THE (DE)COLONIZATION OF MEMORY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF UNITED STATES HISTORY TEXTBOOKS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDIGENOUS FUTURITY

by

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Benjamin W. Ramirez, titled, The (De)colonization of Memory: A Critical Analysis of United States History Textbooks and the Struggle for Indigenous Futurity, and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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We hereby certify that we have read this dissertation prepared under our direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

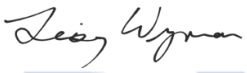

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Abstract

In this dissertation, analyze how settler narratives normalize representations of the settler in relation to Indigenous peoples that bolster settler futurity through the colonization of our collective memory. Drawing on the tenets of Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) I focus on the permeation of colonization in US society while centering Ojibwe knowledge to assist in the analysis of settler colonization (Brayboy, 2005). Critical Content Analysis (CCA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) complement the TribalCrit framework to reveal patterns, norms, and values of settler narratives in two US history textbooks from Pearson for California and Texas. Overall findings highlight how the forms of representation support settler discourse and related norms and values in US history textbooks that silence Indigenous voices. In my analysis, I critically highlight profit motivations, claims to scholarly authority, portrayals, Indigenous critiques of citizenship, and land relations in the textbooks. I also demonstrate how, despite minor linguistic differences between the textbooks produced for California and Texas, shared terms, and rhetorical strategies across both versions of the textbooks and accompanying materials control the characterization of Indigenous people. This includes the portrayal violence against Indigenous peoples and settler expansion, and how language frames Americanization as assimilation in ways that obscure genocide while promoting "democratic progress." I further analyze how the framing and language used in the textbooks and accompanying materials generates settler affect (Fanon 1963/2004; Nasser & Nasser, 2008) that maintain the settler society and settler futurity. In the final chapter, I extend the concept of *refusal* from the work of Tuck and Yang (2014), Audra Simpson (2014), and Leanne Simpson (2017), I conceptualize a pedagogical practice that I call *historical refusal*, and include critical questions that teachers can utilize to identify, and critically reflect on, the construction and content of historical narratives in US textbooks to challenge settler narratives in high school classrooms.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Storytelling is an important part of Ojibwe life. It is a significant part of being educated from an Ojibwe perspective. Education, in this case, is a life-long process. As Ojibwe people, we are encouraged to listen to, and engage with, different perspectives to gain the most comprehensive view of life and the world around us. From the early to late stages of our lives, we will hear the same stories, but what we gain from those stories is usually different since our interactions and experiences with others, and the world around us influence our worldviews. When we say that education is a life-long process, we understand that "the lessons" we learn take time; people engage with, and process, information at different rates. The point being, that as Ojibwe people we have, *Nibwaakaawin*, the wisdom to know that someone can, and will, learn something in terms of education. This, however, is not complete without criticality, nor without principles. As one of the interconnected Seven Grandfather Teachings, *Nibwaakaawin*, wisdom helps define our values and principles which then lucidly inform the ethics of our relationships to build a better life for all. However, it is through the development of relationships, and through our teachings, where storytelling becomes an important facet of communication. Thus, when it comes to education, we do not dictate what someone should do as this interrupt their path, what we do, then, is plant seeds with the trust that those seeds have the potential to sprout and grow.

In our modern era, the removal of Indigenous peoples and of Indigeneity takes place through the control of the narratives the settler society creates for itself, about itself, and in relation to other people within its borders. US history textbooks serve as an important medium in the preservation of settler colonialism through settler narratives – their themes, values, lessons, cultural practices, and expressions – that connect the US settler society's cultural, political, and

economic institutions to its population which generate an (in)visible hegemony. US history textbooks also require special attention as they are a material manifestation of settler colonial narratives that benefit the settler state.

The dissemination of settler narratives filters through US history textbooks and the process of rendering settler colonialism (in)visible from the early stages of US history. An examination of settler narratives within US history textbooks through a TribalCrit framework, however, has the potential to reveal how settler colonization, and by extension, settler narratives are endemic to US education and society, how they inform policies towards Indigenous peoples that are rooted in imperialism, white supremacy, and material gain. Moreover, TribalCrit advocates for the importance of centering Indigenous knowledge and its legitimacy in critiquing colonization. From this, I center the Seven Grandfather Teachings that assist in critiquing settler narratives.

The purpose of this study is two-fold. First, I aim at revealing the depth of settler narratives embedded in the U.S. history textbooks and the ways that those narratives are constructed. More specifically, I offer insights into the compositional elements of settler narratives by identifying, analyzing, and deconstructing the elements of settler narratives in US history textbooks.

The deconstruction of the settler colonial narratives is imperative for revealing justifications for settler colonization and bringing awareness to current issues that Indigenous communities are facing. More importantly, the deconstruction of settler narratives can be a first step towards decolonial or anti-colonial efforts in education, as they demonstrate the lack of neutrality in historical knowledge (re)production and historical representation in mainstream curriculum in general, and US history textbooks, in particular. Indigenous and non-Indigenous

preservice teachers need a critical tool to (re)examine the prevalent settler narratives and their relationships to settler colonialism, and recenter Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies by recognizing an alternative way forward led by Indigenous initiatives. The second purpose of this study is to employ the notion of refusal from Nishnaabeg scholar and artist, Leanne Simpson (2017), to conceptualize an anti- and decolonial pedagogical approach that I call *historical refusal* to help educators and students critically interrogate social studies and history texts for biases, silences, and other issues that otherwise remove or ignore non-dominant voices.

Background of the Study

Around the time I had finished my course work, I began reading and thinking about settler colonization along with those aspects that make settler colonization difficult to challenge. Reflecting on my past experiences, I came to the realization that I was not the only person reacting to settler narratives. My fellow non-Indigenous classmates also had their emotional reactions to settler narratives to varying degrees as well. In retrospect, I remember hearing much more positive and negative reactions to settler narratives from non-Indigenous students regarding topics such as the Trail of Tears and boarding schools. The discussion of emotion found within settler narratives is nothing new (Fanon, 1963/2004; Rifkin, 2011). Fanon (1963/2004) succinctly describes the colonists' Manichaeanist attitudes towards history and the people characterized as the movers of history. "The colonist makes history. His life is an epic, an odyssey. He is invested with the very beginning: 'We made this land'" (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 15). To make this even more compelling, Fanon (1963/2004) also describes how the Indigenous population are conceptualized as the opposite of the settler; beings that are static and unchanging (p. 15). The notion of settler affect, or the emotional investment in settler narratives, provides

clues into Fanon's (1963/2004) explicit description of the colonialists' attitudes towards history. It also provides insights into the positive and negative expression of emotions that I have witnessed as an educator in relation to the topic of US history. My reflection on these experiences, and my examination of settler affect, began to point myself toward a particular question: What can be done about settler affect?

Reflecting on these educational experiences allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of not only how settler narratives impacted my life, but the life of non-Indigenous peoples as well. A common question that we, as educators, have heard all too often was ringing in my head, "why wasn't I told this before?" Not only did I think about myself as a student who had asked this question, I found myself focusing on non-Indigenous people who were saying it as well and began to realize there was a common thread of entanglement. I began to wonder more about the depth of the settler narratives and how far they reach. It was my critical reflection on my prior experiences in public schools as a student along with the experiences as an educator that served as a strong motivation for trying to comprehend the complexity of settler narratives, to deconstruct settler narratives, and to ultimately form challenges around them.

Positionality Statement

When taking research into consideration, it is important to go over the phenomena that have impacted myself as a person and as a researcher. These experiences have influenced how I see myself in relation to the settler society and my motivations for completing this research project. Therefore, I demonstrate that my position in relation to my research is not neutral. By sharing my story, I contextualize my knowledge, and modes of analysis as an observer or researcher, who has lived the majority of his life as an Indigenous person inside the settler US; that from these experiences, comes bias. Before sharing more of my story, I will discuss the

importance of positionality statements in relation to research and demonstrate the why, and how, I perceive settler colonization. There are two subsections to the positionality statement as it is necessary to describe my experiences as an urban Ojibwe *inini*: the settler assimilationist path and the decolonial path. I have already discussed some of my formative experiences that explain my motivations, however, I will explain how I have come to the positions that I am at currently. I understand these experiences as a gradual, interconnected clashes of temporal changes from one way of being and understanding to others. The formative experiences stem from elementary school through graduate school which will demonstrate the impact of settler colonization in general, and settler narratives, more specifically, on my identity as an Ojibwe inini and the other phenomena have influenced my ways of being. I attempt to explain my experiences from an urban Ojibwe perspective. This will attempt to clarify the changes I have experienced, and continue to experience, over time by highlighting one manifestation of colonization being endemic to our society and thinking through these experiences with the pedagogical story of becoming an Indigenous educator.

Positionality statements allow access to part of the researcher's analytical process and attempts to reveal those ideological elements that impact the researcher (Kovach, 2009; Shirley & Angulo, 2019). When taking the politics of research into consideration, positionality statements expose the notion of neutrality in research as inaccurate. Positivist approaches support a particular form of knowledge that favor political and economic agendas (Kovach, 2009; Piper, Jacobe, Yazzie, & Calderon, 2019). The ideological elements that impact people clearly indicates that research, indeed, is not neutral. Furthermore, the ideological components that are part of the researcher are informed by historically located, interconnected phenomena that are distributed, constructed, (re)produced in social environments that include other people with varying

asymmetrical forms of power that manifests in a multitude of manners. Any endeavor to remove oneself or stating there is no impact from these phenomena on the researcher to claim neutrality, is to reify dominant ways of knowing. Therefore, a positionality statement also demonstrates transparency within the research process by revealing the researcher's understanding about the (re)production of knowledge and the potential impact those beliefs have on the research project (Kovach, 2009, p. 41).

When writing about the complex experiences living in a settler society, it is important to consider how past experiences shape one's perspective. Being an Ojibwe person, it is important to acknowledge the epistemological and ontological perspectives that (re)humanize these experiences in relation to settler colonialism. Therefore, this will encapsulate a form of storytelling that demonstrates personal and professional change through time. In understanding and explaining my own pedagogical story, I critically reflect on my formative experiences that explain how I have come to know, understand, and express myself as a person and as a researcher (Garcia, Tenakhongva, & Honyouti, 2019 p. 110). The formative experiences are important as they underscore the gradual, interconnected, temporal changes in my way of knowing, understanding, and being in the world. As the researcher, I will cover those ideological components that have impacted my identity as a person, an educator, and a researcher. It is important to note that these items intersect and inform one another which augment the complexity of doing research on a topic such as settler colonialism. Therefore, the patterns I notice with settler narratives are bound to my current ways of knowing and being.

Understanding the Pathways: Assimilationist and Decolonial

TribalCrit explains that colonization is endemic to society. This includes Western thoughts, systems of knowledge (re)production and propagation, and the interaction with

dominant power structures (Brayboy, 2005, p. 430). The settler assimilationist path is how I explain the impact settler colonization has had on my life. It covers how I perceived and expressed myself through Western thought and Western knowledge through the medium of history and its physical manifestations through history textbooks is what I attempt to explore. This is in contrast with the decolonial path, or how I have come to understand my experiences on the assimilationist path. I am moving beyond and ultimately rejecting the assimilationist path through my own decolonial path that has taken myself down different areas at different times. One of the most helpful aspects of Tribal Critical Race Theory concerns the tenets. Four of the nine tenets focus on imperialism, white supremacy, and relegated identity and assimilation. The remaining five tenets focus on Indigenous sovereignty, identity, Indigenous knowledge as legitimate forms of knowing, and agency. Through this framework, I proceed with the first tenet in mind, "colonization is endemic to society" (Brayboy, 2005, p.429). Simultaneously, I center the Seven Grandfather Teachings to examine and critique the values, principles, and practices found in the content of settler narratives. The amalgamation of these aspects supports a different way of knowing while assisting with a powerful analysis on settler colonization. For the ease of the reader, I will simply refer to the interconnections between the two groups of TribalCrit tenets and the centering of Ojibwe knowledge as the TribalCrit framework. However, there are some places where I will explicitly talk about the Seven Grandfather Teachings.

Although I am moving beyond the assimilationist path, it is important to remember that the assimilationist path is always there – looking to cross into the decolonial path and clandestinely mislead myself into a false sense of decoloniality. The commonality between these paths is that there are numerous peoples and ideas that constantly intersect and compete for my attention. Thus, these paths are dialectically related with the need to identify the characteristics

of both which have the potential to assist with identifying other manifestations of colonization in our society along with the challenges to colonization. The formative experiences are those encounters that influenced how I understood myself within those contexts. They informed how I saw myself in relation to the people around me and the surrounding world. These experiences often had multiple interlocutors with various ideological positions that informed their understanding of the world around them and sought to propagate their perceptions. It is through these phenomenological foundational experiences where my identity was, and is, being forged. I start this section by discussing my experiences in the settler assimilationist path.

It is the post-frontier settler narratives that have, and continue to have, an impact on myself as an Ojibwe person. I, as an Ojibwe person and as a researcher, am a consequence of those historically located mechanisms of removal. Throughout this section, I will discuss how settler narratives and the dominant Western and American ways of knowing and understanding have informed my foundational experiences with others when negotiating not only my identity but also my lived experiences; primarily from identifying myself as Ojibwe, to hiding my Indigenous identity, to the process of reclaiming my Ojibwe heritage from the clutches of settler removal.

My Experiences Along the Settler Assimilationist Path

As a child, I learned a few phrases and cultural practices from my father from time to time. I am fortunate enough to remember the majority of those learning experiences, however, as I grew older the questions, I had regarding Ojibwe traditions and how the language developed – not being around the people who could answer those questions, I turned towards teachers and other "experts" on American Indians. Not knowing better, the knowledge espoused by the experts were, in retrospect, informed by the settler colonial institution of education and the

politics of knowledge (re)production. As a young student, I had accepted the notion that educators had all of the answers, and that I had no reason to question the things I was learning. This placed me down the settler assimilationist's path to which the end goal is the slow, clandestine removal of Indigeneity and, consequently, a challenge to the settler society; in short, a form of dispossession to the benefit of the settler society.

One of the most memorable foundational experiences includes the conflict between settler and Indigenous knowledge systems as (re)produced by the institution of education. I remember telling my father what I had learned about us – "American Indians" – in school. To which he would reply with something along the lines of, "Oh, you should learn about this…" and would proceed to tell me either a story, or share some traditional knowledge. I would then try to bring this information into the classroom only to be told I was wrong. "Where did you learn that? – that's not right!" were things that I heard constantly. The conflict was clear to me at a young age. My knowledge of Ojibwe traditions and language was compounded by my experiences in the education system in the United States where settler knowledge was, and still is, clearly favored and systematically (re)produced; where the value of settler knowledge is favored over another creates a point of erasure to the benefit of the settler society.

Although I could sense the problematic nature of favoring one perspective over another, I eventually capitulated my reticence and began accepting the notion that the Western epistemological and ontological perspectives were superior; being mired in settler educational practices this was clearly a hallmark of settler hegemony – assimilation through consent. What this meant was that my interactions with people with traditional knowledge was skewed in favor of the settler knowledge systems which wore down my resolve over time. I took what I learned from those elders and cultural knowledge holders with a grain of salt. The knowledge the Ojibwe

elders presented was perceived as unconventional, it was something to be thought about, but not taken too seriously. Thus, the knowledge gap was satiated with settler epistemological and ontological positions that occupied what I thought about myself and other American Indians in relation to the settler knowledge (re)production. To increase the gains, the notion of critical thinking was reduced to a process that focused on extending settler colonialist arguments rather than offering an analysis or critique of the ideas being presented. Again, as my movement down the settler path of assimilation increased; familiar Ojibwe ways of being slowly became foreign.

While living in, and becoming a product of, the settler society, it should be noted that these experiences happened throughout my life; from elementary school through university, in personal and professional settings. The ubiquity of these experiences and the negativity surrounding them provided the impetus to no longer refer to myself as Ojibwe or as an "American Indian." The process was slow and multifaceted and to the benefit of the settler society. The social interactions both inside and outside of school, the limited contact with the community, the notion of what it means to be educated from a settler perspective, all contributed to my "choice" to disassociate from my Indigeneity. The universality in which the settler narratives form the ideological foundation is no longer astonishing, however, the normalization of the settler narratives contributes to the ideological invisibility that permeates the public sphere.

Consistent interrogations around my Indigeneity needed to satisfy the white settlers around me before I could be "seen" as an Indigenous person. The primary interest focused around my ability to speak the Ojibwe language. "Can you speak Ojibwe?" Some of the students would ask. "No, I can only speak a little bit" I would reply. "Well, how can you be Indian if you don't speak the language?" As a young kid, I did not have an answer for that question. This was

usually followed up with some surface level settler conceptualization of "real Indians," who, according to settler narratives, are capable of talking to animals and trees or for the propensity for committing violence; phrases designed to hide the notion of savagery. Following up with their conceptualizations of Indigenous people would inevitably lead the other students to recalling information that they learned in school, at home, or some other social institution. This is very telling.

As I went through school, this became common, almost routine. It was usually a different student every week where hostility would flare to varying degrees. However, as a young kid, these experiences provided me with some questions, "Where are they getting these ideas?" "Are teachers really teaching history like this?" I would ask the adults around me to which some would say, "oh, they're just racist. Ignore them." However, to my surprise, other adults would say, "well, that's what history tells us," an unsatisfying answer that left me more confused and with more questions. That particular answer always seemed to imply that there was nothing left to learn from historical events or the connections to the present. When I would ask my fellow classmates, "where did you hear that?" one of the most common answers included, "I learned that from school, from our history textbooks." Another clue into the power of settler narratives and history textbooks. Although this is very telling, it was still a dissatisfying answer regarding US history.

As these hostile experiences continued, I stopped talking about being Native American, a term I used to describe myself at that time, and would tell people that I was Mexican-American. I did not feel safe talking about my Ojibwe heritage and would bring it up sparingly. This was the only strategy I could use that would get people to stop their incessant interrogations. This continued through high school. When I made it to University, I had somewhat similar

experiences only this time most people responded with stereotypical comments like, “oh, you’re Indian, you get to go to school for free - that’s cool.” Again, their conceptualization of Indigenous people is clear. I found myself in familiar territory, I wanted to know where these stories were coming from. My Indigeneity, although no longer hidden, was still kept at the margins through my years as an undergrad. Living in the settler’s borders placed settler narratives at the forefront. My interaction with them was nothing new.

The effect these assimilationist practices had on myself played into the hands of the settler colonial end goal – the elimination of the Native. I was moved so far down the assimilationist’s path that I consciously stopped referring to myself as being Ojibwe. One point that needs to be emphasized is that this was a gradual process; the red flags seemed unimposing, and thus, they were treated as such. Being physically separated from relatives and other Ojibwe peoples, being entrenched in settler education, and learning settler ways of being, illustrate the power of the settler assimilationist quagmire. My experience is by no means unique; there is a strong documented history of Indigenous people, either forced into communities away from their own, or otherwise coerced into communities that (re)enforce settler ways of being (Amerman, 2010; Szasz, 1999). What my experience demonstrates is that the post-frontier assimilationist practices not only continue into our modern era but are still perpetuated by the settler society. Furthermore, the positivist knowledge that I valued maintained the settler society through my own (re)production of knowledge hierarchies and actively participating in settler erasure that appeared non-threatening on the surface.

It was not until I made it to graduate school that I began to see something entirely different. Something I had not anticipated. I saw not only how Indigenous professors carried themselves, I observed how their Indigeneity informed how they interact with students, how their

Indigeneities informed their research, and how their respective Indigeneities complemented and demonstrated how to survive and thrive in areas I understood as being hostile to Indigenous peoples. While taking classes with those professors, and with my fellow Indigenous students, I heard rich dialogues around their respective ways of being which provoked new questions for myself. I started asking myself, "what about *my* Indigeneity?" "Do we as Ojibwe people have similar teachings?" "How do I handle people who interrogate my Indigeneity?" These observations and experiences opened a new world of possibilities for me physically, emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually; the Medicine Wheel Teachings. I explain those experiences I had in graduate school with Indigenous professors and fellow students who illuminated an old path.

Finding my Decolonial Path

The antagonisms between the transition process of hiding and reclaiming my Indigeneity were numerous. Although I have had some negative experiences navigating my Indigeneity within the US settler society, I have implemented several decolonial practices that have bolstered my resolve – the practices were inspired by the Indigenous peoples I have been fortunate to meet, to interact and work with, and befriend while being a graduate student and a doctoral student and candidate. These interactions provided insights into a different way of being; I learned that to embrace Indigeneity is not only to rehumanize myself, but also necessary to survive the mire of settler society. While listening carefully to their stories and their respective philosophies, I began to notice contrasts and strong similarities between the information they provided and my own knowledge and background. The reclamation process was punctuated by these interactions with my fellow classmates, friends, and professors. The vestiges of settler assimilation are still present within myself, however, the more I reflect on these experiences, the

more my resolve towards reclaiming my Indigeneity and towards dismantling settler colonization is bolstered within myself.

I began talking to my father about Ojibwe ways of knowing and being, about our language, and almost anything else I had, or have, questions about. This was in my mid-thirties. I was inspired to reclaim my Ojibwe language and to learn about the Ojibwe philosophy, Mino-Bimaadiziwin, ways of living a good life, through my father as part of my struggle against settler colonization. This provided another perspective for consideration, where values and ethics are focal points for Mino-Bimaadiziwin. The emphasis on values that are interconnected with ethics allows for powerful analyses of events and situations that place people, their actions or lack thereof, at the forefront of moral dilemmas. The Seven Grandfather Teachings allow for ethical engagement with the world and all of our relatives within the world, the Medicine Wheel Teachings teach us about balance, medicines, and interconnectedness, and the Red Road Teachings help us conceptualize our respective journeys through life. All of which are important facets of Mino-Bimaadiziwin. This, of course, begs serious questions about the morality of settler colonial pursuits and processes of the elimination and replacement of First Nations peoples in the United States. The limited information provided is just a sample of what Mino-Bimaadiziwin can provide.

