoints of historical events is basic to your understanding of how histories can influence our ideas and points of view.
- Events from the past, and how they are viewed by tribes and by the U.S. government, still cause issues of concern today.
- The "discovery" of an area is not necessarily a discovery. Indigenous people had been in the area explored by the expedition for hundreds, probably thousands of years (MOPI, 2008b).

Lewis and Clark are popular historical figures included in U.S. History curriculum.

Missing from these narratives are tribal stories of their interactions with Lewis and

Clark. In this way this lesson plan offers an opportunity to introduce these missing tribal

perspectives.

C. Other Considerations

This dissertation represents and *indigenized* analysis of social studies curriculum used in California. The above curriculum models represent attempts at incorporating *indigenized* perspectives. However, one cannot simply expect teachers to include the above curriculums in their classroom. Without sufficient teacher training that engages deeply embedded beliefs that these types of curriculums challenge, teachers may misinterpret, or reinterpret such curriculums through their own cultural archives (Smith, 2002) in ways that defeat the intent of the curriculum. In addition, inclusion of this type of curriculum challenges typical ways in which American Indian subjects are included in traditional curriculums as part of a larger multicultural curriculum. Multicultural curriculum, embedded in white settler state ideology is based on notions of inclusion, egalitarianism, and equality. Thus multicultural curriculum inclusion is framed in ways that meet these foundational tenets. These include the Great Minority approach, which are inclusions of great figures of 'minority' groups. This approach is limited by two main approaches: the propensity to see all nonwhite group as minorities; and the egalitarian model of incorporating figures in same numbers into all ready existing curriculum. Instead, curriculums such as the ILT and the IEFA curriculums demand not only rejection of normative multicultural practices in education, but of structural and ideological components of white settlerism, indeed western metaphysics.

To be sure, classroom practices, including teaching and learning must be further explored to assess how curriculum translates into teaching and learning.

II. Future Research

As described, the California social studies curriculum I examine along with the Indian Land Tenure curriculum and the Montana IEFA curriculum demand further research inquiry. Specifically two areas of research are required, including teacher training and classroom practices. Concerning teacher training, specific research focusing on how teacher-training programs/departments prepare pre-service teachers to teach social studies is merited. Questions guiding this research would include: Does pre-service teacher training maintain and promote white settler ideologies and structures? The framework of western metaphysics is included within the ideological and structural components of the settler state.

Concerning classroom practices research is required examining both teaching and learning in the social studies classroom. For instance, research requiring classroom observation of teaching practices in the social studies classroom. Questions framing this type of research may include: How do teachers promote or challenge white settler state ideologies and structures promoted in social studies materials? For teachers utilizing ILT and IEFA curriculums, research would focus on teacher effectiveness in teaching an *indigenized* version of these curriculums. Regarding learning practices, the use of classroom observation and survey techniques, may provide insights into how students engage the social studies curriculum. These research strategies may be employed to assess teacher-training and classroom practices for a variety of populations. For example, American Indian specific teacher-training programs and schools might provide different insights to the above listed research. Likewise, assessing schools with diverse student and teacher populations will provide important insights on the above-mentioned research. As such, this dissertation represents one component of a critical research agenda focusing on social studies curriculum. Such type of research is demanded if educators are serious about encouraging and promoting diversity in curriculum and the classroom. Furthermore, this dissertation poses that further serious inquiry of multiculturalism and current discourses of inclusion must be critically reassessed if indigenous students' needs are to be met.

APENDIX 1

Los Angeles Unified School District Board of Education Approved High School Instructional Materials/Texts 2006

HISTORY/SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTRUCTIONAL TEXTS	Publisher	Revie wed		
COURSE: UNITED STATES HISTORY & GEOGRAPHY AB, GRADE 11				
Berkin, et al.: American Voices, 1865 to the Present	Scott Foresman	\checkmark		
Boorstin, Kelley: History of the United States	Prentice Hall	\checkmark		
Boyer, Stuckey: American Nation: Civil War to Present	Holt, Rinehart and Winston	\checkmark		
Boyer, Stuckey: American Nation in the 20th Century	Holt, Rinehart and Winston	\checkmark		
Bragdon, et al.: History of a Free nation	Glencoe/McGra w-Hill	\checkmark		
Cayton, et al.: America: Pathways to the Present, Modern American History	Prentice Hall	\checkmark		
Danzer, et al.: The Americans: Reconstruction Through the 21st Century (California Edition)	McDougal Littell	\checkmark		
Dibacco, et al.: History of the United States, Vol. 2, Civil War to the Present	McDougal Littell	\checkmark		
Downey, et al.: United States History: In the Course of Human Events	Glencoe/McGra w-Hill	\checkmark		
Jordan, et al.: Americans, A History	McDougal Littell	\checkmark		
Nash: American Odyssey: The 20 th Century and Beyond	Glencoe/McGra w-Hill	\checkmark		
Ritchie: American History: The Modern Era Since 1865	Glencoe/McGra w-Hill	\checkmark		
COURSE: UNITED STATES HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, GRADE 11 (Adopted April 4, 2006)				
Appleby, et al.: The American Vision: Modern Times	Glencoe/McGra w-Hill	\checkmark		
Cayton, et al.: America: Pathways to the Present	Prentice Hall	\checkmark		