Although I am content with where I am at right now regarding my reclamation process, there is still more to be done; it's not over, the struggle for my Indigeneity continues. It is also important to know that the impact of settler society on my being is something that can never be entirely removed, only reduced. I have recently started talking about the need to "kill the settler in my head." This is an acknowledgement of how, I, as an urban Ojibwe, understand those settler tendencies within myself; how deep those settler ways of knowing are rooted. This idea of

"killing the settler in my head" may seem violent, however, it was, and is, the settler violence that put those ways of being in my head and infected my understanding of myself and my family history to begin with. Needless to say, my experiences and moves towards decolonization is as complex as it is turbulent. These experiences surrounding "being an authentic Indian" have impacted how I interact with the world around myself and are no doubt in the back of my mind; the vestiges still exist and are expressed in varying degrees. The reclamation process is an ongoing project with numerous personal and professional implications which will also clearly impact the analytical and interpretive elements of the research process.

Significance of the Study

Textbooks continue to be a mainstay of classrooms throughout the United States (Beyer & Apple, 1998; Fuchs & Bock, 2018; Lowen, 2008). Additionally, the settler institution of education is identified as site of cultural and political (re)production that favors the settler state (Calderon, 2014; Kulago, 2019; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Tuck, McKenzie, & McCoy, 2014). Accordingly, a close look at the settler narratives found within the US history textbooks is necessary to explain the strength and ubiquity of settler narratives.

When examining settler colonialism within textbooks, there are a few thematic and methodological commonalities that critical scholars have revealed. There is the notion of the selective tradition within history and social studies textbooks that impacts the selected content. within the textbooks. Furthermore, the critical works also discuss the construction of the settler narratives and how textbooks play an important role in disseminating settler narratives that normalize settler positions (Calderon, 2014; Conrad, 2019). Although the construction of the settler narratives is examined, more research is needed on the rhetoric within the narratives. The

insights that derive from this analysis may allow for different forms of resistance to settler colonialism in education and in general.

Calderon (2014) explains how settler colonial grammars implement an absence/presence of Indigenous peoples in curriculum favors settler colonial society. This research project extends Calderon's (2014) work by analyzing two US high school history textbooks that were designed for the states of California and Texas for the 9 through 12 grade levels. This work has the potential to further the discussion on Native and Indigenous studies, settler colonial studies, and decolonial and anti-colonial works in education.

Settler futurity is the continuation and propagation of those phenomena that support the settler society and its end goal of removing and replacing Indigenous peoples in all forms (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Settler futurity stretches through time and is not relegated to the past; it extends into our present era and impacts the lived experiences of the peoples within its borders (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 80). Indigenous futurity focuses on sovereignty; the right to self-govern, to self-determine, and to self-educate. It also includes the rights to linguistic and cultural expression (Brayboy, 2005; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). The active facilitation of Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies are central to Indigenous futurity (Kulago, 2019, p. 2). Unlike settler futurity, Indigenous futurity does not require the removal of the current settlers (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 80).

Settler futurity attempts to remove Indigenous peoples through erasure absorption while Indigenous futurity continues to survive and resist those attempts through a recentering of Indigenous ways of knowing and being supported through sovereignty. Thus, the political nature of settler and Indigenous futurity cannot be ignored. It is through my lived experiences as an

Ojibwe inini in a settler society and through an understanding of this dialectic that I attempt to challenge settler futurity. Settler narratives are a potent component of settler futurity.

Research Questions

The research questions that guide my study are the following:

1. How do settler narratives normalize representations of the settler in relation to Indigenous peoples in the United States?
    1. In what ways does settler discourse in US history textbooks silence Indigenous voices?
    2. In what ways does this framing perpetuate settler futurity?
2. What norms and values are transmitted through U.S. history textbooks that bolster settler futurity?

Limitations of the Study

The main limitation of the study concerns the textbooks themselves. I selected two textbooks that were written for two states, California and Texas, from Pearson. It would be incredibly important to examine how the content of other US high school history textbooks is presented, as well.

Another limitation is that there is much more work needed to see concretely how historical refusal, my pedagogical approach developed and discussed in my concluding chapter, may work in the classroom. In my final chapter, I provide suggestions to teachers based on the development of the approach while providing justifications for those suggestions, drawing on my experiences to date in teacher education courses with pre-service teachers during the 2018-2019 academic year at the University of Arizona. Although, I had intended to carry out a classroom-based study

with pre-service teachers as part of this research project, this was not possible due to the logistical constraints of the study during 2020-21 when the study took place.

It is my hope that this work can demonstrate its value to decolonial and anti-colonial efforts in education. By deconstructing settler narratives, interrogating how they are formed, and how they are presented, I assume this work can explore other avenues of resistance to settler colonization. It is also my hope that this method can prove viable in different areas of study such as art and art education, where representation and interpretation appear to be inspired by prolific narratives.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized in six chapters including the introduction, the literature review, the methodology, two analysis and findings chapters, and the implications and conclusion. In Chapter One, the Introduction, I demonstrate the background, the researcher's positionality, the purpose, the significance, and limitations of the study while also providing the research questions. Chapter Two provides a review of the relevant literature for this research project. This review covers the controversy in settler colonial studies, settler narratives, settler affect, the theoretical framework. Chapter Three explains the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Critical Content Analysis (CCA) in this study. I also explain the type of data that I collected to analyze the content of the textbooks and select chapters. Chapter Four draws on information from the front matter of the textbooks which include the authors, the program advisors, and the program consultants, and examines rhetoric in a related the C3 Framework. This is a document that lays out related standards while also providing a definition for "engaged citizenry" to contextualize the discourse and content of the US history textbooks studied. This provides insights into the institutional relationships necessary to produce and disseminate settler

narratives. Chapter Five presents the findings from the content analysis. This is an examination of the actual content of the settler narratives. This includes the content of select chapters in the textbooks that mention Indigenous peoples where text and visuals such as maps, graphs, and charts are analyzed. Chapter Six discusses the implications of this study along with historical refusal, pedagogical suggestions, implications for research, and concluding thoughts.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this chapter, I review literature on the settler colonial studies in general, and then focus on the concepts of settler narratives, settler affect, along with the subject of settler colonialism and education. The first section examines settler colonialism, its objectives, and analytical concepts in relation to hegemony and the colonization of memory. The creation of historical refusal relies on the power that stems from the settler colonial analytical concepts as they reveal the substantive extent to which settler narratives and settler affect generate extraordinary power for colonization of memory to the benefit of the settler society. Next, I discuss the interconnected settler institutional relationships that create the components of settler narratives which include their rhetorical structures in association with their content that provide the settler narratives with robust information that maintains the settler society. In the third section, I will discuss the theoretical lens of this study which includes Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) where I explain how TribalCrit has been used in research. The tenets and application of TribalCrit is discussed in the methodology chapter. This is followed by explaining the creation of historical refusal; an approach to uncovering the politics of knowledge and the politics of representation in US history textbooks. Lastly, I discuss the implications for this dissertation research project.

Settler Colonial Studies

Settler colonial studies is a body of works that focus on the structural invasion from foreign societies on lands where populations already exist and seeks to create its own society that diverges from its origin. Settler colonialism moves towards the removal, and ultimately, the replacement of Indigenous populations for the process of divergence to take place (Calderon, 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Veracini, 2010, 2011; Wolfe, 1999, 2006). Wolfe (1999) aptly points

out, “The colonizers come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event” (p. 2). Wolfe (1999) then goes on to discuss numerous concepts that describe the characteristics of settler colonialism. Settler colonial studies focus on numerous areas of the world and recognizes the complex relationship between settler colonial societies and the populations with which they act upon. One important note that needs to be made regarding settler colonialism is that Wolfe’s analytical concepts have made analyses of settler colonial objectives more explicit and assist in growing the settler colonial studies in different, yet institutionally interrelated disciplines, that tackle the different manifestations of settler colonialism (Calderon, 2014; Grande, 2015; Nasser & Nasser, 2008; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

There are differences of motivation between settler colonialism and colonialism (Veracini, 2011). There are numerous thematical similarities that focus on the political and cultural domination from foreign peoples on established homelands, the extraction of resources and labor by the colonial forces, and the ideological justifications and motivations of domination between colonial, post-colonial, and settler colonial studies (Fanon, 2004; Go, 2016; Mignolo, 2003; Wolfe, 1999). However, settler colonial studies offer several distinctions that expand the conversation on colonialism in general which includes understanding the differences in what motivates settlers and colonizers that creates different analytical practices based on those motivations and objectives (Grande, 2013; Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Veracini, 2011; Wolfe, 1999, 2006). A clear example includes the connection between dispossession and miscegenation. Blood quantum, was and is, used to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their rights, titles, and access to their traditional homelands as this allows the settler access to those very lands and resources. Miscegenation was also used to dispossess African Americans of their rights as human beings, and through the travesty of slavery, the settler extracted the wealth from their labor. The

motivations and objectives of the settler are clear – the extraction of land, labor, and resources provides the material maintenance of the white supremacist settler society. Therefore, capitalism and other exploitative economic systems have ways of extracting wealth at the expense of our diverse humanity and should be taken into consideration when examining the stories the settler society tells itself, about itself. This dissertation project looks to examine a portion of this relationship.

Settler institutions harbor the keys to creating settler distinctiveness that leads to the creation of a unique national identity seeking international recognition, and ultimately, legitimacy. Another difference includes the settler colonial attempt to erase the distinction between the colony and the metropole, whereas colonialism attempts to reinforce the distinction (Veracini, 2010, 2011). This requires a hegemony that creates opportunities to obtain the consent of the population. Consequently, the settler society attempts to create a unique national identity with its own institutions that reinforce its own understandings of itself through the deliberate construction of narratives (Adas, 2001; Luke & Heynen, 2019; Veracini, 2010; 2011; Wolfe, 1999). Wolfe (1999) identifies numerous settler academic disciplines that have either explicitly or inadvertently paved the way for the removal of Indigenous peoples that claim the authority to speak for, and about, Indigenous peoples (p. 3). By consenting to the claims of academic authority, the settler society creates a pivotal site for narrative (re)production. This provides the settler society with ideological and cultural domination through white supremacy that obscure these dominant positions. The institutions' implementation of settler narratives inform political action that create a disparate national identity in pursuit of international legitimacy. Thus, the colonization of memory relies on the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of

representation that generate a power distinction between itself, its metropole, and legitimates its place in the world.

Settler colonial studies also acknowledges the contributions to survival and the resistance from colonized peoples. More specifically, Indigenous scholars have laid the foundation for the development of settler colonial analyses and critiques (Kauanui, 2016). It recognizes and builds on Indigenous critiques, Indigeneity, and notions of decolonization that stem from racial categorizations of aboriginals in Australia and the United States in relation to capitalism (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Veracini, 2017; Wolfe, 2016). The position acknowledges the Indigenous futurity – settler futurity dialectic where these sites of struggle constantly interact and regularly adjust through time, space, and place. This includes Indigenous critiques of settler colonial theory that raise concerns about the legitimacy of Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies as sources of viable analytical approaches (Brayboy, 2005; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Indigenous critiques attempt to push past white supremacist notions of research and of knowledge production (Garcia, Tenakhongva, & Honyouti, 2019; Pewewardy, 2019). These critiques from critical Indigenous scholars further their criticisms by identifying the settler institution of education as a site for both settler hegemonic (re)production and assimilation. In opposition, critical Indigenous scholars identify forms of survival and resistance to settler futurity while simultaneously maintaining and generating strength for Indigenous futurity. Thus, Indigenous scholars' critiques and insights continually impact our understanding of how settler colonial strategies have changed over time and are met with resistance from Indigenous futurity and vice versa.

Settler colonialism describes long-term structural genocide that takes place in various countries of the world and at various times. There are numerous countries whose history resembles settler colonial endeavors such as the United States (Calderon, 2014; Tuck & Yang,

2012), Canada (Hampton & DeMartini, 2017; Simpson, 2016), Australia (Wolfe 1999; Reynolds, 2014), New Zealand (McBreen, 2019; Smith, 2012) and Kenya (Hitchcock, Sapignoli, & Babchuk, 2014; Gilmore, 2016). Structural genocide is the crux of settler colonial endeavors for the acquisition of land and resources to ensure the survival of the settler state. The key differences between the nations is that they have implemented various strategies found within structural genocide throughout their respective histories that have devastated, and continue to devastate, the Indigenous inhabitants through various means. Consequently, structural genocide informs the processes in which the settler society obtains land and resources. Settler colonialism and structural genocide have laid the foundation for several analytical concepts that underscore the processes and practices of removing Indigenous peoples from their lands and allows access to African American labor. The frontier and post-frontier allow the settler access to different, but overlapping, methods of removal, replacement, and exploitation. The long-term structural genocide of settler colonialism occurs in different places and different times with the same outcome – the removal and replacement of Indigenous peoples. When taking the concept of structural genocide into consideration, it is important to acknowledge that the settler society benefits from the removal and the replacement of Indigenous peoples. However, the justifications and settler narratives for structural genocide, to be successful, must generate settler hegemony amongst its populations through the colonization of memory; the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation.

In order to appreciate the complexity of settler colonial studies, it is important to look at some of the analytical concepts and how they are applied in education. The key trends in settler colonialism in education focus on the analytical concepts found within settler colonial theory and are applied in the settler institution of education. The aforementioned studies focus on concepts

such as erasure, replacement, the relationship between the settler – native – slave triad to land, and settler futurity. These themes are connected to structural genocide by underscoring the manners in which they contribute to the demise of the Indigenous populations (Wolfe, 2006). For clarity, Wolfe's (2006) intention behind the use of structural genocide prevents the development of an inappropriate hierarchical ranking of genocide (p. 403). The previous works demonstrate not only how the analytical concepts assist in explaining settler maintenance, they also demonstrate how analyses of these concepts can create comprehensive descriptions of the white supremacist phenomena found in settler colonialism. One gap in the literature concerns how these concepts are embedded within settler narratives and further analysis is needed to uncover how settler narratives operate in US history textbooks as they seek to occupy what we know about peoples and events for the purpose of maintaining the settler society. The concepts allow for a rich analysis of settler colonialism in educational settings that contribute to the overall studies of settler colonialism. Specifically, the relationship between white supremacy, anti-Blackness, and anti-Indigenous sentiments. Although anti-Blackness is beyond the scope of this dissertation project, it is nonetheless an absolutely important part of understanding the settler colonial legacy of the United States. This will be discussed more in the implications section of this chapter.

Settler institutions create the conditions that liquidate Indigenous peoples' rights and titles to land through their various institutions. The critical works on settler colonialism and the accompanying analytical concepts are clearly indicating not just the removal and replacement of Indigenous peoples from their lands and the control over African American labor but also the dispossession of Indigenous land and rights - to remove those very phenomena that challenge the legitimacy of the settler society. For example, the settler use of miscegenation for Indigenous

peoples is needed to prevent people from claiming their Indigeneity and the rights that follow. In this simplified example, the process of removal is interrelated and two-fold; the Indigenous person is bereft of their claims to Indigeneity due to their blood quantum, and their rights as an Indigenous person are ignored. This form of settler erasure clearly focuses on the processes of dispossession for the sake of the settler society. However, dispossession does not occur in a vacuum and requires settler institutions to create a hegemony that favors the settler society to the detriment of Indigenous peoples, and subsequently, to Indigenous futurity; the colonization of memory is multidirectional.

Addressing a Controversy of Settler Colonial Studies

In this section I will discuss what constitutes settler colonialism and I will also discuss a current controversy with settler colonial studies in general. I will also provide commentary on the controversy as well, and I will address a potential solution to this issue. When deconstructing settler colonialism, it is perhaps best to start with its mission. In this instance, Sakai (2014) states, "… the dream in the mind of each man becoming a petty lord of his own land" (p. 14). Although, Sakai (2014) does not talk directly about property and ownership at this particular point, the argument can clearly be made that not only property, but the material, cultural, political, and economic control through institutions that define and sustain who own and controls property are also crucial. This, accompanied by settler narratives, generates settler hegemony, which begins to outline some of the compositional elements of settler colonialism.

Settler colonialism is a description of the conditions that seek to remove and replace Indigenous populations. Thus, to say a society is settler colonial is to say that it is white supremacist and heteropatriarchal, which rely on various forms of exploitation such as capitalism. All of which are embedded with power and violence that are enacted through the

settler institutions that attempt to remove Indigenous peoples and Indigeneity. It is the settler institution of education where settler narratives take form and support settler hegemony. Settler colonialism has also changed through time, space, and place especially in terms of Indigenous removal and replacement. From outright killing of Indigenous peoples to forced and coerced assimilation, the removal of Indigenous peoples and of Indigeneity through miscegenation and federal recognition serve as examples. However, this does not mean that killing Indigenous peoples no longer occurs, it is just not the main point of removal. Thus, settler colonization is not a thing of the past; it is a description of the current, domestic conditions of the United States facing Indigenous peoples. Settler colonialism, when explained and addressed as such, provides the context in which Indigenous peoples and Indigeneity are dialectically opposed.

It is important to shift the focus towards Veracini's (2020) article, "Is settler colonial studies even useful?" an article that has been the target of scrutiny. In this particular article, Veracini (2020) defends settler colonial studies through analogies and metaphors surrounding intellectual communities and scholarly conversations, the practices of the field, and changes in institutional studies. With each of these points Veracini (2020) makes, he uses metaphors and analogies to explain his defense of settler colonial studies, however, this strategy does not seem to be thought through properly. For instance, Veracini (2020) uses a "good cop, bad cop" model to explain how settler colonial studies and Indigenous studies can work together toward an anticolonial end (p. 5). The "good cop, bad cop" routine is not one to be condoned due to the underhandedness of this tactic, and the over policing of marginalized communities that is an everyday occurrence for marginalized communities. Another prominent example is the use of a town hall meeting. As Somerville (2020) rightly points out, this analogy ignores power dynamics that would be in play at a town hall and in the "good cop, bad cop" routine.

Along this same vein, and perhaps much more poignantly, is that Veracini (2020) does not acknowledge white supremacy within settler colonial studies, nor the white supremacy within the settler institution of education. Thus, his defense of settler colonial studies reeks of liberal, colorblindness that ultimately erases Indigenous voices. To paraphrase Karl Marx (2018), the ideas of any society are the ideas of the ruling class (p. 64). In this instance, white supremacy is endemic to the United States, and it should come to no surprise that one of its manifestations includes colorblindness that is enacted through the settler institution of education that either outright ignores or relegates Indigenous studies, and other marginalized studies.

Somerville (2020) critiques Veracini's defense of settler colonialism by talking about material challenges Indigenous scholars face in the settler institution of education. Primarily, Veracini's analogy of land as finite and knowledge as infinite (p. 3). Obtaining jobs, promotions, funding, presence in university marketing, etc., may hinder the material outcomes for Indigenous scholars which is more akin to finite land rather than infinite knowledge (Somerville, 2020, p. 3). Thus, her concern is one about replicating white supremacist power dynamics within the settler institution of education to the disbenefit of Indigenous scholars. This, as Somerville (2020) argues, allows Veracini to turn a blind eye to the inequities in academia (p. 3). I cannot agree more with Somerville's (2020) analysis.

Moreover, Somerville (2020) answer to the question, and title of Veracini's article, "Is settler colonial studies even useful?" with which I find myself in agreement. It is useful in describing the conditions inside of the United States, especially in relation to the Indigenous peoples of the United States in various national contexts. It continues to be useful in deconstructing my personal and professional experiences within the United States. On a personal level, settler colonial explains why I avoided my own Indigenous heritage for the vast majority

of my life. As an urban Ojibwe who was not close to other Ojibwe people, my Indigeneity and decolonization is a direct response to the power of the settler colonial analysis. I am also in agreement with Somerville's (2020) assertion that it is useful in the classroom as well which can help students grapple with the contemporality of settler colonialism, and to consider being Indigenous in different localities (p. 1-2).

The settler institution of education as a site of contention needs to be explained. To name the institution of education as settler is to underscore the white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and forms of exploitation with the objective of removing Indigenous peoples found within that institution. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the settler institution of education is hostile towards Indigenous scholars and Indigenous ways of knowing and being. It is not complex nor is it complicated, in fact, it is readily transparent, and it is by design. Non-Indigenous scholars who are not critical of white supremacy are doomed to perpetuate settler ways of conducting research and producing knowledge. There is no surprise that there are instances of outright ignoring Indigenous critiques and analytical contributions to the development of settler colonialism, however, it is easier for the settler institution of education to simply relegate Indigenous studies and critiques to the sidelines to avoid most forms of overt discrimination. The favoring of white authors over Indigenous ones also comes as no surprise as settler colonization is predicated on white supremacy and the cultural, political, and economic power over the institutions it creates. Thus, the usurpation and extraction of Indigenous studies for the benefit of settler colonial studies is quite visible.

To be fair in the critique of Veracini (2020), he has written about the need to keep settler colonialism and Indigenous studies separate in this article, and in others as well. In fact, he clearly states, "… settler colonial studies is not critical indigenous studies. Even though it is

predicated on it, the two should be kept separate" (Veracini, 2017, p. 10). He continues by discussing Byrd and Kauanui's concerns of Indigenous studies and settler colonial studies collapsing in on one another, and that both Indigenous scholars acknowledge that the complementarity comes with risks (p. 8). More specifically, Kauanui (2016) offers an insight as to why scholars cite Patrick Wolfe as if he had created the field of settler colonial studies is due to the prominence of his article, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" (para. 2).

This is not to write against Indigeneity or Indigenous studies. Again, settler colonial studies is useful in that it describes the conditions facing Indigenous peoples. Settler colonial studies is useful in reorienting our perspectives back towards Indigenous studies and Indigeneity as a category of analysis. This point must be made clear when doing any analysis of settler colonialism. Kauanui (2016) rightly points out that any meaningful engagement with settler colonialism must address the question of Indigeneity (para. 4). Kauanui (2020) continues, "Settler colonial studies does not, should not, and cannot replace Indigenous Studies" (para. 4). However, we must be critically conscious and vigilant about the overlapping of settler colonial studies and Indigenous studies to make sure they do not coalesce into one simplified entity. Settler colonial studies, although it may share objectives that are similar, it is still subject to white supremacy and other forms of domination that are problematic towards Indigenous studies and Indigeneity. Therefore, critical self-reflection along with comprehensive positionalities may assist people in developing a sharper sense of self in location to settler colonialism and Indigeneity. This lack of critical awareness may provide researchers and scholars further clarity between the Indigenous futurity – settler futurity dialectic with the hope that they lean towards securing Indigenous futurity.

Therefore, from my perspective, it is important to talk about the Indigenous futurity – settler futurity dialectic. Talking about futurity is a good starting point. Futurity explains how we as people make our futures a reality through specific practices, planning, with specific objectives in mind which requires agency and senses of self and community along with self in community (Anderson, 2010; Cordova, 2007; Simpson, 2017). Thus, to talk about Indigenous futurity is to place Indigenous ways of knowing at the center of our practices, our planning, with Indigenous sovereignty, human, and earthly survival as the objective is completed through our collective agencies. This is antithetical to settler futurity that focuses on an objective based on exploitation of humans, material resources, and land for the accumulation of wealth. To speak of these in a dialectical relationship is to understand that the tendencies on both sides of the dialectic, in relation to the material world, that is found throughout is rooted in the historical present. To bring this back to the original statement, this is not to write against Indigenous studies, but to demonstrate that the settler institution of education is a site of Indigenous struggle; settler futurity imagines, acts upon, those phenomena that secure its future.

By providing the foundational elements to settler colonialism, the settler institution of education, and settler narratives, an argument about the prevalence of settler colonialism in education becomes clearer. While exploring the controversy surrounding settler colonial studies and Indigenous studies, it is also clear that scholars need a much more lucid definition of settler colonialism. More specifically, the foundations of settler colonialism are necessary to name in order to get at the source of continued settler colonization and Indigenous removal. This also indicates a need for those engaging with analyses of settler colonization to include Indigeneity as a category of analysis. Scholars, in general, must fight against the white supremacist tendency of

relegating or ignoring Indigenous scholarship. If this is ignored, scholars run the risk of removing Indigenous voices, and perpetuating settler colonialism in education.

One important gap that needs to be explored concerns the trajectory settler colonialism inspires in scholars. There are several assumptions as to where this trajectory could lead which includes paths towards an anticolonial end or paths towards the security of settler futurity. To touch on the latter point, if white supremacy is not dealt with in settler colonial studies, we will continue to receive similar defensive arguments that lack substance as presented by Veracini (2020) and continue to harm Indigenous moves towards decolonization. The articulation towards Indigeneity as an analytical category will not be recognized if white supremacy is not deconstructed and destroyed within the settler institution of education. To which I agree with Kauanui (2016) and emphasize the assertion that Indigenous studies and Indigeneity are a necessity when analyzing and critiquing settler colonization.

White supremacy within settler colonialism and settler colonial studies, provides institutional support for settler narratives within education. Settler narratives are necessary for generating settler hegemony. This means that white supremacy is not only foundational to the settler society, but also to the settler narratives. This research project looks to underscore white supremacy as it is found within US history textbooks to generate an approach that makes white supremacy and ultimately settler colonialism visible as an attempt to recenter Indigeneity. Moreover, the heteropatriarchy of settler colonialism in relation to white supremacy and the other various forms of exploitation are also necessary gaps that need to be filled through an examination of settler narratives. Thus, this work highlights the complexity behind settler colonialism at the expense of Indigenous peoples and Indigeneity.

Settler Narratives

When discussing propagation and the maintenance of settler colonialism, it is important to discuss how settler narratives are structured, how they operate, who they impact, and the ways in which they are disseminated as they are formed from the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation that culminate into the colonization of memory. Settler colonialism scholar Veracini (2010) carefully deconstructs the structure of settler narratives which demonstrate the malleability of settler narratives and addresses one of the key reasons settler narratives are difficult to challenge. Despite the dissection of settler narratives, Veracini (2010) does not discuss the how the settler institutions inform the narratives which provides them with their malleability. However, Veracini (2010) is correct in stating that settler narratives are mobilizable and are situationally dependent which means that they carry different societal weight (p. 109). This is important to take into consideration given the ubiquity of settler narratives throughout settler societies and the subsequent policies regarding notions of land, property, and ownership. Settler narratives have an immense reach and influences political policies and actions where the settler society is the primary benefactor. Thus, an investigation into the stories and the conceptualizations of land, property, and ownership can provide insights into the complexity of capitalist exploitation for the benefit of the settler society.

The ideological foundations of settler colonial societies require investigation as this allows for the identification of political action that favors the settler society. Settler narratives are a manifestation of the greater ideological foundation of the settler society that utilizes rhetorical and linguistic devices that further settler hegemony and thus ensures its futurity. Accordingly, settler narratives form an important aspect of the ideological foundation of a settler society, to which, the ideology and the narratives cyclically reinforce one another and inform other settler

institutions. Settler narratives in the United States derive from its numerous institutions that often inform one another; from various academic disciplines, including but not limited to, anthropology and biological sciences, to the laws and political, economic, and sociocultural practices of the settler society (Rowe & Tuck, 2017; Wolfe, 1999). Settler narratives have an incredible reach that seek to occupy what we know and how we interact with peoples within the settler society and are a source of ideological reinforcement.

Settler narratives are found throughout curricula and curricular materials and the institutional disciplines that are made available in the settler society. Critical works in social studies curriculum and textbooks have revealed different forms of settler narratives (Calderon, 2014; Conrad, 2019; Dalley, 2018; Nasser & Nasser, 2008) in different institutional disciplines such as teacher education, history, feminist studies, and critical race studies (Adas, 2001; Kulago, 2019; Rowe & Tuck, 2017). Each of these works discuss the ubiquity and influence of settler colonialism on peoples within their specific contexts. The majority of the analyses demonstrates the impact of settler narratives on multiple peoples through the (re)production of (in)visible settler narratives in education and subject areas. However, these critical works also demonstrate that there are multiple ways to challenge settler colonialism and its narratives within these contexts as well. This research project looks to extend the conversation on challenging settler colonialism in teacher education with the emphasis on deconstructing settler narratives in US history textbooks with the intent to challenge to the dominant settler hegemony through an understanding of how historical representations are constructed.

Along with understanding the structure of settler narratives, there are other important concepts that characterize the narratives which require examination. Settler narratives also make use of two interrelated concepts: exceptionalism and innocence. Together these concepts assist

the selective tradition in creating narratives that generate affect for the settler. Exceptionalism tells not just the settler population but the rest of the world that America and Americans are special or exceptional (Madsen, 1998, p. 2). American exceptionalism came about through historiographic discourse and the propensity of American historians to look inward, confined to the United States itself where exceptionalism is also a way of conceptualizing American history and culture (Adas, 2001; Madsen, 1998). Therefore, making the origin story and the subsequent changes through history uniquely distinct from its originating metropole. The concept of exceptionalism reveals how settlers in the United States should see themselves in relation to the Other. The concept of innocence works in tandem with exceptionalism and is equally important to explore.

Settler innocence requires attention as it complicates the emotionality of dealing with the settler colonial project. Tuck and Yang (2012) discuss the "settler moves toward innocence" where individuals implement strategies that attempt to assuage settler's feelings of guilt without any substantive change (p. 10). Together, exceptionalism and innocence create difficult, ideological terrain where the settler narratives and identity are constantly shifting to maintain its position and allows access to different mobilizable settler narratives that further settler projects (Veracini, 2010). The respective critical works identify the ways these phenomena operate; however, exceptionalism and innocence need to be analyzed together as they appear to interact and inform one another and are expressed through settler narratives and perspectives. Since textbooks are saturated with settler narratives and textbooks are still frequently used, US history textbook analysis can provide further insights into the obstinacy of exceptionalism and innocence in settler narratives. Settler innocence allows for the continuation of the settler colonial project by creating distance between the individual and the event.

Settler narratives are clearly found in US curricula and curricular materials and operate through different modes of representation. Calderon's (2014) analysis of social studies curriculum and textbooks demonstrates that the positions and materials are saturated with settler narratives. Calderon (2014) makes an important point that the national identity of the United States is linked directly to settler narratives (p. 315). The main premise of this work examines the presence/absence dialectic of Indigenous peoples within textbooks to move towards decolonizing practices (Calderon, 2014). This dissertation project agrees with the notion that we must learn about settler colonialism while engaging with anti-colonial and decolonial efforts in various contexts. United States history textbooks prove to be a powerful starting point as they are still widely used throughout the United States. This dissertation project still focuses on settler narratives but diverges from Calderon's (2014) work by focusing on how settler narratives attempt to occupy what and how we think about peoples within its borders. Despite the pervasiveness of these concepts within settler narratives, more deconstructive analysis is needed to understand how these concepts shift through time. The settler modes of representation are informed through settler narratives that generates a curricula to the benefit of the settler society.

Settler Affect

As human beings, emotions are part of our everyday life and surface in various situations to varying degrees in connection to our interactions with the (meta)physical world around us. The study of emotion, or affect, is nothing new in Indigenous decolonial works (Laenui, 2000; Nicholas, 2009). To which, emotions and affect are understood as a powerful and necessary component to decolonial efforts (Laenui, 2000; Doerfler, Sinclair, & Stark, 2013; Nicholas, 2009). When discussing emotions and decolonial efforts, it is usually in relation to a reconnection or the strengthening of connections between Indigenous epistemologies and

ontologies that are motivated by the conceptualizations of sovereignty and survivance (Brayboy, 2005; Doerfler, Sinclair, & Stark, 2013; Little Bear, 2000, Simpson, 2017). Much of the work clearly focus on Indigenous peoples in the face of an overwhelming settler colonial juggernaut through its own institutions such as education (Grande, 2015; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Simpson, 2017; White, 2015), legality, ownership, property, and (dis)possession (Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Nichols, 2020), and capitalism and its economic practices (Green, 2015; Lloyd & Wolfe, 2016; Simpson, 2017). The absolute importance of undertaking these measures cannot be understated as they are directly related to the survivance of Indigenous peoples in settler societies and further Indigenous futurity. However, it is duly important to understand the role of affect in settler futurity.

When discussing the prominence of settler narratives – the emotionality or affect – requires attention as it contributes to the robusticity of settler futurity. The category of US history textbooks is no exception. The level of affect within the US history textbooks is necessary to uncover as it influences the sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of our lives within the settler society. This dissertation project searches for ways to deconstruct and address settler affect within US history textbooks that may prove beneficial to educators interested in anti-colonial or decolonial projects. In this sense, there has been a recent focus on the emotionality as established and experienced, in and through, the populations within the settler society that culminates into settler affect. Therefore, settler affect works through its population to maintain the settler society. This has been documented by Mark Rifkin's work on quotidian modes of feeling (2011) and affective networks (2013). The other scholarship regarding affect follows the ideas related to the sociality of emotions and the complexity it exhibits.

Mark Rifkin's work on settler affect provides powerful insights to the complexity and robusticity to settler futurity. Rifkin (2011) has promoted a powerful consideration for the role of emotion and feeling has had on the settler population as settler colonial projects support the justifications for the continued dispossession of land from Indigenous peoples (p. 342). Rifkin (2011) aptly underlines the affective relationship between the individual and their participation in the broader social processes that connect to the greater sociopolitical formations. With this relationship between the individual and socialization at hand, the feelings associated with individuality impedes any large-scale social change (p. 345). The connection between the socialization of affect and the sociopolitical formations of the settler society manufacture quotidian modes of feeling that normalize settler notions of land, property, and ownership. The normalization process then contributes to the obfuscation of settler projects that manifest through individuality, isolated from the social realm that includes other Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous alike (Rifkin, 2011). The settler states of feeling then takes on a new form called settler common sense where Rifkin (2013) explains how affective networks, the multitude of emotional interconnections, and their link to settler governmentality, the societal organization of thoughts and actions, generate feeling of givenness. Rifkin (2013) explains settler common sense is the normalization of settler colonization in relation to lived experience within the settler society (p. 322). These works produce a vital part in understanding the robusticity of settler hegemony and how it informs other settler institutions that produce policies and practices that normalize the continued (dis)possession of Indigenous peoples' lands and sovereignty. Therefore, settler affect is assumed to be an integral part in settler narratives that normalize settler.

In relation to Rifkin's works, settler affect has a wide range of phenomenological relationships that manifest in the physical world. The recent scholarship surrounding settler affect explains the significance of affect or emotion within settler colonialism (Langley, 2018; Rifkin, 2013). Emotion within settler colonization focuses on changes through time and space while including the social dimension of relationships. (Rifkin, 2011, 2013; Shields, 2018), (Rifkin, 2013; Wolfe, 2013). Settler affect also includes an explanation of the relationships between peoples, emotions, and various phenomena connected to settler colonialism, the connections to lands where the settler's identity is transferred (Shields, 2018; Wolfe, 1999). Settler affect, a dimension of settler futurity, changes through time and accommodates to the challenges it encounters.

One aspect of settler affect that needs more attention is the examination of settler affect and consciousness raising or conscientization. Specifically, an analysis of what makes settler affect resistant to consciousness raising efforts is needed. Settler affect allows the settler the opportunity to access different settler narratives that would otherwise fail to resist scrutiny and critique from positions that seek to promote Indigenous futurity. This dissertation project attempts to address this issue by focusing on the multiplicity of settler narratives found within US high school history textbooks and may address representational concerns for educators interested in furthering anti/de-colonial efforts in curricula. Additionally, the relationship between settler narratives and settler affect are cause for investigation as they appear to cyclically support one another as they inform settler policies, practices, and actions. Therefore, the examination of US history textbooks that supply the settler narratives and the affect found within them provide the settler society with sturdiness.

Settler Colonialism and Education

The settler institution of education is an incredible site of settler hegemonic (re)production. Critical scholars and critical Indigenous scholars have identified education as a settler colonial institute that favors specific ways of knowing, knowledge production, and education that benefits settler society (Calderon, 2014; Kulago, 2019; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Tuck, McKenzie, & McCoy, 2014). It is also clear that the settler institution of education is predicated on assimilationist policies and practices are at the forefront of the post-frontier. Richard Pratt's "kill the Indian in him, and save the man," serves as an important example of the shift in structural genocide that maims the spirit of Indigenous peoples and bolsters the objectives of settler enterprise. Accordingly, the settler institution of education has multipronged approaches that utilizes various strategies from different fields that are used to justify the actions of the settler society. What follows are the areas of education that are infused with a range of policies and practices that support the settler state and the attempts made by decolonial efforts to challenge the settler institution of education.

There are several subjects in education where settler colonial analysis has assisted in identifying settler projects that are usually associated with hegemony and assimilation. Within the field of education, settler colonial analysis has provided insights into different areas of education such as teacher education where critical scholarship highlights the need to bring the complex settler-Indigenous relationships to the forefront (Bissell & Korteweg, 2016; Cannon, 2012; Kulago, 2019). Curriculum inquiry is another area of critical exploration both internationally and in the United States. The settler process of replacement in their analysis of curriculum and explicate how setter colonialism usurps and reappropriates dominant settler positions into pedagogical and curricular materials and positions that are critical of those

dominant positions (Cutrara, 2018; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). Decolonial works in education in relation to settler colonialism seek to understand how settler colonialism impacts peoples and actively searches for ways to challenge settler ways of knowing and being that are present in curriculum including pedagogical practices and classroom materials. This includes Indigenous philosophies and perspectives, viewpoints from marginalized communities and peoples, and place-based challenges that utilizes the settler – native – slave triad analytical concept which attempt to explain relations of peoples to land (Gahman & Legault, 2019; Luke & Heyen, 2019). The critical scholarship on settler colonialism and educational research seeks to challenge dominant settler ways of knowing and presenting information on marginalized peoples through the categorizations and the organization of knowledge that benefits the settler state. It is clear that more work with curricula, teachers, teacher education, and approaches to dealing with settler colonialism in educational research are needed to ensure the survival of Indigenous and marginalized peoples.

Indigenous decolonial efforts in education support Indigenous survivance but also promote other areas of intersectional connections. Decolonial scholars Tuck and Yang (2012) call attention to two specific concepts when addressing settler colonialism in education. First, they identify settler moves towards innocence as a way for the settler population to evade or attempt to reconcile settler guilt that rescues settler futurity (p. 3). As outlined by Tuck and Yang (2012), the settler moves towards innocence appears to be a series of justifications for actions or events that have caused harm towards Indigenous peoples that reconciles settler guilt. Second, the process in which settler colonialism is maintained is referred to as settler futurity. Indigenous futurity offers a challenge to the settler state. Thus, the identification of how these concepts operate within education can prove to be an important part of decolonization and anti-

colonization efforts that further the aims of Indigenous futurity. Tuck and Yang (2019) make an important note about decolonial studies being informed by Indigenous epistemological and ontological perspectives that move towards Indigenous futurity (p. xi). Thus, decolonization advocates for numerous areas of critique and analysis that include, settler colonialism, borders, and conceptions of antiblackness (Tuck & Yang, 2019, p. xii). Therefore, it is important to continue looking towards other avenues of decolonization or efforts that will support decolonization.

To continue deconstructing settler colonialism, an analysis on the economic foundations and the interconnected institutions of the settler society is necessary as it continues to extract resources and monetary funds. The seemingly endless resources available to settler colonial societies requires an examination between the settler state and neoliberal capitalism. The relationship between these institutional entities appears to ensure control over the institution of education where the settler colonial narrative is prominent, naturalized, and justified. Since settler state has control over the institution of education, it can draw from numerous academic subjects such as anthropology, biology, and history to name a few, to assist in the creation and maintenance of settler colonial dominance (Wolfe, 1999). Since these settler institutions are interconnected and support each other through monetary funds and ideological foundations a system of reciprocity between them is necessary as it creates and maintains its control over the institutions and secures settler futurity.

Settler institutional control is proving to be a powerful and vital entity in securing settler futurity. Settler colonial control over education includes not just academic subjects and settler narratives but also the control over the decisions on policies and laws that impact both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples within its borders and within its educational system.

These practices seek to maintain and naturalize positions of power that influence areas that impact peoples' everyday lives. Critical scholar Michael Apple (2009) reminds us of the structure of the hidden curriculum is a normalizing structural force that naturalizes various social issues and through the process of naturalization becomes an invisible hegemony. As Brayboy (2005) points out, colonization is endemic to society (p. 429). This includes the institution of education along with Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples who are deeply influenced by the structural and naturalizing processes of the settler state and its components (Brayboy, 2005, p. 430). Brayboy (2005) is clearly highlighting the lived/living experiences of colonization on Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples where the past and present processes of elimination are complex and intimately connected. The settler institution of education is just one site of control over subjects and policy decisions perpetuate settler interests through education which impacts administrators, school boards, teachers and students in the broadest sense.

Public School Textbook Analysis

Textbooks are not politically neutral (Fuchs & Bock, 2018; Lowen, 2008). They are subjected to the institutionally informed selective tradition that proposes which information is worthy of being remembered and how that information should be remembered (Trouillo, 2015). When taking these premises into consideration and applying them to the United States, it is clear that US history textbooks that reflect white supremacist, settler values, narratives, and stories that justify the continued removal and replacement of Indigenous peoples. Textbook analysis is necessary for the analysis of settler colonialism as it provides a window into the ideological maintenance of settler futurity that emerges in various social situations assisted by the settler's institutions. If the Indigenous and settler dialectic is accepted as part of our experiential reality, then uncovering the (in)visibility of settler futurity is necessary for the continued resistance from

Indigenous futurity. This research project attempts to reveal how US history textbooks operate as contraptions that secure settler futurity that disseminate and propagate settler narratives.

The textbook analysis will provide insights into settler colonialism in United States history textbooks. The analysis will focus on prominent narrative themes, norms and values, and conceptions about Indigenous peoples, settler society, and relationships to the environment in the broadest sense. The analysis will attempt to uncover not just what narrative themes or ideas are present, but attempts to identify how settler narratives operate; primarily their discursivity and content that culminate into a particular historiography that generates sympathies and affect for the settler society. This dissertation project thus contributes to growing literature on what is to be done about settler colonialism and its domestic forms of oppression. It is also understood that these domestic strategies extend internationally through neoimperialism, but that is currently beyond the scope of this dissertation project.

Settler Colonialism and Textbook Analysis

US history textbooks appear to be saturated with settler narratives that work to create settler hegemony. As previously mentioned, textbooks continue to be a mainstay of classrooms throughout the United States (Apple, 1998; Fuchs & Bock, 2018; Lowen, 2008). Additionally, the settler institution of education is identified as site of cultural and political (re)production that favors the settler state (Calderon, 2014; Kulago, 2019; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Tuck, McKenzie, & McCoy, 2014). Accordingly, a close look at the settler narratives found within the US history textbooks created by a combination of settler institutions is necessary to identify the operative mechanisms that bolster the settler society.