Danzer: The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21 st Century (California Edition)	McDougal Littell	\checkmark		
ADVANCED PLACEMENT AMERICAN HISTORY, GRADE 11				
Boyer, et al.: The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People, 5 th Ed.	McDougal Littell	\checkmark		
Murrin, et al.: Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People, 4th Ed.	Thomson Learning/Wadsw orth			
Norton, et al.: A People and A Nation: A History of the United States, 7th Ed.	McDougal Littell	\checkmark		
Tindall, Shi: America: A Narrative History, 5th Ed.	W. W. Norton (Peoples Publishing)			
ADVANCED PLACEMENT UNITED STATES HISTORY, GRADE 11				
(Adopted April 4, 2006) Ayers, et al.: American Passages: A History of the United States, 3 rd Ed.	Thomson Learning/Wadsw orth	V		
Hyser, Arndt: Voices of the American Past: Documents in U.S. History, 3 rd Ed., Volume 1 and Volume II [Reader]	Thomson Learning/Wadsw orth	V		
Kennedy, et al.: The American Pageant: A History of the Republic, 13 th Ed.	McDougal Littell	\checkmark		
Murrin, et al.: Liberty, Equality, and Power: A History of the American People, 4 th Ed.	Thomson Learning/Wadsw orth			
Newman, Schmalbach: United States History: Preparing for the Advanced Placement Examination [Test Preparation Aid]	Amsco			

Los Angeles Unified School District Board of Education Approved High School Instructional Materials/Texts 2007

COURSE: UNITED STATES HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, GRADE 11

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, GRADE II				
Appleby, et al.: The American Vision: Modern Times	Glencoe/McGraw-Hill			
Cayton, et al.: America: Pathways to the Present	Pearson/Prentice Hall	\checkmark		
Danzer: The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21 st Century (California Edition)	McDougal Littell	\checkmark		
COURSE ADVANCED PLACEMENT UNITED STATES HISTORY, GRADE 11				
Ayers, et al.: American Passages: A History of the United States, 3 rd Ed.	Thomson Learning/Wadsworth	\mathbf{N}		
Hyser, Arndt: Voices of the American Past: Documents in U.S. History, 3 rd Ed., Volume 1 and Volume II [Reader]	Thomson Learning/Wadsworth	\checkmark		
Kennedy, et al.: The American Pageant: A History of the Republic, 13 th Ed.	McDougal Littell	\checkmark		
Murrin, et al.: Liberty, Equality, and Power: A History of the American People, 4 th Ed.	Thomson Learning/Wadsworth	\checkmark		
Newman, Schmalbach: United States History: Preparing for the Advanced Placement Examination [Test Preparation Aid]	Amsco			

Los Angeles Unified School District Board of Education Approved High School Instructional Materials/Texts 2008

COURSE: UNITED STATES HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, GRADE 11

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, GRADE IT		
Appleby, et al.: The American Vision: Modern Times	Glencoe/McGraw-Hill	$\mathbf{\Sigma}$
Cayton, et al.: America: Pathways to the Present	Pearson/Prentice Hall	\checkmark
Danzer: The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21 st Century (California Edition)	McDougal Littell	\checkmark
COURSE ADVANCED PLACEMENT UNITED STATES	HISTORY, GRADE 11	
Ayers, et al.: American Passages: A History of the United States, 3 rd Ed.	Thomson Learning/Wadsworth	$\mathbf{\Sigma}$
Hyser, Arndt: Voices of the American Past: Documents in U.S. History, 3 rd Ed., Volume 1 and Volume II [Reader]	Thomson Learning/Wadsworth	\checkmark
Kennedy, et al.: The American Pageant: A History of the Republic, 13 th Ed.	McDougal Littell	\checkmark
Murrin, et al.: Liberty, Equality, and Power: A History of the American People, 4 th Ed.	Thomson Learning/Wadsworth	
Newman, Schmalbach: United States History: Preparing for the Advanced Placement Examination [Test Preparation Aid]	Amsco	

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