The settler colonial institution of education makes use of its own curricula and curricular materials that create hegemony for the settler society. Critical scholars have identified numerous

overlapping examples that highlight how settler colonialism operates through textbooks, but are not limited to a combination of, representation, policy, and curriculum, and how these orient ourselves towards settler hegemony. (Calderon, 2014; Conrad, 2019; Nasser & Nasser, 2008; Sabzalian, 2018). Calderon (2014) discusses the dialectic of Indigenous presence and absence within settler narratives that are influenced through coloniality or the organization of modern colonial systems that allow us to think about the contexts in which these take place (p. 314). This is important in terms of areas to critically analyze colonization. Conrad (2019) discusses Eurocentrism as the link between different disciplines and their contribution to settler narratives that is propagated through curriculum. Conrad (2019) also argues that inclusion and representation are not sufficient in countering colonialism and racism (p. 15). Thus, an examination of the settler institutions is a necessary part in deconstructing settler narratives. Nasser and Nasser (2008) find that the selective tradition implemented in Palestinian textbooks render the Palestinian identity as non-belonging or rootless (p. 644). Identity, or how one understands themselves in relation to others within the settler society, needs to be taken into consideration and should include the emotionality of settler narratives. Sabzalian (2018) discusses Indigenous feminist theorists' critiques and challenges to Western, colonial curriculum theory and curriculum studies that perpetuate colonial forms of knowledge (re)production. Sabzalian (2018) argues that decolonialization and anti-colonial potential can potentially take hold through those critiques and problematizations posed by Indigenous feminist theorist. The arguments and critiques of settler colonialism in education are powerful and vast. My research project looks to contribute to each of these arguments by developing, historical refusal, an approach dedicated to deconstructing settler narratives in US history textbooks by supporting decolonial and anticolonial projects. Several researchers highlight settler colonialism in

textbooks in the United States (Calderon, 2014), Canada (Schaefli, Godlewska, & Rose, 2018) Palestine and Israel (Nasser & Nasser, 2008) which contextualize settler narratives in their current locations. These contexts allow for an understanding of the similarities in settler narratives that move towards settler hegemony and normalization. Regarding the settler narratives found within the textbooks, there are clear themes that stem from the selective tradition within history, how it informs (mis)representations, the impact the selective tradition has had on curriculum and on marginalized peoples, and how this process maintains the settler state. The presence and absence dialectic (Calderon, 2014), colonial representation of pre-colonial Hawaiian women (Kaomea, 2006), Indigenous peoples as relegated to the past (Shear, Knowles, Soden, & Castro, 2015), and complicating understandings of identity (Nasser & Nasser, 2008). These articles were selected as examples of not only the topics in settler colonization in education but also focus on their respective areas which elucidate the depth and reach of settler colonial ideological perspectives. Furthermore, the articles focusing on narratives that benefit the settler state offer a glimpse into the power of hegemony. Despite the discussion of the narratives, there is more to learn about settler narratives through a holistic perspective; the institutional creation and dissemination of settler narratives is important in understanding how settler narratives generate settler hegemony. It is assumed that settler affect in relation to the content of the historical retelling of events, is one of the primary factors. For instance, Sabzalian (2019) asserts that, "schools *have* to keep telling these myths. These myths hold society up and make the United States possible" (p. 58). This is an area that is indeed of further investigation as it has the potential to assist in anti-colonial and decolonial efforts if deconstructed in a way that demonstrates history as lacking neutrality. Therefore, the settler colonial institution has different, interconnected ways of (re)producing its hegemony.

Calderon (2014) also calls attention to the need for addressing settler colonialism in teacher education as teachers have the propensity to (re)produce settler tropes of Indigenous peoples and maintain settler colonial futurity (p. 331-332). Along with addressing teacher education, Calderon (2014) notes that teachers and students should work collectively confront settler grammars in education (p. 332). This work not only demonstrates how it maintains its curricular dominance, it definitively moves into the realm of the politics of knowledge and representation. My research looks to highlight a potential approach for deconstructing settler narratives for preservice teachers that may critically engage their decisions to expand on the incompleteness of US historical narratives by providing diverse perspectives and voices. This requires a developing critical examination of history within the settler institution of education that unearths how settler narratives in US history textbooks operate and inform the practices and policies within the settler society. Consequently, the development of historical refusal may be an approach that may be used in anti-colonial and decolonial projects that has the potential to expand and include other oppressive features as incorporated by the settler society.

Tribal Critical Race Theory: An Overview

The analytical framework for this dissertation project is multifaceted. It requires an explanation of Mino-Bimaadiziwin, ways of living a good life, which encompasses the Seven Grandfather teachings which are a collection of values or ethics that inform how one interacts with the world around them. It also requires the Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) as the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Additionally, the TribalCrit conceptualization of power is explored to continue to bolster the analysis and perpetuation of settler narratives within US history textbooks. The analytical concepts found within settler colonialism to help identify and deconstruct the operative mechanisms found within settler narratives that ultimately

contribute to the (re)production of settler futurity. The multipronged approach is necessary in identifying the complexity of settler colonialism and its continued impact on the people within its borders which includes the area of education.

Background of TribalCrit

Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) provide pathways for Indigenous futurity. TribalCrit allows for an examination of the complex relationship between American Indians and the federal government of the United States. Moreover, TribalCrit is based on the epistemologies and ontologies of Indigenous communities where the historical, geographical, and nuanced phenomena are located. These aspects differ in space, place, and time, from tribal nation to tribal nation, from individuals, and through epistemologies and ontologies. Thus, TribalCrit understands the commonalities and distinctions between tribal nations and how they inform and interact with the United States government (Brayboy, 2005, p. 427). TribalCrit clearly operates in tandem with Indigenous futurity as it complements the diverse epistemologies and ontologies of Indigenous peoples and honors different ways of cultivating sovereignty.

When placing CRT in the institution education, CRT postulates that education is rife with racism that creates problems for peoples of color navigating educational institutions (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Racism, its forms and practices, are so profoundly implanted within society that it has been rendered almost invisible in our societal institutions including education. CRT, accordingly, attempts to remove the invisibility of racism in society and its institutions such as education by confronting and challenging pedagogical practices and the myriad of dominant beliefs that are found within those practices. CRT also includes praxis surrounding social justice which requires commitment for social change.

Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) builds on and complements the scholarship completed in Critical Race Theory (CRT). However, the concepts of CRT do not necessarily address the experiences of American Indians as political or racialized beings nor does it consider the impact of colonization (Brayboy, 2005, p. 428). In CRT, the concepts of race and racism, in relation to other forms of oppression, are the center of inquiry (Brayboy, 2005; Crenshaw, 1991, Solorzano, 1998). Accordingly, CRT maintains that racism and white supremacy is ubiquitous throughout the United States. CRT also places emphasis on experiential knowledge which informs how we think and how these experiences shape research. TribalCrit follows this path but explains how the relationship between storytelling as legitimate sources of data and listening are incredibly powerful together (Brayboy, 2005, p. 428). Moreover, listening is not simply responding to what is being said – it is a process of reflecting, of thinking, of questioning, and then of responding. In anti/decolonial works, this form of engaged listening is necessary and complements the diversity of CRT scholarship.

The Conceptualization of Power

Power, in TribalCrit, is the amalgamation of individual and communal agency rooted in the adaptability of survivance. The characteristics that make up the notion of power in TribalCrit are identified as a collective exercise in self-identification and definition, an expression of how one exists in the world, and the respective traditions that underscore those practices (Brayboy, 2005, p. 435). Power is also an expression of sovereignty – self-determination, self-governance, self-identification, and self-education – all of which are collectively expressed and acted upon (Brayboy, 2005, p. 435). Thus, Brayboy (2005) defines power as, "… the ability to survive rooted in the capacity to adapt and adjust to changing landscapes, times, ideas, circumstances, and situations" (p. 435). Furthermore, Brayboy (2005) includes Gerald Vizenor's concept of

survivance within TribalCrit as survivance articulates the uniqueness of Indigenous peoples persevering in the hostile settler contexts (Brayboy, 2005, p. 345) Brayboy (2005) also calls attention to the relationship between knowledge – forms of experience – and power. For TribalCrit, power is constantly in motion and in connection to other phenomena that forms a complex dialectic between Western and Indigenous forms of expression and ways of being. Power, then, encompasses notions of extension and contraction which is articulated through the struggle and/or the survival of ideological positions. Therefore, TribalCrit attempts to challenge and dismantle the delegative power structures that constrict Indigenous peoples in multiple points in their respective lives. It is through these challenges that TribalCrit allows for Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies to create an expansive space for sovereignty and collective action through this conceptualization of power.

Settler Colonial Analytical Tools and TribalCrit

The amalgamation of the settler analytical tools and the tenets of TribalCrit allow for a robust analysis of the perpetual US settler project. The colonization of memory, the politics of knowledge, and the politics of representation are brought to the forefront through the relationship between these analytical concepts. Critical Indigenous scholar, Brayboy (2005) outlines the first tenet that states, “Colonization is endemic to society” (p. 429). The settler institution of education is a vast site for the politics of knowledge and representation that produce normative stories that impacts everyone within the confines of the settler borders. More specifically, the use of settler institutional narratives seeks to occupy what we think of ourselves in relation to others that become quotidian as they are repeated by the various institutions within the settler society. The use of TribalCrit and settler analytical tools generate powerful analyses of the continual settler project of Indigenous removal.

Settler colonialism is an indicator of genocide (Wolfe, 2006, p. 403). This significant point is explained as the logic of elimination where genocidal strategies of removal and replacement takes on different forms in the settler society at different points in time and the motives are situationally located. This also means that past strategies of removal and replacement may appear over time and in different forms (Wolfe, 2006). Moreover, Wolfe (2006) also notes that hyphenated genocides are inappropriately hierarchically labelled. This important point diffuses the disgusting arguments that some genocides do not qualify as genocide because of its limited definition or conceptualization (p. 402). However, TribalCrit offers an analysis of the operative mechanisms of structural genocide by highlighting the diverse means in which colonization permeates settler society that complement the temporal frames of the frontier and post-frontier removal and replacement. Furthermore, TribalCrit provides paths towards decolonial and anticolonial measures that can supply Indigenous peoples resistance to structural genocide by centering Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies.

To really drive home this point, Wolfe (2006) states, "On historical as well as categorical grounds, therefore, the hyphenated genocides devalue Indigenous attrition" (p. 402). Returning to the point about settler colonialism as an indicator of genocide, Wolfe (2006) rightly states that it is necessary to closely monitor situations where settler colonialism escalates or where situations may potentially take on settler colonial characteristics (p. 403). Structural genocide is different from genocide in that settler colonialism would not be helpful in understanding the Tutsis in Rwanda or the Jewish people in Nazi Germany as these mass killings do not appear to have much to tell us about long-term structural removal and replacement of Indigenous peoples (Wolfe, 2006, p. 402). To circle back then, structural genocide takes many different forms over long periods of time and shapeshifts whenever necessary. In order to legitimize removal and

replacement of Indigenous peoples, the settler society relies on its institutional narratives that are rooted in white supremacy to generate and maintain settler hegemony. Therefore, the relationship between structural genocide and settler narratives needs further investigation as this may lead to new forms of Indigenous resistance towards settler colonial projects to which TribalCrit can also support. The subject area of US history and the collection of narratives that constitute US history textbooks, may yield potential avenues of opposition which this dissertation project looks to create.

Dispossession is another important concept that is deeply connected to structural genocide and white supremacy. Dispossession is the liquidation of Indigenous rights and titles along with being divested from their lands which are then replaced by whatever the settler desires (Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Nichols, 2020; Wolfe, 2006). To which, Nichols (2020) makes the point that, "…dispossession is thought of as a broad macrohistorical process related to the specific territorial acquisition logic of settler colonialization" (p. 5). (Dis)possession consists of a dialectical relationship where the participants on each side attempt to supersede the other through concepts such as property and ownership (Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Nichols, 2020). (Dis)possession is a mode of rationalization whereby those who are impacted by the settler legal characterizations of property and ownership that produce a decisive answer that favors the settler society (Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Nichols, 2020). By centering Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies, TribalCrit provides contestations to settler dispossession, however, the institutionalization of settler (dis)possession requires further analysis of legal documents which is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

What this means is that (dis)possession is not neutral by any stretch of the imagination and is further complicated by white supremacy which favors white people and the settler society

in general. Moreton-Robinson (2015) appears to reflect the same idea as Rifkin's settler common sense where the legal jurisdiction over land and the characterizations of property and ownership should forefront the settler's conceptualizations over Indigenous claims (p. xii). Dispossession is thus, an aspect of structural genocide. It requires the cooperation of different settler institutions that generate notions of property and ownership while simultaneously liquidating Indigenous rights and titles to land. In connection to the (dis)possession dialectic, the connection between (dis)possession and settler narratives – the sources of justification – needs further exploration as this relationship appears to take form in education through narratives. This dissertation project attempts to expose this relationship as part of the creation of an approach that assists in identifying settler projects.

Indigenous Futurity and Settler Futurity: A Dialectical Relationship

There is a complex dialectical relationship between Indigenous and settler futurity. Each of these dialectical positions seek to overcome the other. However, each change with, and through time, along with the challenges that each present to one another. There are no politically neutral parties within this dialectical relationship. Each group has its members that are actively engaged in maintain support for either of the dialectical positions that promote change in the abstract and material world. Thus, the settler futurity of past may have some hold overs but is ultimately different from its past – the same is demonstrably true for Indigenous futurity as well. Within this dialectical relationship are numerous contradictions that exist for one another. For example, settler futurity is predicated on the removal and replacement of Indigenous peoples through structural genocide that allow the settler access to land, resources, and labor (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Wolfe, 1999). Settler futurity relegates historical events to the past, however, it clandestinely extends itself into our current era and the future where it continually influences the

lived experiences of the peoples living within its borders (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013 p. 80). Another distinctive aspect of settler futurity includes its attempts to absorb notions of Indigeneity along with the critiques and any other confrontation the settler society may encounter (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013; Wolfe, 2006). The characteristics of settler futurity are lucidly connected to the objectives of settler colonialism.

Indigenous futurity is in opposition to settler futurity and has characteristics that are (re)humanizing in relationships with others and to the rest of the world. Indigenous futurity pursues the notion of sovereignty – self-determination, self-governance, and self-education are three of the main components of sovereignty (Brayboy, 2005; Kulago, 2019; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). Another important key distinction between settler and Indigenous futurity is that Indigenous futurity does not require the removal of the settlers (Kulago, 2019, p. 2). For these clear reasons, this dialectic is not politically neutral, nor should the political nature of settler colonialism be ignored. The sociocultural politics of being is the crux on which Indigenous sovereignty and futurity are based on that make the dialectic, hectic, as the fight for survivance continues. It is through this dissertation project where the identification of settler narratives in US history textbooks that seek to maintain the settler society's dominant position, are uncovered and challenged through an approach that attempts to challenge settler futurity.

Implications for Research

TribalCrit as a theoretical framework enables a two-fold analysis that includes: 1) the identification and means in which settler colonialism operates in US society; and 2) offers potential anti-colonial or decolonial efforts that are centered on Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies that favor Indigenous sovereignty and futurity. This richness in analysis emanates from the nine tenets of TribalCrit, power, and knowledge production. Furthermore, the richness

in the analysis is also complemented by praxis: a dialectical process of reflecting, acting, and adjusting to various phenomena. Therefore, the combination of settler colonial analytical tools and TribalCrit enables a rich analysis of the structural genocide that accompanies settler colonialism.

When examining the foundational settler narratives, the work will be centered on settler colonial conceptualizations of people and land along with the justifications of (dis)possession and violence. Moreover, TribalCrit and settler analytical tools will address how the foundational settler narratives have changed over time. With the information at hand, TribalCrit is an important lens for analyzing the politics of knowledge and the politics of representation that permeate settler narratives. The tenets of TribalCrit act as analytical guides that demonstrate the pervasiveness of dehumanizing and problematic settler narratives about Indigenous peoples in the United States. It highlights the settler institutional (re)production of knowledge that perpetually inform other settler institutions' practices and policies towards Indigenous and marginalized peoples. Along with these practices and policies, the politics of representation, that include settler narratives, assume various forms based on the institutions they emerge from and the institutions they impact. In this research context, the foundational settler narratives are found in US history textbooks. Therefore, the analysis will examine the foundation of the settler narratives that serve as the catalyst for the institutionalization of settler narratives that mark their adaptability and mobilizability.

Tribal Critical Race Theory allows for an examination of the structural elements that impact the lives of American Indians in the United States. It highlights the invisibility of the settler colonial legacy that has systematically worked to remove and replace American Indians through political designations and relegations informed by its ideology in connection to

capitalism. The primary tenet of TribalCrit is that colonization is endemic to society which includes the non-Indigenous society as well. It is marked by racism and white supremacy which has changed through space and time and that focuses on the erasure of Indigenous peoples – spirituality, physicality, and mentality. The notion of colonization manifests and operates through the multitude of settler institutions. Education is one of the settler institutions where control over how people within the United States come to know and understand who American Indians are through settler narratives. Settler narratives consist of stories about the settlers in relation to Indigenous peoples which inform the policies and practices that relegate Indigenous peoples into precarious legal positions.

Brayboy (2005) expresses his hope that TribalCrit can be used to explain the complex range and variation of experiences that have, and continue to, affect American Indians (p. 430). Additionally, Brayboy (2005) extends this thought towards research projects that utilize TribalCrit in that it identifies and assists in highlighting the needs of the various Indigenous communities and brings about positive changes for the respective communities (p. 441). The broad scope of the first tenet of TribalCrit is an important aspect to take into consideration. Due to the broad scope of the tenet, it is clear how the settler institution of education targets all peoples within its borders. It is through this theoretical framework that I highlight my experiences as an Ojibwe man in education and provide an approach that renders the invisibility of settler colonization visible to a broader audience.

Accordingly, the analytical concepts assist with the explanation of how settler colonial dispossession has historically manifested. The strategies of elimination are necessarily broad categories that assist critical scholars to analyze and critique their contents in terms of

applicability to various elements under investigation. Moreover, the settler narratives found within US history textbooks may provide insights into the processes of dispossessions.

Conclusion

This chapter presented a review of the literature on the manifestations of settler colonialism; from the abstract ideological stories to the institutional implementation. It also presents a review of the literature surrounding the amalgamation of settler colonial analytic tools and Tribal Critical Race Theory; its key tenets and conceptualization of power. Furthermore, this chapter covers important terms such as Indigenous and settler futurity along with the concept of refusal. I specifically address the theoretical works of Brayboy (2005) and Wolfe (1999, 2006) in order to provide a cohesive analytical framework that address settler narratives in United States history textbooks. Throughout this dissertation project, I bring attention to the conceptualization of settler narratives which emphasizes the politics of knowledge and the politics of representation that permeate the US settler society.

I also clarified the term Indigenous and settler futurity as this dialectical relationship is a continual and ever-evolving process that undergirds the functionality of settler narratives. This identifies our current era as a settler colonial one which will be frequently noted. Lastly, I also clarify the term Indigenous refusal as a collection of strategies designed to resist the expressions of settler narratives through various. I extend this term to historical refusal as it addresses the ideology, the selective tradition, and the historiography that generates the foundational settler narratives, and consequently, the adaptability and mobility of the settler narratives.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Research Overview

The aim of this study is two-fold: first, it is to understand the colonization of memory through the politics of knowledge and the politics of representation that are rooted in settler colonialism found in United States high school history textbooks. Second, is to create an approach that supports anti-colonial and decolonial projects in education settings that challenge the politics of knowledge and the politics of representation. Tribal Critical Race Theory as a theoretical framework allows for a critical examination of the complex relationship between Indigenous peoples and the United States federal government as one that is institutionally driven in the process of dispossessing Indigenous peoples of land, rights, and titles; a detriment to Indigenous sovereignty. It also draws our attention to the politics of knowledge and the politics of representation through its tenets and conceptualization of power.

This chapter starts with a restatement of the research questions, followed by an explanation of TribalCrit, the theoretical framework, a positionality statement that covers my Indigeneity along with an understanding of those items that influence my perspective. I then briefly overview the deconstructive analytical methodologies of Critical Content Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Critical Literacy that I used to reveal the asymmetry and materialization of power in language and representation, expose the relationships between the asymmetry of power and its manifestations, and answer the research questions regarding the compositional elements and normalization of settler narratives in the U.S. history textbooks examined.

In the later sections of the chapter, I explain the data that I collected and the research context in which this data was obtained, and discuss how I analyzed the data selected. Finally, I discuss the limitations of this particular work.

Restatement of the Questions

1. How do settler narratives normalize representations of the settler in relation to Indigenous peoples in the United States?
    A. In what ways does settler discourse in US history textbooks silence Indigenous voices?
    B. In what ways does this framing perpetuate settler futurity?
2. What norms and values are transmitted through U.S. history textbooks that bolster settler futurity?

Research Methodologies

Theoretical Framework: TribalCrit

The tenets of Tribal Critical Race Theory as proposed by Brayboy (2005), provide a framework for understanding the complex and ever-changing relationship between Indigenous peoples and the United States federal government. Part of the complexity behind this relationship includes the dominant, white supremacist, settler narratives that occupy how we come to know the people, the politics, and the world around us in general. I found the tenets of TribalCrit helpful in deconstructing the pervasive, settler narratives found in US history textbooks that describe not just the compositional elements, but that also explain the robusticity of those narratives. Thus, I will describe the tenets of TribalCrit as they correlate with one another and to the settler institutional reality that (re)produces settler narratives. The value of TribalCrit is that it assists in moving towards social change by providing a pathway towards resisting and building against settler colonization through Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. The tenets provide not only an analysis of the conditions that create and perpetuate settler colonialism or

imperialism, but the tenets also provide pathways that either secure or favor Indigenous futurity. Furthermore, TribalCrit makes use of the notion of praxis to inform positive social change.

The Tenets of Tribal Critical Race Theory

The tenets of TribalCrit provide powerful analysis on settler colonialism in educational contexts. I demonstrate how the tenets assist with the analysis of settler narratives. Therefore, it is important to explain the tenets before discussing what the analysis reveals. The first tenet of TribalCrit postulates, "colonization is endemic to society," which means that colonization consists of institutional and structural white supremacy and racism that permeate and manifest in various forms in US society (Brayboy, 2005, p. 430). This includes an analysis of space, time, and place in which Indigenous peoples inhabit that is mindful of the material and intellectual relationship between Indigenous peoples and the settler federal government (Brayboy, 2005, p. 430). The prominence of settler colonialism in the United States espouse a temporal analysis of removal. Here, Wolfe's (2006) concepts of the frontier and post-frontier are helpful temporal indicators of structural genocide, removal, and replacement that demonstrate changes in removal through time and the current iteration of settler colonialism in the United States.

The second tenet of TribalCrit, acknowledges the policies towards Indigenous peoples as rooted in imperialism, white supremacy, and the desire for material gain (Brayboy, 2005, p. 431). Brayboy (2005) also notes that this is meant to legitimize and rationalize white settler liquidation of Indigenous lands that also takes advantage of white supremacist discourse that conceptualizes land, habitation, property, occupation, and ownership (p. 431). The institutionalization of imperialism utilizes another asymmetric dialectical relationship: (dis)possession. This dialectical relationship is brought into the light through the discourse on the previous concepts. For (dis)possession to operate, there needs to be a clear understanding of those concepts both in the

abstract and in the material sense. (Dis)possession requires these concepts along with, and in relation to, peoples that are struggling for legitimacy and control. Thus, (dis)possession is a political act of legitimacy and control that changes through time and is contingent upon white supremacist conceptualizations and enforced through its multiple state apparatuses.

In relation to (dis)possession, the third tenet of TribalCrit states that Indigenous peoples in the United States, "occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the legal/political and racialized natures of our identities" (Brayboy, 2005, p. 432). This is to say that Indigenous people are both legal/political and racialized beings; however, Indigenous peoples are not identified as such (Brayboy, 2005, p. 432). This is a clear indication of the political action taken by the settler institutions that implement policies and practices that liquidate Indigenous peoples of land, rights, and titles. Furthermore, Brayboy (2005) also notes that the U.S. federal government has a particular relationship with *federally* recognized tribes that complicate and (dis)possess Indigenous peoples' nationhood (Brayboy, 2005, p. 433).

The fourth tenet of TribalCrit focuses on the concept of Indigenous sovereignty and tribal autonomy (Brayboy, 2005, p. 433). Indigenous sovereignty is related to self-determination, self-identification, self-education, and ultimately self-govern (Brayboy, 2005; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). Tribal autonomy, then, is the Indigenous communal control over current land bases, natural resources, and tribal borders (Brayboy, 2005, p. 433). Indigenous sovereignty and tribal autonomy operate against the previously mentioned (dis)possession dialectic by providing pathways of recognition and legitimacy that further the notion of control to Indigenous peoples.

The fifth tenet of TribalCrit states that Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies offer different conceptualizations of culture, power, and knowledge, re-centering Indigenous ways of knowing from Western notions (Brayboy, 2005, p. 434). TribalCrit outlines three specific, yet

interrelated notions of knowledge: Cultural, survival, and academic. Cultural knowledge generates understandings of what it means to be a member of an Indigenous group which includes traditions and ways of being – individual and communal (Brayboy, 2005, p. 434). Survival knowledge refers to the systems of knowing that promote the adaptability of the individual and the community (Brayboy, 2005, p. 434). Academic knowledge refers to the knowledge obtained by educational institutions (Brayboy, 2005, p. 435). Brayboy (2005) also continues by stating that these forms of knowledge do not need to conflict with one another and that there are intersectional points that demonstrate how they can complement one another (p. 435). Finally, the concept of survivance rounds out the fifth tenet of TribalCrit. Survivance is the combination of survival and resistance that undergird Indigenous futurity and that note change and adaptability necessary for Indigenous peoples to survive the overwhelming settler colonial juggernaut (Brayboy, 2005, p. 435).

The sixth tenet of TribalCrit recognizes governmental and educational policies and practices towards Indigenous peoples focus on assimilation (Brayboy, 2005, p. 436). While understanding that assimilation is part of the settler objective of Indigenous removal, Brayboy (2005) is clear when stating that, "TribalCrit explicitly rejects the calls for assimilation in educational institutions for American Indian students" (p. 437). To make certain that this does not happen, Brayboy (2005) mentions that it is imperative that Indigenous peoples maintain a strong sense of their respective identities (p. 437). Again, this point also relates to the post-frontier concept of settler colonialism where the primary objective of Indigenous removal focuses on assimilation. It is also clearly linked to the notion of survivance and the adaptability necessary to survive the settler institution of education.

The seventh tenet of TribalCrit focuses on Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies that move towards Indigenous sovereignty and Indigenous futurity by centering Indigenous philosophies, beliefs, customs, and traditions (Brayboy, 2005, p. 437). This enables individuals and communities a foundation to address their respective issues with schooling and education in general (Brayboy, 2005, p. 438). Cooperation and competition are also two important, contested ways of educating students. In this sense, the contestation between these two concepts have white supremacist and Eurocentric connotations that are not beneficial to Indigenous peoples and their respective communities (Brayboy, 2005, p. 439).

The eighth tenet of TribalCrit honors the legitimacy of stories and oral histories; stories generate theory (Brayboy, 2005, p. 439.) This powerful tenet offers challenges to the Western notions of "scientifically based" research and notions of what qualifies as data or what constitutes proper research (Brayboy, 2005, p. 439).

The final tenet of TribalCrit is rooted in praxis – theory and practice – that move towards positive social change (Brayboy, 2005, p. 440). This is also an aspect of activism where educators utilize theory to promote social change (Brayboy, 2005, p. 440). Thus, praxis within TribalCrit moves us away from settler colonialism, its ways of being, and supports efforts towards Indigenous futurity (Brayboy, 2005, p. 440).

The tenets of Tribal Critical Race Theory provide not only a robust analysis of settler colonialism, it also offers a multitude of pathways that encourage Indigenous futurity. The operative mechanisms of settler colonialism are rendered visible through the tenets of TribalCrit which enables different forms of survivance to occur that addresses the needs of the individual and the community. What is more, TribalCrit unequivocally understands and the complex relationship between Indigenous and settler futurity.

Critical Content Analysis

Critical Content Analysis (CCA) stems from content analysis (Chang, 2013; Short, 2017). However, the "critical" part of content analysis signifies a political stance taken on by the researcher and thus explains the location of power in social practices through an exploration of social practices which entails unraveling and transforming conditions of social inequality and is complemented by a developing critical consciousness (Short, 2017, p. 4-5). When thinking about the "critical" position of critical content analysis, the researcher is encouraged to consider theories that have specific political positions (Chang, 2013; Short, 2017). Accordingly, the historical context in which the texts exist, the location in which the texts are consumed, needs to have the relation to power and politics explored and critically vetted. This also includes action or a call to action in that compliments the notion of consciousness raising. For this to happen, work by scholars who employ critical perspectives need to investigate methodological processes that support the objective.

Short (2017) offers numerous methodological suggestions based on bringing in a critical analytical perspective as well as a shared understanding of the process researchers utilize with this methodology which also highlight the flexibility of the researcher and the context (p. 6). The information provided indicates there are numerous methods that contribute to robust analyses of the data. Some of which encourages the researcher to complete a layered close-reading and compiling one's notes afterward, reading deeply into critical theories as well as revisiting theory, and generating analytical notes (Short, 2017). These suggestions allow the researcher to carefully and considerately reflect on what the data is telling the researcher. The suggestions also afford the researcher a level of adaptability as change happens throughout the research process.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis stems from discourse analysis and diverges from discourse analysis by focusing on numerous features of language in society which highlight the politics of language, the ideological and hegemonic nature of language, and the underlying issues of power found throughout (Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2010; Mills, 2004). Blommaert (2005) offers a compelling definition of discourse which "comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and development of use" (p. 3). Mills (2004) adds an important caveat to the definition of discourse that understands the definition itself is related to the disciplinary context of the utterance or to terms that are used to contrast discourse. Furthermore, Mills (2004) explains that this gives the word discourse a fluid meaning (p. 5).

Discourse does not occur in insolation from social contexts. Rather the social context of discourse consists of language, forms of semiotics, and meaning-construction along with agreed upon understandings of words within contexts (Blommaert, 2005; Mills, 2004). Blommaert (2005) clearly states that discourse develops under social conditions that are both linguistic and sociocultural which cannot be accessed, manipulated, or exploited by everyone in the same way (p. 4). Mills (2004) furthers the discussion about discourse within social contexts with the explanation of the practices of exclusion where the naturalness is the result of what has been excluded (p. 11). Additionally, Mills (2004) aptly points out the politics of discursive parameters that includes practices of exclusion which clandestinely becomes natural as a result of the exclusion (p. 10-11). Therefore, this methodological background information can bolster the analysis of the (in)visibility or naturalness of settler colonial positions and narratives in US history textbooks. Analytically, CCA and CDA have the potential to highlight settler colonial

normativity and settler futurity through an examination of settler educational materials that benefit settler society through the institution of education.

Critical Literacy

Freire and Macedo (1987) outline and explain the intricacies of critical literacy which entails the sociohistorical, political, and theoretical practice of language and discourse. Critical literacy also entails a process of becoming conscious of the structural and power dynamics that impact one's life and promotes a move towards positive social transformation (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 109). Shor (1999) furthers this sentiment by explaining that critical literacy includes language use that interrogates how the self is constructed in social contexts (p. 3). Luke (2012) further explains that the aims and goals of critical literacy is the development of the critical capacity to analyze texts in social fields (p. 9). Bishop (2014) also notes the importance of being able to identify the contradictions within society that permeate the meaning of freedom or liberation (p. 52).

Critical literacy, therefore, advocates for the academic ability to read and write while promoting literacy for social change through Freirean notion of praxis. With a critical literacy approach to settler colonialism, it is understood that this process includes self-reflection or an understanding of one's sociohistorical and political location within the settler society. It is also understood that this process will also assist in uncovering how settler narratives operate within the United States history textbooks in order to locate areas of resistance and may also potentially provide a lexicon in support of decolonial options and resistance to settler colonial futurity.

This will focus in on consciousness raising aspect of critical literacy, however, it is understood that is not the penultimate concept and is often eclipsed by, and in contradiction to, the permeation of hegemony and ideology. The power behind consciousness raising is rooted in

intersubjectivity and the potential to cause change over time. Therefore, the immediacy of consciousness raising should not be a cause of concern but should demonstrate a continual critical reflection and engagement with a counter to dehumanizing hegemonic ideological structures.

Data Selection

The selected textbooks were written and edited for Texas and California and are widely implemented in both states. I selected the textbooks in the study because they influence other states choices in textbook selections which means that these textbooks have the potential to reach a much greater audience. Moreover, there are a few assumptions I held regarding the US history textbooks. The first assumption concerned the political perspectives that each of the textbooks are catered towards. The California US history textbook were assumed to be more progressive – more diverse peoples, ideas, and the coverage of events. A New York Times article analyzed both Pearson US history textbooks for California and Texas were analyzed. However, their findings focused on the political divisions between the states. For example, the article explains that the students learn about the Harlem Renaissance in both texts, but the Texas textbook tells students that critics were apprehensive of the quality of literature (Goldstein, 2020). While the article focused on the significant findings regarding the political divide between the two states, little is said about the experiences of Indigenous peoples. What is said about Indigenous peoples includes, Native women as tribal leaders, and in reference to a push from the left to include more marginalized peoples' history (Goldstein, 2020). Nothing is said about colonization, or settler colonization, in general for any of the textbooks (Goldstein, 2020). Regarding settler colonization and Indigenous peoples, my research focuses on those two areas in terms of the framing and presentation of settler narratives. Specifically, I look at how the settler society

constructs its history, peoples, places, and events in relationship to Indigenous peoples in the textbooks.

Based on the article, I initially assumed that the Texas US history textbook would be more conservative with a focus on the colonial, capitalist development of the United States. Regarding settler colonialism, I also initially assumed the California US history textbook might shed more light on past atrocities and potentially discuss Native and Indigenous peoples in modern contexts and not simply relegated to the past. I also assumed that the Texas US history textbook, by contrast, might present more justifications for the removal of Native Americans. I assumed that the textbooks are, and were, catered towards the perceived political leanings for each state as an "educational text." I was also interested in understanding how motivation for profit rather than a concern for historical engagement as the primary concern on the part of the publisher. As I describe below, I also reviewed select additional information to further contextualize settler narratives in the textbook. This included a careful examination of the front matter: the authors and authorship, the Table of Contents of the textbooks, and the key consultant Kathy Swan.

The Process of Data Analysis

The process of analyzing the data was divided into three phases including a broad, initial consideration of the context of the textbooks, followed by an in-depth content analysis, and a meta-analysis of the overall findings. While a top-down analysis means situating a text in relation to theoretical frames as well as cultural, historical, and political forces, a bottom-up analysis indicates examining linguistic and narrative features of a text (Bradford, 2017). As Bradford (2017) aptly points out, critical content analysis requires both top-down and bottom-up analysis; however, in an actual analytic process, it is easy to leave one analysis (e.g., theoretical

frames) behind when focusing the other (e.g., the language of a text). To provide clarification, the top-down approach refers to the context where a text is produced and the bottom-up refers to the content found within the text. Hereafter, I will simply refer to these approaches as the context and content analysis. Although these two processes are not separable in practice, I analytically divided them into two phases to intensively focus on the context and content analysis each time with same textbooks. In addition, I included a meta-analysis to systematically reflect on my own analytic process and synthesize them into findings and kept detailed researcher journal throughout the process to thoroughly reflect and retain information and capture other aspects of the research process such as my perceptions, emerging questions, and new ideas or insights into possible ways of analyzing settler narratives.

Public School Textbook Analysis

Textbooks are a repository of selective, institutional knowledge that has been deemed worthy of remembrance and have played a significant role in the generation of national, mandatory curricula (Sammler, 2018). Textbooks do more than simply provide information on given topics. They also propagate the norms, values, and principles of the ruling, dominant society. Textbooks also carry with them constructions of various identities that influence worldviews or perspectives on various phenomena (Fuchs & Bock, 2018). My primary focus was to start with the front matter of the texts, and then to move through the chapters of the textbooks where Indigenous peoples are mentioned. The focus on the front matter provided the option to examine the C3 Framework, where "engaged citizenry" was discovered as the purpose of history and civic education. While going over the definition of an "engaged citizenry," it led me to think about a potential historiographical tradition that provides a framework for "engaged citizenry." These two aspects allowed for an examination of how settler narratives control the

characterization and temporality of Indigenous people, how settler narratives frame and present historical events that activate settler innocence, and how settler narratives conceptualize land, property, and ownership. The rhetoric and discourse allow for insight into how settler narratives move justify the removal and replacement of Indigenous peoples along with access to land and resources that secures settler futurity.

Phase 1: Placing the texbooks in context

To further the analysis of US history textbooks, it is important to look at the context in which they are implemented. As previously mentioned, settler narratives have the ability to impact sociocultural practices and policies. This is made abundantly clear in the United States. The international travel ban on Muslims was made possible by the xenophobic stories and narratives around Islam and its followers as a form of justification. Additionally, COVID-19, the novel coronavirus has also fueled the flames of xenophobia and anti-Asian racism through the insistence of numerous politicians that it should be called the China virus or the Chinese flu.

Due to the incredibly infectious nature of the coronavirus, it has caused levels of lockdown in numerous countries throughout the world which has had a devastating impact on the world economy. In the United States, the short-term neoliberal policies have allowed for an expansion of wealth for the top earners and has left approximately 30 million Americans without jobs and with significant financial obligations that could have an incredible negative impact which includes hunger and homelessness. The neoliberal narratives around the lack of empathy for working class Americans who are facing economic hardships circles around “personal and financial responsibility” as a justification for deciding who deserves bailouts. The historical context in which we live is thus marked by incredible forms of structural violence; state and

cultural, direct and indirect. The killings of Ahmaud Arbery, George Floyd, and Breonna Taylor and anti-Blackness also marked another way in which white supremacy manifests itself in the United States. It is in this greater sociohistorical context marked by racism, xenophobia, and enabled through neoliberalism, that I analyzed the textbooks.

When beginning to critically consider the background context and production of the textbooks themselves within this broader context, I started by searching for information about the authors along with their expertise that included their respective curriculum vitae, and the key program consultant. I also considered how the main person connected to both textbooks Kathy Swan and her team, are also credited with creating the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework where the primary objective for the social studies and history curriculum is to create an "engaged citizenry" capable of "critical thinking." I examined how these terms are transmitted to others within the C3 Framework, and how the notion of creating an "engaged citizenry" and the concept of "critical thinking" is also proposed in the California and Texas social studies and history state standards, with Texas placing special additional emphasis on "patriotism." California has identified the purpose of history, and social studies more broadly, is to create engaged and responsible citizens (California Department of Education, 2017). The state of Texas also identifies responsible citizenship as foundational (Texas State Board of Education, 2019). The primary purpose of history, as stated in the standards, is to create responsible citizens who are dedicated to the country. Thus, historical education promotes a sense of belonging and identity and can assist in unearthing the political nature of history – the construction and presentation of particular narratives – that attempt to mold students into citizens.

Next, I considered the many program partners involved in the production of the textbooks through internet searches of publicaly available materials. To consider the profit motives the

publisher, Pearson, as well, I focused primarily on a government NAICS report that explained the company's economic and marketing gains. The context analysis assisted in answering questions about the normalization of representations as one way in which colonization is endemic to the US settler society. It also provided insights into understanding how some norms and values are transmitted within the United States, and enabled insights into the ways that these norms and values are emphasized as curricular and pedagogical choices for teachers to consider. Considering some of the key the ideological foundations of the US history textbooks, and the historical context in which they are created and implemented, I drew on the tenets of TribalCrit along with its conceptualization of power to locate and identify the phenomena that (re)produce, and ultimately, maintain the settler knowledge infused within settler narratives. I also examined neoliberalism in products and discourse surrounding textbook production to highlight more institutional elements that bolster settler futurity. In chapter 4, I critically reflect on this background context for the colonization of memory in the texbooks.

Phase 2: Content Analysis

In the second phase of the analysis, I focused on the structure settler narratives in the textbooks that also included an examination of the Table of Contents. Specifically, I examined the textbooks for stories or descriptions of historical events that coalesce into the settler narratives, carefully examining the language or rhetoric of the textbooks in relation to the first TribalCrit tenet, with a focus on colonization as endemic to society (Brayboy, 2005, p. 429). Some example questions that assist with the analysis are: what rhetorical elements contribute to the creation of settler narratives and the historical perspectives? In what ways does the framing and presentation of impact settler hegemony? This will also incorporate researcher's journals with analytical notes as well.

I started this process by skimming the textbooks and looking for terms such as American Indian, Indian, Indigenous, and Native American. While scanning the textbooks for those terms, I also noted the images with Indigenous peoples along with the captions of the pictures with note tabs. Once I completed the initial tertiary scan of the two textbooks, I made my way through the index of each of the textbooks, using colorful tabs to indicate where Indigenous peoples or events where Indigenous peoples were involved in the index. After completing a preliminary search for specific Indigenous peoples, events, and relationships in the text as the California and Texas textbooks, I chose to focus on chapter 2.1 in both textbooks. The reason is that chapter 2.1 provided the most information about Indigenous people in the California and Texas textbooks. This is not to the exclusion of other areas of the textbooks where Indigenous people are mentioned, rather, those other areas on Indigenous people have short explanations, approximately two sentences give or take. I included some of those shorter examples in chapter 5 because they still provide significance to the construction and presentation of settler narratives. For example, the control over the characterization of Indigenous peoples is something that becomes clear only after examining the sections of the textbooks where Indigenous people are mentioned.

While doing the initial reading, I wrote notes in the margins where Indigenous peoples were either present or absent as analytical points. Furthermore, I also marked additional page numbers, content regarding Indigenous peoples, questions, thoughts, and observations. As part of the observations, I examined the pictures and captions surrounding Indigenous peoples and the United States as sites of further analysis. As I read, I noted emerging themes associated with settler colonialism such as settler distinction and the conceptualizations of Indigenous people and land.

After completing the preliminary notes, I then turned my attention to each section, chapter, or paragraphs within chapters, concerning Indigenous peoples and examined the details of what was presented in the textbooks, using the critical investigative methodologies: critical content analysis, critical discourse analysis, and critical literacy. Critical content analysis assisted understanding the location of power through the institutional selective tradition that favors the settler society and how that information, or content within settler narratives, is presented. Using critical content analysis, taking observational notes, and reflecting on the details and politics of the content also helped me identify distinct patterns of political representation that is discussed in further detail in chapters four and five. Critical discourse analysis furthered my analysis by providing attention towards words in their context, including the words used in the textbooks that clandestinely obscure meaning that produce specific inferences. The use of "Americanization" to hide assimilation as an example.

As I analyzed the textbooks, I also drew upon critical literacy to analyze the sociohistorical framing of the settler narratives and the temporal effects of settler colonial narratives. This process was similar to the context analysis in that I started with hand-written notes in the margins of the US history textbooks. Next, I went through the sections that seemed explicit in their representation of Indigenous peoples, great men of history; a way to focus on individualism, historical milestones, the conceptualization of land. I paid particular attention to the theme of innocence, as it is an expression of the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation. While going through these sections, I made notes concerning the content, noting areas such as the description of settler expansion and how that expansion was justified as an example. I then studied my combined notes to generate an overview of what I had found, and reflected on the linguistic and narrative features that comprise settler narratives. Once

again, revisiting my analysis and reflections in an iterative process to analyze settler distinction, understanding how exceptionalism and innocence informs representation that creates a society that differs from its originating metropole. In my analysis, I also examined justifications and representations of violence between the settlers and the Indigenous peoples, noting who or what is discussed along with what information is either present or absent.

Phase 3: Meta-Analysis

The analytical memo process involves reflecting on the coding processes, code choices, reflecting on the process of inquiry and how it is moving along. It also considers themes, patterns, and concepts found within the data that has the potential to lead towards theory. The purpose, then, is not to summarize the data but to expand upon them (Saldana, 2016, p. 44). When writing the analytical memos, I reflected on my coding of the data, as well as themes and concepts that led towards theoretical consideration (Saldana, 2016). My analysis focused on the findings in phase one and two described above, along with an analysis of my researcher journals. This process assisted me in determining other possible avenues of contesting settler futurity and supporting Indigenous futurity by creating questions that were critical of settler narratives. The meta-analysis also helped me reflect on why certain themes were focused on in the textbooks, while others did not receive attention.

From the methodological approach, the politics of knowledge and representation are significant aspects of the colonization of memory. Considering the broad context of textbook productions was helpful for reflecting on the ideological and institutional relationships necessary to (re)produce and disseminate the settler narratives. This presented two important aspects: the purpose of education and whig historiography – the framing and presentation of settler narratives. Next, the content analysis explores the substance and components that comprises the

settler narratives. Finally, the meta-analysis on the context, the content, and the researcher journals raised additional analytical insights into the analysis, and it permitted a pathway towards the development of an approach to challenging settler narratives through, *historical refusal*.

Meta-Analytical Process

I started this process by examining the most current iteration of my context and content analytical notes. I also included the list of themes that I generated after completing the content analysis. I kept hand-written notes on the meta-analysis and added a small diagram of one way in which the context and content are connected. I also incorporated guiding questions from a textbook on qualitative research methods that assisted in the creation of guiding questions germane to my study. The relationship between implications and inferences serves as a primary example that can be found in the analysis based on the content and discourse analysis.

To obtain the most comprehensive view of settler colonialism in social studies curricula in our current era, the data analysis employed the context and content analysis and the three dimensions of critical discourse analysis while simultaneously weaving in the tenets of TribalCrit. The context analysis provided insights into the institutional selective tradition while also explaining how the textbooks and their content are disseminated and propagated. More specifically, the context analysis situates the US history textbooks in relation to the theoretical frame of TribalCrit along with taking sociohistorical, sociocultural, and sociopolitical forces into consideration. The content analysis provided insights into the linguistic and compositional structures of settler narratives that reveal how they function. TribalCrit as a theoretical framework provided a powerful analytical base that not only explained how colonization is endemic to society and provided a decolonial or anti-colonial pathway in the subject area of history. The content analysis also utilized the description, interpretation, and explanation of the

content in relation to the context analysis. These aspects of content analysis are supported by critical discourse analysis and critical literacy which attempt to contextualize and locate issues of power in language, discourse, or discursive events. To which, critical literacy uses sociohistorical context to create an awareness of one's current conditions. With these methodological considerations, I move into detail about how these were utilized in the analysis of the textbooks along with a presentation of the data.

CHAPTER 4: CONTEXTUALIZING SETTLER NARRATIVES

Constructing and Framing Settler Narratives: (In/ex)clusion of Indigenous Peoples' in American History

As I describe in chapter 3, a key tenet of Tribal Critical Theory is the idea that colonization is endemic to society which also includes the perpetuation of the colonization of memory, of knowledge, through its institutions (Brayboy, 2005, p. 430). The result is the creation and implementation of a curricula designed to maintain prevalent, colonial ways of knowing and being where forms of oppression are perpetuated through the selective tradition and forms of representation that benefit the pervading society. It is through the ubiquitous, colonial institutions where the politics of knowledge – the methods in which that knowledge is generated and obtained – ideologically determines the value of different forms of knowledge and ultimately determines which actions are necessary to sustain the prevalent positions. This includes the question of outlining what the purpose of education is, how it should be conducted, and who should be educated as such. An aspect of power is also to identify how one and one's community understand their place in the world (Brayboy, 2005, p. 435).

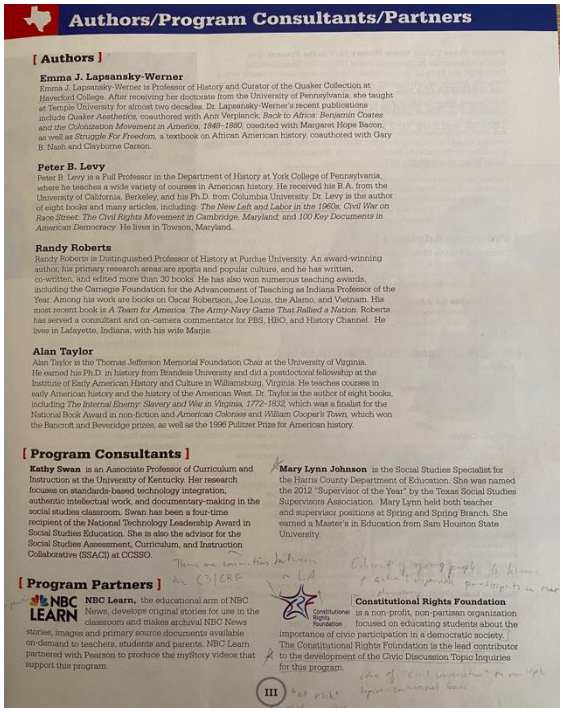
In this chapter, I examine the high school history textbooks for their ideological positions on their conceptualization of U.S. history, and how that history is to be presented to youth. The purpose of this chapter is meant to provide further context in which the content in the textbooks are constructed. This is only meant to draw attention to how the content was created and to point to potential areas of improvement. This is meant to demonstrate how settler conceptions and the narrow framing of history can unintentionally cause erasure and further settler colonization through the stories being (re)produced in textbooks.

Utilizing a holistic evaluation of a textbook, I start with a description of the individuals and organizations that created the framework of, and for, the content and purpose of the textbooks (Bradford, 2017). Analyzing the authors, consultants, and Table of Contents for the two textbooks, I show multiple ways that Indigenous peoples and histories are erased from the very framing of the leading US history textbooks today. This evaluation then led to other considerations for the inclusion or exclusion of Indigenous peoples in these US history textbooks, primarily in the form of historiography. Examining historiography and the stated purpose of social studies education in external documents from organizations associated with the textbooks, demonstrates how history reproduces the same current political, economic, and cultural systems that favor the status quo through "civic engagement." These forward the idea of an "engaged citizenry" that ideologically constructs who a citizen is, how they should conduct themselves, and the goals of a civic education. To begin to break away from complicity in these ideological framings, I also consider Indigenous scholars' critiques of citizenship and civic engagement, and offer beginning possibilities for Indigenous notions of citizenship, or perhaps more accurately, engaged community membership.

The focus on historiography provides insights into the crafting of settler narratives that establishes how "engaged citizenry" appears. Historian Caroline Hoefferle (2011) offers two definitions of historiography: one refers to historiography as, "a review of various histories that have been written about a certain subject…" (p. 2). This is followed by a more comprehensive definition of historiography which is defined as the history of historical writing that focuses on a critical examination of theories, methods, and philosophical standpoints that inform the creation of historical narratives (Hoefferle, 2011, p. 2). TribalCrit extends historiography by assisting in uncovering how colonization is endemic to society. This begs several guiding questions such as,

what mainstream settler stories do authors appear to favor, and what does that tell us about their historiographical choices? Who benefits from such representations? These questions are used to determine which historiographical approach was used to frame the US history textbooks. To undersrtand how textbooks disseminate and propagate ideas that maintain the current status quo, it is also helpful to examine the stated purpose and shared discourse of orienting curricular frameworks that normalize particular goals, principles and values related to the stated purpose of history and social studies education.

I started my critical content analysis with an examination of the front matter of both of the Pearson US history textbooks. Specifically, I reviewed the pages concerning the authors, the program consultants, and the program partners, the program advisors, the program academic consultants (see Figure 1 & 2) as well as the table of contents, which were identical in the two versions of the textbook. The purpose of which was to provide further insights into how the textbooks were produced, and to contextualize the discourse found in the textbooks in relation to the overall purpose of education in general, and social studies education described in the leading curriculum framework associated within the textbooks. The following graph provides an example of how many different people and organizations were consulted in the production of the US history textbooks.



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Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner is Professor of History and Curator of the Quaker Collection at Haverford College. After receiving her doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania, she taught at Temple University for almost two decades. Dr. Lapsansky-Werner's recent publications include *Quaker Aesthetics*, coauthored with Ann Verplanck; *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848–1880*, coedited with Margaret Hope Bacon, as well as *Struggle For Freedom*, a textbook on African American history, coauthored with Gary B. Nash and Clayborne Carson.

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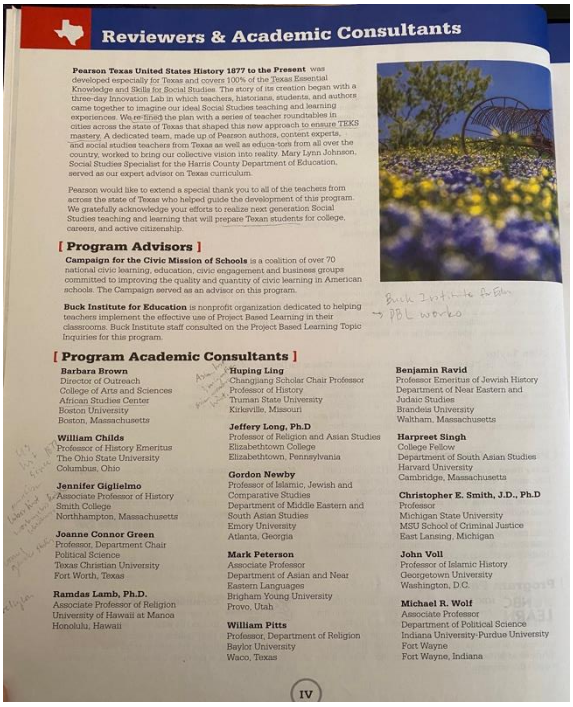

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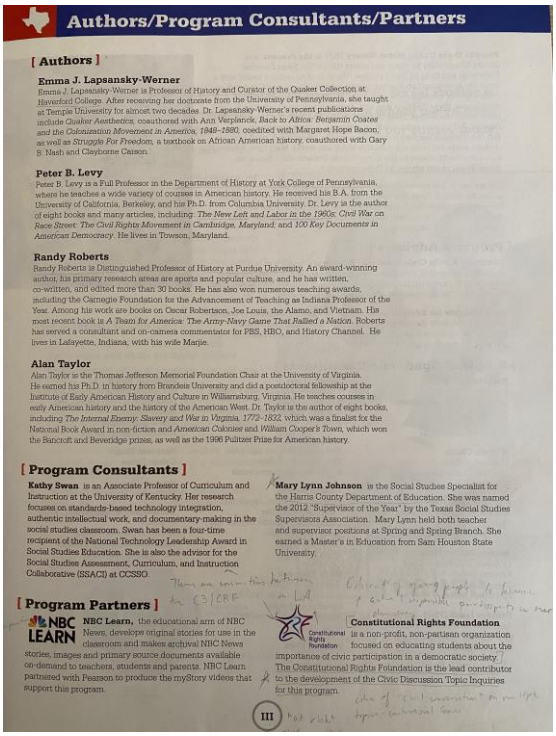
(California Textbook)



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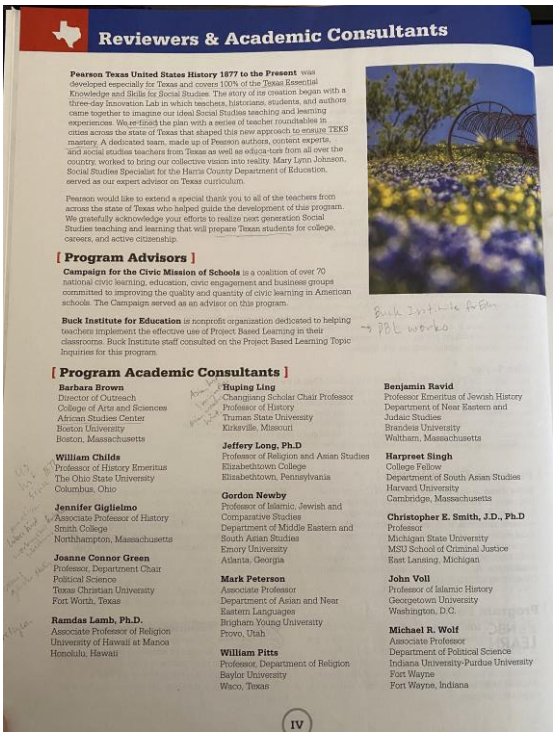
III



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IV

(Texas Textbook)

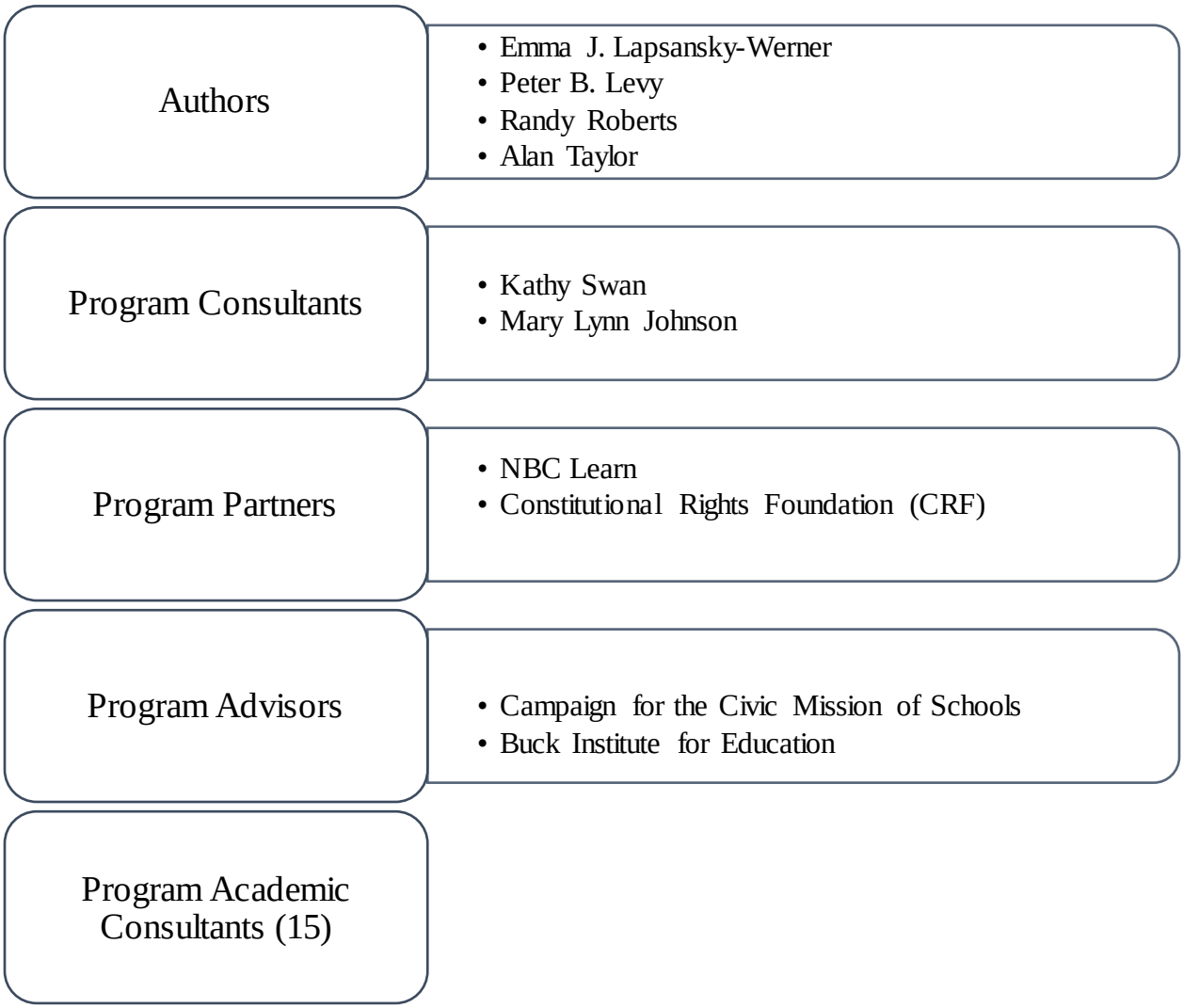


Figure 1. the Front Matter Data: Authors/Program Consultants/Partners (Texas and California textbooks)

In the following sections, I will briefly discuss how the publisher, textbook authors, program academic consultants, social studies standards, and organizations construct the purpose of social studies education in ways that appeared to normalize settler assumptions in the production of the US textbooks. I will also share some key orienting assumptions about the

purpose of social studies education from the social studies curriculum framework used by leaders in the development of the textbook.

Profit Motivated Publisher: Pearson

While the front matter clearly talks about Pearson, the publisher of the textbook, striving for educational excellence, the "about the publisher" sections does not mention directly the profit-driven content that Pearson generates, or the interconnection between Pearson as an institution that publishes history textbooks and the maintenance of for-profit markets. The 2020 NAICS report on book publishing in the United States, however, supplied information about the business side of publishing. According to the US Industry (NAICS) report on book publishing in the United States, Pradhan (2020) identifies Pearson PLC as the second-largest publisher that has a much more predominant market share in textbooks (p. 23). Pearson also generates revenue through the creation of courseware, assessments, and other services. Courseware accounts for approximately 49.0% of Pearson's sales while being accompanied by student assessment and professional development consulting services (Pradhan, 2020, p. 30). Pearson holds a substantial position as the second-largest publisher, with a staggering command over the market share of textbooks. However, the report also indicates that the company has experienced a decline in their revenue since 2015 with the shift in focus away from traditional textbooks, and a move towards digitizing its services (Pradhan, 2020, p. 31).

According to the report, a major factor for success of book publishers is the "management of a high-quality assets portfolio: It is essential that publishers develop a portfolio of books that are written by talented writers and in demand by readers" (Pradhan, 2020, p. 23). The point being that for a book to do well it must be appealing to a large target market or target audience. This begs the question, what exactly is appealing to the target market? When this is

applied to the US history textbooks, the (re)production of the paramount narrative with different caveats and features that are purported to increase student learning and civic engagement, are also primary components that are potentially used as their selling points. Thus, textbook publishers perpetuate narratives that contribute to colonization of memory by placing profits above the people that are impacted through the maintenance of the prevalent settler narratives.

According to the NAICS report, a prominent factor determining the commercial success of a textbook publisher includes the, "control of a distribution arrangements: it is important for publishers to understand and gain control of distribution channels" (Pradhan, 2020, p. 23). Major publishers' benefit from educational policies or "reformed" educational policies through various means. In the area of education, neoliberalism utilizes the government to search for or create markets through policies and political practices. In an attempt to increase the range of the products and increase the revenue from the products, the neoliberal practice of using the government to create or sustain markets cannot be overlooked.

Pearson is a large company that produces educational and curricular materials including textbooks standardized tests (Schneider, 2013). Pearson looks to create and maintain markets related to Common Core State Standards (CCSS) to increase their profit margins (Schneider, 2013). Pearson benefits from CCSS as it has contributed to Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), the owners of the CCSS license (Schneider, 2013, p. 189). According to Schneider (2013), this is one way in which Pearson generates its profits, the other includes the acquisition of other profitable publishing companies (p. 177). The relationship Pearson developed with the CCSSO in 2009, where the Pearson Charitable Foundation (PCF) paid the CCSSO a $100,000 grant and was followed by other grants over the next few years until 2011

(Schneider, 2013, p. 178). Thus, we see a neoliberal connection to a market that appears to place emphasis on profit over people through the pretense of providing education.

Since one of the goals of Pearson is for the information in the US history textbooks to be consumed by an extraordinary amount of people within the US settler society, it should come to no surprise as to how prolific settler narratives are, or that the content of the textbooks favors the settler society. The motives to generate profits outweigh the impact on actual human life; the selective tradition is used to generate profit as history is site of commodification. There is also a clear relationship between the private corporation and the public realm of education through the commodification of history that is appealing to public school administrators, teachers, students, and parents – the mass target audience – through the accepted claims to authority as purported by the preeminent society.

Authorship, Claims to Authority and Indigenous Erasure

The front matter of the textbooks includes short, introductory passages provided by the textbook publisher that describe the claims to the authority of the authors as historical experts by drawing the readers' attention towards the authors' credentials. The authors are professional historians with intersecting academic interests, the consultants are hailed as academic specialists, and the program partners are noted experts in creating curricular and educational content that are accessible to teachers, students, and parents. Despite having highly credentialed authors, none of the authors are explicitly scholars from Indigenous studies.

To obtain a deeper understanding of academic authority, I first examined authors' credentials, starting with the academic background of the authors information provided in the textbooks. I also reviewed authors' curricula vitae. The curricula vitae of the authors did not give any clear indications to the knowledge of Indigenous peoples' history as an area of expertise,

rather, it appears that the textbook authors discuss Indigenous peoples in relation to particular settler topics such as the "founding" of the United States. The textbook authors were listed, for instance, as having expertise in U.S. History, the American West, Colonial North America, History of the Civil Rights Movement, and American Culture. Since the authors cover subjects that are incredibly broad, I made preliminary assumptions that any discussion of Indigenous peoples would be interwoven into the historical settler narratives, an assumption that proved true when I looked at the table of contents described below, and contents of the textbooks, discussed in the next chapter.

The Program Consultants: Framing the US History Textbooks

For the California and Texas textbooks, Dr. Kathy Swan, the project director and lead writer for the C3 Framework published by the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in 2013, is identified as the programing consultant. The C3 Framework was a collaborative effort between Dr. Kathy Swan from Kentucky as the project director and as the lead writer and a writing team of fifteen individuals contributing to textbook content related to social studies education, history, education, geography, and economics, and curriculum and instruction.

I focused on the C3 Framework because of it helped clarify the purpose of social studies and history education. As the title of the document indicates, the C3 Framework is designed to connect social studies, and its following subjects, to college, career, and civic life. In the C3 Framework document, there are also sections that describe what the students need to live in "our democracy." For example, the NCSS document clearly states,

> "Now more than ever, students need the intellectual power to recognize societal problems; ask good questions and develop robust investigations into them; consider possible solutions and consequences; separate evidence-based claims from parochial

> opinions; and communicate and act upon what they learn. And most importantly, they must process the capability and commitment to repeat that process as long as is necessary. Young people need strong tools for, and methods of, clear and disciplined thinking in order to traverse successfully the worlds of college, career, and civic life" (NCSS, 2013, p. 6, p. 14, p. 91).

This point is stated as the opening in the introduction and elsewhere in the C3 Framework. From even a cursory review of the stated goals in C3 framework, it is clear that civic education and teaching students how to function within the US settler society is seen as necessary to maintain the current, pervading system. Strongly emphasized, as well, is the idea that social ills in the United States can be solved with civic engagement, the implicit prominence of the C3 Framework.

Contributing to the Claims to Authority: The Program Academic Consultants

The front matter of the textbooks name the major role of the program academic consultants as one of providing additional expertise on various topics covered by the textbooks. There are 15 consultants listed in the textbook, and a preliminary review of their academic profiles, publications, and Curriculum Vitas, showed that the consultants named expertise in various areas of study that can be consolidated into women and gender studies, religion, Asia and East Asian studies, American history, and labor history. Of the 15 academics consultants, there did not appear to be anyone whose work directly corresponds to Indigenous peoples, nor does there appear to be an Indigenous person as an academic consultant. This is yet another example of how Indigenous voices continue to be erased from the overall conversation about Indigenous peoples. Indigenous voices are not being heard, nor even acknowledged as an important set of

program academic consultants who would ideally play a key and leading role determining how Indigenous history is portrayed in US history textbooks.

Framing Settler Narratives: The Table of Contents in U.S. History Textbooks

In both textbooks, the table of contents are presented in a chronological order with various themes from connecting with past learning, industry and immigration, challenges in the late 1800s, America comes of age, World War I and the 1920s, The Great Depression and the New Deal, World War II, Postwar America, Civil Rights and reform in the 1960s, The Vietnam War era, an era of change, America in the 1980s and 1990s, and America in the twenty-first century (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). The absence of Indigenous history is notable. In the table of contents, there is sparce information about pre-contact American history, little information about Indigenous peoples' first interactions with Europeans, there is nothing about where different Indigenous peoples lived, nor anything about Indigenous peoples epistemological and ontological traditions. Even anthropological or archaeological data explanations of pre-contact America are absent. This, whether intentional or not, also adds to Indigenous erasure, which I will further argue in the following section.

Maintaining the Settler Society: Framing the C3 Framework

To critically consider the purpose of history education, as normalized in the textbooks, it is helpful to revisit the goals of social studies education laid out in the related C3 curriculum framework, and the related themes and discourses. Engaged citizenry is one of the most prominent themes that appeared in the C3 Framework. "Civic engagement" is another designated term found in the C3 framework to describe the same democratic features that will be described in the following paragraph. These terms are important to take into consideration since they serve as the outline for the presentation of historical events and the people involved in those events.

They also preserve the current settler system by perpetuating particular ways of being that support the current system, thus mitigating any substantial challenges through socialization.

This document is important because it clearly defines the purpose of education. The NCSS document states that students need knowledge and experience to engage in civic life as this teaches the students how to work individually and collectively as citizens (NCSS, 2013, p. 6). The idea of the "engaged citizenry" is then reiterated under the civic section where, "… students understand virtues and principles by applying and reflecting on them through actual civic engagement – their own and that of other people from the past and present" (NCSS, 2013, p. 33). Therefore, the purpose of social studies education, the connection between civics and history, are linked through civic engagement.

Since the notion of an engaged citizenry is a prominent area of focus within the C3 Framework, and the ideas of any society reflect the pervasive class, the content in the textbooks become identifiable examples of how the authors describe historical events between people. This leads to a connection between the purpose of history education and the representation of the content, more specifically, a historiography that serves the purpose of creating an "engaged citizenry." Therefore, the pervasive perspective on the purpose of history education will influence how the historical events are represented. This also concerns the framing of US history as a form of productive civic engagement as it moves from "less" to "more" democratic.

> "In a constitutional democracy, productive civic engagement requires knowledge of the history, principles, and foundations of our American democracy, and the ability to participate in civic and democratic processes. People demonstrate civic engagement when they address public problems individually and collaboratively and when they maintain,

> strengthen, and improve communities and societies. Thus, civics is, in part, the study of how people participate in governing society" (NCSS, 2013, p. 31).

The C3 Framework identifies not only what is considered appropriate behaviors, but also actions that are incompatible with "democracy." In the following two paragraphs on page 31 of the C3 framework, there is a peculiar sentence that reads, "Not all participation is beneficial" (NCSS, 2013, p. 31). To contextualize this, the beginning of the paragraph reads,

> "Civics is not limited to the study of politics and society; it also encompasses participation in classrooms, schools, neighborhoods, groups, and organizations. Not all participation is beneficial. This framework makes frequent reference to civic virtues and principles that guide participation and to the norm of *deliberation* (which means discussing issues and making choices and judgement with information and evidence, civility and respect, and concern for fair procedures)" (NCSS, 2013, p. 31).

This explanation means that there are only specific ways of handling issues that are valued/deemed appropriate by textbook authors. It seems to imply that there are only a few acceptable ways to make positive, social changes. Although it does not give examples of what this may include, the following information in the C3 Framework makes it clear that frequent references to civic virtues and principles should guide us towards "…the norm of deliberation…" which is explained as discussing issues, making choices, and making judgements based on evidence and information. This includes civility and respect along with concern for fairness in procedures (NCSS, 2013, p. 31).

Although the concept of "civil conversations" sounds good in theory, its practice must be placed under scrutiny as there are other mitigating intersectional factors that come into play as well. Fanon (2010) explains that as the pervading colonial group perceives any backlash against

their position, the permeating group will espouse Western values in an attempt to socially enforce their positions of dominance (p. 10). Fanon (2010) also states, that despite the follies of Western thought, Western values are treated as essential and eternal (p. 11). The purpose of preaching the need for civic conversations is to control how the pervasive and the oppressed are perceived. This kind of epistemological and ontological concern puts the prominent group in a positive position while socially relegating the oppressed as unruly as it attempts to kneecap any kind of dissent the pervading society finds undesired.

Settler socialization enters the material world through normalization of behaviors. The following section offers Indigenous critiques on citizenship education and its connection to the continued settler colonization of North America.

Indigenous Critiques of Citizenship: Colonial Blindness and Understandings of Citizenship

"Colonial blindness" is a term defined by Mexican/Tiguan scholar Calderon (2009) which means intentionally ignoring or refusing to investigate what it means to be a settler in a settler colonial context (p. 54). This term is defined through the context of education within the settler US society. More specifically, Calderon (2009) defines this as Normative Multicultural Education (NMCE) where a feature of this includes Indigenous peoples in discourses of marginalization, multicultural objectives within settler discourses and through its discourses in relation to citizenship and equity, perpetuates settler modes of education, and operates through western theoretical frameworks (p. 53). Calderon (2009) also rightly points out that the NMCE and colonial blindness are presented and perceived as being neutral (p. 53).

Colonial blindness is not surprising as settler colonization is predicated on the genocidal removal and replacement of Indigenous peoples. It operates in two distinct ways: the normalization of the content found within textbooks and in terms of normalizing ways of being

via “civic engagement.” The circulation and normalization of settler narratives is a way to maintain the settler society through its perceived neutrality. Therefore, it would be antithetical for the settler society to recognize Indigenous sovereignty and Indigenous nationhood.

Citizenship is also an inherently normative project meaning that socialization is the vehicle in which specific model identities and hegemonic knowledge claims are (re)produced (Brandzel, 2016, p. 5). Therefore, when thinking critically about the word normative or normativity in relation to citizenship, we must uncover its clandestine, assimilatory nature. What it favors must also be revealed as well. In a vein similar to Calderon’s (2009) NMCE and colonial blindness, Brandzel (2016) describes the concept of “colonial normativity,” or how colonization is embedded in the production of US citizenry (p. 25). Thus, the hegemonic knowledge claim is (re)produced in a system of assimilatory socialization. Both colonial blindness and colonial normativity rightly points us towards the assimilatory aspects of white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and other forms of exploitation that favor the settler US society. These prominent critiques of citizenship and education for citizenship illuminate the coercive power of normativity.

To further examine and interrogate the notion of “engaged citizenry,” it is important to deconstruct these two terms. A look at the word “engaged” in relation to the information provided by the C3 Framework means one that is engaged with the current, mainstream political activities such as voting and other avenues of . “Citizenry” is explained as being part of a society. On the surface, these aspects give the appearance of promoting, and theoretically, creating a “stable” society.

One of the main issues with the word, “citizenship” is that it is a political and a politically loaded word for Indigenous peoples. Citizenship, for the United States, is substantially different

than it is for Ojibwe people. In this short section, I will discuss what it means to be an "engaged citizen" from an Ojibwe perspective that is historically contextualized. I will describe this in terms of a traditional sense and look at what an "engaged citizen" means our modern context. Comparatively, this will help draw distinctions between Ojibwe and mainstream American notions of what it means to be an "engaged citizen." From this, I will provide a term that is arguably a better characterization of Indigenous communities. For clarity, Anishinaabae, Anishinaabeg, Nishnaabeg, Ojibwe, refers to the same Algonquin peoples in what is now called the United States and Canada.

If "colonization is endemic to society" then, anti-colonial and decolonial methodological approaches to identifying and challenging are necessary. "Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and group" (Brayboy, 2005, p. 429). Through Indigenous critical scholarship, the idea of an "engaged citizenry" begins to take on a different meaning; one that is recognizing complicity with the settler society and attempting to break away from that complicity. When taking "citizenship" into consideration, the Indigenous critiques of "citizenship" provide powerful insights into the perpetuation settler colonization with an examination of relationships between the individual and community, the purpose of social studies and civics education, and the processes of removal, replacement, and survivance. What it means to be an "engaged citizen" from an Ojibwe perspective that is historically contextualized can also be considered in terms of a traditional sense and what an "engaged citizen" means our modern context. Nishnabeg scholar Leanne Simpson (2017) clearly argues that membership in Indigenous communities stems from the act of recognition. Not only recognizing the Indigeneity in oneself, but then asking how the

community sees the individual. It is through the Seven Grandfather Teachings of, and from, the Ojibwe people where I begin to think about engagement with community. These teachings, along with the conscious regard for the Medicine Wheel, provide growth and development for an ethical engagement with the communities we live along with having an ethical relationship with other people and the earth. Ultimately, Simpson (2017) argues that this is the potential path towards refusing the settler's recognition by resurging through self and communal reflection. Therefore, the removal of the invasive settler ways of knowing and being are replaced with Indigenous ways of knowing and being that are not necessarily a return towards the past, but powerful moves toward and Indigenous futurity driven through survivance for Indigenous peoples.

Sabzalian (2019) argues that schools are an important part of Indigenous erasure and puts forth a massive effort towards maintaining the settler society (p. 19). Therefore, the education around citizenship necessitates the maintenance of the settler society and an "engaged citizenry" are those whose day to day lives operate in favor for, and within, the settler society. The intentionality and massive energy that is put forth through the settler society cannot be understated. Thus, this generates a form of normativity around "engaged citizenry." Furthermore, social studies education scholars Sabzalian and Shear (2018) discuss the concept of colonial blindness as settler notions of citizenship repeatedly ignore Indigenous sovereignty. Sabzalian and Shear (2018) also point out that Indigeneity and Indigenous "citizenship" challenge notions of white supremacy and colonial normativity (p. 155).

Therefore, the removal of Indigeneity is replaced with settler ways of knowing and being that take the forefront of social studies and citizenship education. Historically. the boarding school process was a key factor in assimilating Indigenous peoples into mainstream American

society (Amerman, 2010; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Szasz,1999). Indigenous scholarly works highlight how settler futurity continues to be maintained through social studies and civics curricula that center settler epistemological and ontological positions while simultaneously ignoring Indigenous notions of membership (Brandzel, 2016; Calderon, 2014; Sabzalian, 2019; Sabzalian & Shear, 2018, Tuck & Yang, 2012). This chapter extends this important scholarly discussing by xxxxxx [name here what you contribute with what you showed above]

Discussion

An examination of the front matter provides a look into how the settler society defines the purpose of education which is then implemented through the C3 Framework. The characterization of citizenship found within the C3 Framework looks to maintain settler colonization through the normalization of the positions and ideas. This is enacted through the framing and construction of settler narratives. Therefore, the C3 Framework informs the framing of settler narratives, and historiography informs how the settler narratives are constructed. The C3 Framework advocates for "civic engagement" that is characterized by people participating in the democratic process in various contexts throughout the United States through American history (NCSS, 2013, p. 31). Thus, historiography becomes an important consideration as it informs the selective tradition, which facts will be included and how those facts will be presented in the settler narratives found within the textbooks. Since the C3 Framework focuses on "civic engagement," the settler narratives reflect this idea not only in its general lessons on "democracy," but through historical actors it identifies as prime examples.

When examining the front matter, and textbook authors‘ and consultants‘ curricula vitae, I found no Indigenous peoples' voices about who Indigenous peoples are, their epistemological and ontological perspectives, or other pertinent information from Indigenous peoples. This is

characteristic of the post-frontier where assimilation of Indigenous peoples occurs in connection to the justifications created through the colonization of memory and the acceptance of those claims to authority that operate through the politics of knowledge. From the front matter of the textbooks, broad review of the make up the related program consultants, partners, and advisors, as well as the C3 framework, "engaged citizenry" and what an "engaged citizen" does is a focus of creating or maintaining the US settler society through textbook production and envisioned use within US social studies. The description of the "engaged citizen" however is also an idealistic conceptualization.

The careful construction of settler narratives of improvement are designed to secure settler futurity through the normalization of ideas that, in practice, are to inform the behaviors of its citizens. The "engaged citizenry" concept promotes particular civic virtues or principles such as, utilizing "civil conversations," acting responsibly, "adhering to the social contract, consent of the governed," along with "honesty," and "mutual respect" (NCSS, 2013, p. 33). Whig historiography explains how the content of settler narratives are presented in the textbooks.

Moreover, whig historiography, with its teleological approach in representing historical events, looks at how societies progress from "less democratic" to "more democratic" societies. This approach becomes apparent when analyzing the content of the settler narratives found within the textbooks discussed in further detail in chapter 5. However, one of the most common and general historical examples of "democratic progress" concerns the history of voting in the United States; from wealthy white men in the foundation of the US, to the entire general population in our current era.

History is a site of commodification where corporations attract, create, or maintain markets by appealing to a particular audience. The C3 Framework and the utilization of whig

historiography provide a pathway to potential audiences. The purpose of which is to maximize profits through an appeal to a mass audience. For example, each textbook also makes an appeal to their respective audiences by stating that the textbooks prepare students for the future including college readiness, career readiness, and active citizenship (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). The textbooks are created and catered for the general purpose of social studies education as this clearly identifies a market for the textbook manufacturer. Moreover, this indicates there are levels to the institutional connections. The publisher and their constituents along with the school boards reflect the paramount conceptualization of "engaged citizenry" as the objective of social studies in general.

Settler narratives are easy to digest and are accessible to the general population. The settler narratives include a framework and patterns for construction that prove to be difficult to address. However, in the following chapters I examine settler narratives regarding Indigenous people and identify issues found within those settler narratives. In the last chapter, I provide educators with pedagogical implications and a potential approach that may assist in challenging settler narratives.

CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION OF DATA – TEXTBOOK CONTENT

Introduction

In this chapter, I continue analyzing ways that settler discourse in US history textbooks silences Indigenous voices, and the norms and values that are transmitted through U.S. history textbooks that bolster settler futurity. With TribalCrit as a framework, I examine how settler colonial narratives manifest in the textbook beyond the front matter discussed in chapter 4. Specifically, I pay attention to how settler futurity is maintained through the (re)production and propagation of its positions through the members of its society no matter the status of individuals within the settler society. Using content analysis, I also examine the misrepresentation and the terms used for Indigenous peoples, the justifications of violence and "democratic progress," and the presentation of settler expansion along with the conceptualization of land, property, and ownership in the textbooks.

This chapter begins by analyzing how the textbooks control the definition of Indigenous peoples, and how the settlers define themselves in relation to Indigenous peoples. Considering individuals presented and well know events in history, I also look at the justifications for violence, and the utilization of discourse as a mechanism for generating and maintaining settler hegemony through levels of emotionality. The objective of this chapter is to explain how (mis)representation is the link that binds the themes from the settler narratives together. Ultimately, the content found within settler narratives are in conjunction with the settler moves towards innocence, and how this innocence is conveyed through settler narratives in the textbooks. Therefore, the implications and inferences that are found within the construction of settler narratives has an impact on settler moves towards innocence.

Mixing Terms and Controlling the Characterization of Indigenous Peoples

It is important to look at how the textbooks define Indigenous peoples. Definitions have a significant role in understanding not only the people being described, but the people, organizations, or institutions that are doing the describing. The perception of people stems from how they are described.

One thing I noted in the textbooks I examined, is that the authors use American Indian(s) and Native American(s) interchangeably and do not provide glossary definitions for either term. In addition, the term Indigenous is not found in either of the textbooks. The word American is always attached to the words "Indian" and "Native" where the only exception is in the beginning of the textbook which uses the term "Indians" to describe the Indigenous people who had interactions with the infamous colonizer Christopher Columbus. The significance of this point is to understand that Indigenous people are not the ones defining or characterizing who they are nor their existence in the world. Thus, the descriptors of Indigenous people are then subject to the settler conceptions of Indigenous people and Indigeneity.

The normalization of these terms in relation to the historical context begins the relegation process of Indigenous peoples to the past; (mis)characterizing Indigenous peoples in terms of who they are, or more accurately, were. The first chapter of the textbooks, titled 0.1, Colonies and Revolution, starts with a paragraph about the arrival of Christopher Columbus. In this paragraph, it is explained that Columbus called the people he met there as "Indians," because Columbus had thought he had landed in the Indies (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 6). After this paragraph, the opening sentence then starts by skipping over the next two hundred years by stating that European settlers explored the Americas (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016). In the following introductory paragraph, the Native Americans are being explained as being converted

to Christianity by the Spanish. The text also states that American Indians were eager to exchange beaver pelts with the Europeans (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). This chapter describes the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, Native Americans as "… the many peoples already living in North and South America" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019).

The chapter 2.1 expands the definition of Native American, as the textbooks refer to the similarities and differences between Indigenous nations as being geographically influenced. In the chapter, the textbooks mention that the Indigenous groups were diverse and that they had different epistemological and ontological traditions and perspectives. However, the texts notably do not address any of the epistemological and ontological traditions or perspectives of any particular group (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). Rather, the textbooks talk about food sources and lifestyles of Indigenous peoples from different geographical regions (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). More specifically, authors state that:

> "Indian cultures shared a common thread – they saw themselves as part of nature and respected the natural world. Many white people valued and respected nature, too. However, many also viewed the land as a resource that could be used to produce wealth. These differing views sowed the seeds of conflict" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 119).

There are several sections in the textbooks where Indigenous people are discussed in the later chapters of the textbooks. However, the textbooks do not provide any extended definition or characterization. Aside from the "Americanization" of Indigenous peoples, which is discussed later in this chapter, there are no clear definitions of Indigenous peoples in the present except for a section on the American Indian Movement (AIM) in 1960s and 1970s (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019).

While paying attention to the terms, I also looked into the pictures of Indigenous peoples or of events between Indigenous people and settlers in relation to the text, to consider the inferences that readers can make viewing the pictures in relation to the text. In chapter 2.1, "American Indians Under Pressure", there is a picture that is described as two Oglala chiefs, American Horse and Red Cloud shaking hands. This sepia image is a visual that furthers the implication that Indigenous peoples are of the past. Immediately to the right of the picture is a paragraph setting up the rest of the chapter by explaining the removal of Indigenous peoples west of the Mississippi river and how white settler expansion created problems. This paragraph states,

> In 1787, the Constitution granted sole power for regulating trade with the Native Americans to the federal government. This began the long, strained relationship between the federal government and Native Americans. During the 1830s, the federal government forced Native Americans from the east to resettle west of the Mississippi River and promised them land there forever. In the 1840s through the 1860s, pressure from white settlers weakened this promise. The conflicts between settlers and Native Americans continued during and after the Civil War. The interaction changed both cultures, but irrevocably damaged Native American cultures (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 118).

The content analysis of the image description reveals two striking points about this passage. First, it states that the relationship between the federal government and Indigenous people is long and strained. However, this tepid connection does not draw any explicit connections to our current era. Second, although it mentions that the federal government promised land west of the Mississippi forever, it does not explicitly mention the reasons for continued settler encroachment; only that settler colonization had weakened this promise (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). This example firmly places Indigenous people into the

past through its discursive and content framing. It only touches on Indigenous peoples and settlers in the mid to late 1800s while implying that "negative" events between Indigenous people and the US government and settlers happened primarily in the past. In spite of the minimal reference to the ongoing difficult relationship between these groups, the textbooks offer no more information that could contextualize the relationship in the modern era. Information or images can help readers understand the presence and nation to nation relationships of the present day. However, with the sparce information provided by the textbooks the implication and inference rely on decoupling the past from the present along with the ever-evolving relationship between Indigenous people and the settler US government.

Going back to the images, in one section of chapter 2.1 of the California textbook, there is a picture of Indigenous peoples who are described as Plains Indians and are further described as "braves" that are leaving their camp to hunt buffalo (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2019, p. 132). There is also a photo of Sioux people that has a group of men in front of some other Sioux people. This is further contextualized with the caption at the bottom explaining that the men in this photo were killed in the battle of Wounded Knee. Again, the black and white photos give the impression that these atrocities happened a long time ago and are not a thing of the present. Therefore, any photo being used needs to be properly contextualized where implications and inferences are also brought into the discussion. Indigenous scholars can provide more clarity and resources that can extend our understanding of Indigenous people in textbooks.

In the same chapter of the California textbook, there is another black and white photo of two young men, wearing western clothes, reading books in a room that has pictures and artifacts on the wall. The prompt below the photo explains that many Native Americans were forced to assimilate (Lapsanksy-Werner, et al., 2019). This photo demonstrates only a small aspect of

Indigenous erasure. This single picture of Indigenous assimilation is problematic because it implies that forced assimilation into settler American society occurred in the past. It also implies the "good" intent behind assimilation by referring to this process as Americanization, or bringing people into mainstream American way of living, which would include being or becoming part of the "engaged citizenry" and serve as an example for "democratic progress."

The content analysis reveals how both textbooks frame the Indigenous population as peoples who were living in certain areas at a specific point in time in US history. The surface-level narratives about Indigenous peoples presented in the textbooks control what is commonly known concerning the interactions between the settler society and the Indigenous peoples. By depicting Indigenous populations as being part of the American past, the violence against Indigenous peoples is justified through a specific framework meant to generate settler innocence.

Violence Through "Democratic Progress": Exceptionalism and Settler Innocence

Similar to the ways the textbooks control the characterization of Indigenous peoples, violence between Indigenous peoples and settlers is also depicted and narrated in particular ways that secure settler innocence. When examining events of violence, it is important to consider how violence is defined, which actors are excused, while others are reproached, and how the causes and consequences of violence are defined. There are two themes that emerged when I used content and discourse analysis to look at the justifications of violence in the historical narratives in the textbooks: exceptionalism and settler innocence. In my analysis, I also considered how exceptionalism and settler innocence are the consequence of the whig historiographical tradition, as they provide the framework for the "progress of democratic" movements of history in the United States, and the portrayal of the teleological progression of these movements from "less" to "more democratic." In the following subsections, I focus on the ways that settler violence in

textbooks becomes framed as a justifiable thing of the past; a hiccup on the path toward democracy. I also consider the connections between "democratic progress" with settler innocence and exceptionalism as the textbooks portray Indigenous removal.

Indigenous Removal and Peace: An Incredible Contradiction

One notable example of how historiography impacts the construction of settler narratives concerns how the settler society talks about Indigenous removal and replacement. When examining Andrew Jackson, as portrayed in the textbooks, he is promoted as a president who expanded the notion of democracy, while simultaneously "peacefully" removing Indigenous people from the southeast United States. Through discourse and content analysis, I demonstrate how the textbooks obscure the glaring contradiction between Indigenous removal and "peace" to frame the idea of the US becoming "more and more democratic."

Before discussing Indigenous removal, the textbooks discuss Andrew Jackson in chapter 0.3, America in the Early 1800s, which describe Andrew Jackson a, "...war hero general…" who allowed non-propertied White males to vote while removing the vote from African Americans, Indigenous peoples, and women (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). Additionally, the Jacksonian era is also described as an era of democratic expansion as well. The textbooks state, "While the age of Jacksonian democracy expanded the concept of democracy, some policies of the Jackson era resulted in long-term political strife" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 23). Andrew Jackson is thus hailed as an important president because of the extension of voting rights to non-propertied white men. The voting rights, of course, were not extended to Indigenous peoples, African Americans, or white women at the time. However, this extension of voting rights to unpropertied white men is treated as part of the progression towards a greater democracy in the United States.

Dunbar-Ortiz (2014), in her book, *An Indigenous peoples' history of the United States,* explains how a pattern of reverence for settler violence is common in US history textbooks. Dunbar-Ortiz (2014) also counters the "democratic progressive" perspective of Andrew Jackson by providing basic biographical information about him and mentioning the settler's motivation for land. When referencing texts, Dunbar-Ortiz (2014) notes that most US history texts have chapters that enshrine Andrew Jackson with various titles such as "The Age of Democracy" or the "Birth of Democracy" (p. 107). To further the explanation of Andrew Jackson, Dunbar-Ortiz (2014) explains that Jackson's apologists talk about him as having a "dark side," because of his desire to remove and replace Indigenous peoples (p. 108). Therefore, the centering and framing of "democratic progress" is to largely ignore Indigenous genocide which is presented through the construction of this narrative.

The language and discourse reveal a level of veneration of Andrew Jackson in both textbooks. The language used in this context paints Andrew Jackson as someone who is complex, and thus, could potentially be misunderstood. It also allows room for Andrew Jackson to be painted as an example of the US becoming "more democratic." The selective use of words used here is an example of one of the intersections between power, language, and context.

To level out the reverence for Andrew Jackson, the textbooks include some of his "mistakes" such as the doctrine of nullification, which is described as the ability of a state to secede from the nation. When discussing the Indian Removal Act, however, the textbooks define this process as, "… the peaceful exchange of Indian lands in the South for new lands in Indian Territory (present day Oklahoma)" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). The use of the word "peaceful" is contradictory to the actual practice of removal which is a clear form of violence located within structural genocide. The actual use of "peaceful," in this context, is anything but

peaceful, while the wording plays into the settler moves towards innocence by providing a partial or misconstrued truth. The use of the word "peaceful" also supports the idea that American history has move from "less" to "more" democratic. All of these culminate around the central purpose to lead the reader to inferences that favor the settler society.

The textbooks continue by stating that, in the face of forced removal policies, some Indigenous groups agreed to leave peacefully while others fought. Regarding the Trail of Tears, the textbooks state, "… federal troops compelled more than 15,000 Cherokees to travel from the Southeast to Oklahoma. At least 4,000 Cherokees died of disease, exposure, and hunger along what came to be called the Trail of Tears" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 24). The textbooks explain that this number was around 60,000 Indigenous people being removed (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). Dunbar-Ortiz (2014) explains that ultimately seventy thousand Indigenous peoples were forcefully removed during this period (p. 110).

The textbooks do not clarify what they mean by "compelling" the Cherokee to leave. This is problematic as it potentially makes it appear that there was some sort of civil conversation took place between the US federal troops and the Cherokee were both parties came to an agreement. Again, the word peaceful is betrayed by the utter violence of removal which also blames the victim by faming the issues as one of the settler who wanted the land and was willing to work through this issue, but the recalcitrant "Indians" did not want to leave their homelands and thus the settler is forced to use violence. The uses of "compel" assists in shaping the settler narratives around the justifications of Indigenous removal.

Moreover, both of textbooks share a map showing the routes taken by the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole during Trail of Tears. The map is a visual representation of the distance the 70,000 Indigenous peoples were forced to take and where

many lost their lives due to the settler greed and capitalist accumulation in the Indigenous peoples homelands. The map provides a legend that has a scale that measures distance along with the question, "How might this explain why so many died on the journey?" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). This question is problematical because it draws attention away from the actual policies and political actions taken by the settler society to kill, and remove, Indigenous peoples from this region. Rather, the question implies there might have been other reasons, such as natural causes for deaths. The question assuages guilt by relating it to those indirect causes of death. By directing attention away from actual genocide, the narrative offers a way for settlers to move towards settler innocence.

Framing Savagery Indirectly and Moving towards Settler Innocence

The perniciousness of settler innocence is highlighted through depiction of violence, war, and conflict with Indigenous peoples in the textbooks. Fanon (2004) explains that in the construction of the Other, "...the colonist is right when he 'knows' them. It is the colonist who *fabricated* and *continues to fabricate* the colonized subject" (p. 2). Using discourse and content analysis excavated the ways violence is framed and postulated within the textbooks. In this section I develop the idea of *indirect savagery,* where Indigenous peoples are constructed in a specific manner that leads readers to view Indigenous peoples as violent.

For example, when discussing westward expansion, the textbooks discuss the violence that ensued between the Sioux and the settlers in Minnesota in chapter 2.1, American Indians Under Pressure. The following images from the California and Texas textbooks demonstrates how violence is constructed and portrayed. The chapters have their similarities in the actual construction of the text, however, the differences stem in the images that are used in the chapters.

2.1 In 1787, the Constitution granted sole power for regulating trade with the Native Americans to the federal government. This began the long, strained relationship between the federal government and Native Americans. During the 1830s, the federal government forced Native Americans from the east to resettle west of the Mississippi River and promised them the land there forever. In the 1840s through the 1860s, pressure from white settlers weakened this promise. The conflicts between settlers and Native Americans continued during and after the Civil War. The interaction changed both cultures, but irrevocably damaged Native American cultures.

>> Two Ogala chiefs, American Horse (left) and Red Cloud (right) led the resistance against the government's plans to build a road through Sioux hunting grounds.

Bounce to Activate Flipped Video

>> Objectives

Compare the ways Native Americans and white settlers viewed and used the land.

Describe the conflicts between white settlers and Indians.

Analyze the impact of the Indian Wars.

Evaluate the effectiveness of the government's Americanization and reservation policies towards American Indians.

>> Key Terms

reservations
Sand Creek Massacre
Sitting Bull
Battle of the Little Big Horn
Chief Joseph
Wounded Knee
assimilated
Dawes General Allotment Act

American Indians Under Pressure

Cultures Forced to Adapt

By the end of the Civil War, most Native Americans—about 250,000 of them—lived in the region west of the Mississippi River referred to as "The Great American Desert." Although they were lumped together in the minds of most Americans as "Indians," Native Americans embraced many different belief systems, languages, and ways of life.

Cultural Similarities and Differences Geography influenced the cultural diversity of Native Americans. In the Pacific Northwest, the Klamaths, Chinooks, and Shastas benefited from abundant supplies of fish and forest animals. Farther south, smaller bands of hunter-gatherers struggled to exist on diets of small game, insects, berries, acorns, and roots. In the arid lands of New Mexico and Arizona, the Pueblos irrigated the land to grow corn, beans, and squash. They built adobe homes high in the cliffs to protect themselves from aggressive neighbors. The more mobile Navajos lived in homes made of mud or in hogans that could be moved easily.

The most numerous and nomadic Native Americans were the Plains Indians, including the Sioux, Blackfeet, Crows, Cheyenne, and Comanches. Some of these groups included Indians from east of the Appalachians, who had blended into the Plains Indian groups. The Plains Indians were expert horsemen and hunters. The millions of buffalo that roamed the Plains provided a rich source for lodging, clothing, food, and tools.

Indian cultures shared a common thread—they saw themselves as part of nature and respected the natural world. Many white people valued and respected nature, too. However, many also viewed the land as a resource that could be used to produce wealth. These differing views sowed the seeds of conflict.

American Settlers Move West In the early 1800s, the government carried out a policy of moving Native Americans out of the way of white settlers.

President Jackson moved the Cherokees off their land in Georgia and onto the Great Plains. To white settlers, Native Americans were welcome to what they called the Great American Desert as they thought it was uninhabitable. To limit conflict, an 1834 law regulated trade relations with Indians and strictly limited the access of white people to this Indian Territory. New European-American settlement generally paused at the eastern rim of the territory and resumed in the Far West.

By the 1850s, however, federal policy toward Native Americans was again challenged: gold and silver had been discovered in Indian Territory as well as settled regions farther west. Americans also wanted a railroad that crossed the continent. In 1851, therefore, the federal government began to restrict Indians to smaller areas. By the late 1860s, many Indian peoples had been placed on **reservations**, specific areas set aside by the government for the Indians' use. This change in their demographic patterns, a direct result of being forced to migrate to reservations, made their previous ways of life difficult if not impossible to sustain. Indians often faced poverty and the loss of their traditional ways of life on reservations.

Two more developments also threatened Native American civilizations: White settlers introduced diseases to which Indians had no immunity, and the vitally important buffalo herds were destroyed. In the 1870s, hunters would kill hundreds of buffaloes in a single day for their hides. They skinned the animals and left the meat to rot. In addition, trainloads of tourists arrived to kill buffaloes purely for sport. They left both the meat and the valuable hides behind.

IDENTIFY SUPPORTING DETAILS How were Native American cultures threatened in the 1800s?

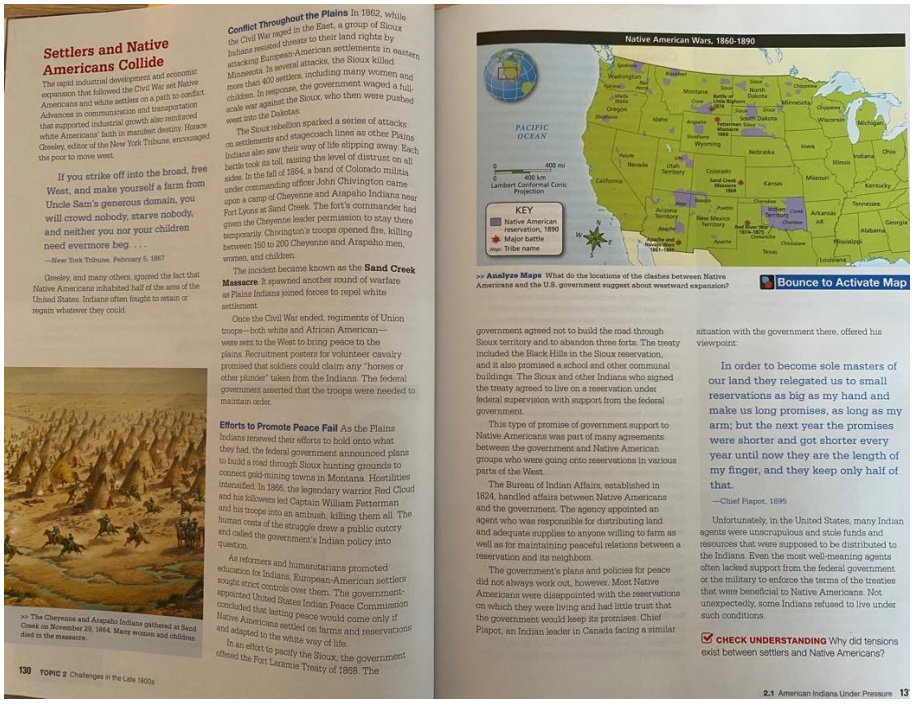
Native American Land Loss, 1850–1890

KEY
Land lost
Before 1850
1850–1869
1870–1890
Native American reservations, 1890
Hopi Group name

>> The U.S. government relocated many Native American groups following the Civil War. **Analyze Maps** Describe the process of how Native Americans lost their land.

realize. Go ONLINE for digital resources

2.1 American Indians Under Pressure 12



Settlers and Native Americans Collide

The rapid industrial development and economic expansion that followed the Civil War set Native Americans and white settlers on a path to conflict. Advances in communication and transportation that supported industrial growth also reinforced white Americans' faith in manifest destiny. Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, encouraged the poor to move west.

> If you strike off into the broad, free West, and make yourself a farm from Uncle Sam's generous domain, you will crowd nobody, starve nobody, and neither you nor your children need evermore beg. . . .
>
> —New York Tribune, February 5, 1867

Greeley, and many others, ignored the fact that Native Americans inhabited half of the area of the United States. Indians often fought to retain or regain whatever they could.

>> The Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians gathered at Sand Creek on November 29, 1864. Many women and children died in the massacre.

Conflict Throughout the Plains In 1862, while the Civil War raged in the East, a group of Sioux Indians resisted threats to their land rights by attacking European-American settlements in eastern Minnesota. In several attacks, the Sioux killed more than 400 settlers, including many women and children. In response, the government waged a full-scale war against the Sioux, who then were pushed west into the Dakotas.

The Sioux rebellion sparked a series of attacks on settlements and stagecoach lines as other Plains Indians also saw their way of life slipping away. Each battle took its toll, raising the level of distrust on all sides. In the fall of 1864, a band of Colorado militia under commanding officer John Chivington came upon a camp of Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians near Fort Lyons at Sand Creek. The fort's commander had given the Cheyenne leader permission to stay there temporarily. Chivington's troops opened fire, killing between 150 to 200 Cheyenne and Arapaho men, women, and children.

The incident became known as the **Sand Creek Massacre**. It spawned another round of warfare as Plains Indians joined forces to repel white settlement.

Once the Civil War ended, regiments of Union troops—both white and African American—were sent to the West to bring peace to the plains. Recruitment posters for volunteer cavalry promised that soldiers could claim any "horses or other plunder" taken from the Indians. The federal government asserted that the troops were needed to maintain order.

Efforts to Promote Peace Fail As the Plains Indians renewed their efforts to hold onto what they had, the federal government announced plans to build a road through Sioux hunting grounds to connect gold-mining towns in Montana. Hostilities intensified. In 1866, the legendary warrior Red Cloud and his followers led Captain William Fetterman and his troops into an ambush, killing them all. The human costs of the struggle drew a public outcry and called the government's Indian policy into question.

As reformers and humanitarians promoted education for Indians, European-American settlers sought strict controls over them. The government-appointed United States Indian Peace Commission concluded that lasting peace would come only if Native Americans settled on farms and reservations and adapted to the white way of life.

In an effort to pacify the Sioux, the government offered the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The government agreed not to build the road through Sioux territory and to abandon three forts. The treaty included the Black Hills in the Sioux reservation, and it also promised a school and other communal buildings. The Sioux and other Indians who signed the treaty agreed to live on a reservation under federal supervision with support from the federal government.

This type of promise of government support to Native Americans was part of many agreements between the government and Native American groups who were going onto reservations in various parts of the West.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, established in 1824, handled affairs between Native Americans and the government. The agency appointed an agent who was responsible for distributing land and adequate supplies to anyone willing to farm as well as for maintaining peaceful relations between a reservation and its neighbors.

The government's plans and policies for peace did not always work out, however. Most Native Americans were disappointed with the reservations on which they were living and had little trust that the government would keep its promises. Chief Piapot, an Indian leader in Canada facing a similar situation with the government there, offered his viewpoint:

> In order to become sole masters of our land they relegated us to small reservations as big as my hand and make us long promises, as long as my arm; but the next year the promises were shorter and got shorter every year until now they are the length of my finger, and they keep only half of that.
>
> —Chief Piapot, 1895

Unfortunately, in the United States, many Indian agents were unscrupulous and stole funds and resources that were supposed to be distributed to the Indians. Even the most well-meaning agents often lacked support from the federal government or the military to enforce the terms of the treaties that were beneficial to Native Americans. Not unexpectedly, some Indians refused to live under such conditions.

CHECK UNDERSTANDING Why did tensions exist between settlers and Native Americans?

Native American Wars, 1860–1890

KEY
Native American reservation, 1890
Major battle
Hopi Tribe name

>> **Analyze Maps** What do the locations of the clashes between Native Americans and the U.S. government suggest about westward expansion?

Bounce to Activate Map

130 TOPIC 2 Challenges in the Late 1800s

2.1 American Indians Under Pressure 13

Figure 2. Chapter 2.1 American Indians Under Pressure. California textbook 2019.

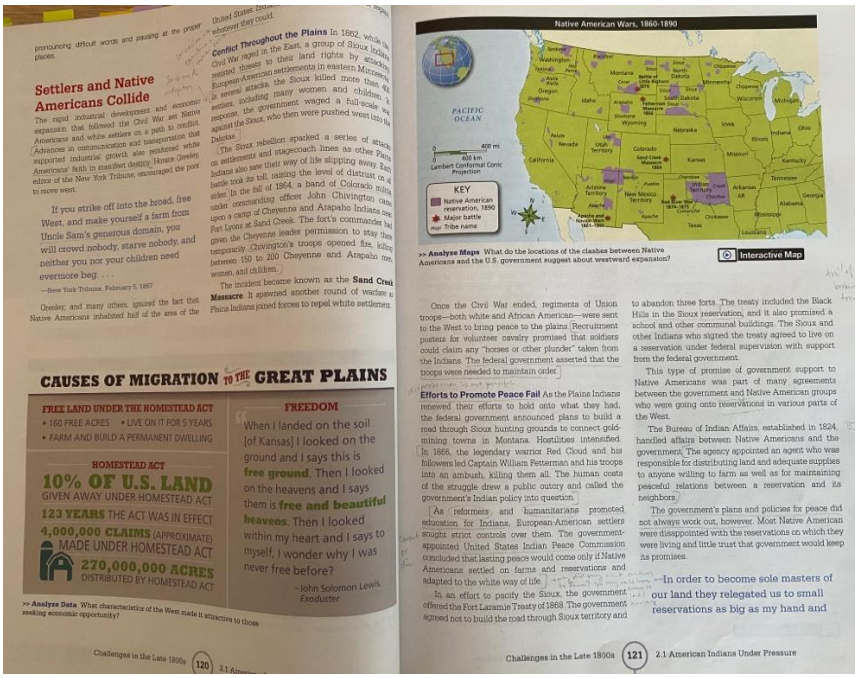
Figure 3. Chapter 2.1 American Indians Under Pressure. California Textbook 2019.

American Indians Under Pressure

Cultures Forced to Adapt

Native American Land Loss, 1850–1890

Figure 4. Chapter 2.1 American Indians Under Pressure. Texas Textbook 2016.



Settlers and Native Americans Collide

CAUSES OF MIGRATION TO THE GREAT PLAINS

Native American Wars, 1860–1890

Figure 5. Chapter 2.1 American Indians Under Pressure. Texas Textbook 2016.

As historical backdrop for violence, the textbooks explain,

> "In 1862, while the Civil War raged in the East, a group of Sioux Indians resisted threats to their land rights by attacking European-American settlements in eastern Minnesota. In several attacks, the Sioux killed more than 400 settlers, including many women and children. In response, the government waged a full-scale war against the Sioux, who then were pushed west into the Dakotas" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 120).

According to the textbooks, the Sioux resisted the settler invasions and protecting their lands rights by attacking settlers in Minnesota. The Sioux are then described as killing more than 400 settlers which included men, women, and children to which the US government went to war against the Sioux who were removed from Minnesota (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). This section of the textbooks clearly indicates the Sioux peoples were the instigators and support this idea through the killing of 400 settlers.

The textbooks portray the primary cause of violence as stemming from the Sioux protecting their land rights from settler encroachment. However, this leaves out the violence that occurred before and after. What is excluded from this particular section is the detailed descriptions for the causes of the attacks. By leaving out the contexts around Sioux' resistance against the settler invasion, the textbook supports the savage image of Indigenous peoples.

According to Williams (2012), the author of *Savage anxieties: The invention of western civilization*, the creation of the "savage" is vital to settler colonization and the creation of a national identity. Furthermore, the "savage" is the key part of settler narratives that frame Indigenous peoples as obstacles to settler progress. In a similar sense, Deloria (2002) connects "savagery" to the frontier historiography, where the Indigenous other is created in contrast to the European American settler. The distorted portrayal of Sioux' resistance in both textbooks is that Sioux were attacking settlers who were looking for a better life for themselves and their families.

Therefore, this allows for a collection of justifications and inferences for, and about, Indigenous removal. With the settler narratives in the textbooks, the US government's war with the Sioux is seen as a necessary reaction; the settlers needed protection against the "violent" Sioux.

In the same chapter 2.1, the following paragraph leads into the Sand Creek Massacre where the textbooks explain that John Chivington, and his militia from Colorado, killed approximately, 200 Cheyenne and Arapaho men, women, and children (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). Other than stating that John Chivington was a commander of the Colorado militia, there are no other details or explanations regarding his actions other than to say he was in charge. Thus, his legacy as a war criminal is left aside. When violence between Indigenous peoples and settlers is described in the textbooks, the foundational issue portrayed as causing the violence is reduced to two groups of people who have different perspectives on land and land use. Throughout the Chapter 2.1, the Indigenous peoples portrayed are described as being part of nature. The settlers, in contrast, are portrayed as simply wanting to extract wealth from the land. The seeming clash in differing perspectives, as portrayed, becomes the main source of the conflict between Indigenous people and settlers (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016 & 2019).

The textbooks follow the pattern of Indigenous resistance and reaction from the US settler colonialists which attempts to depict both sides as being equally horrible, but also includes a clear instigator. As the textbooks conclude the wars and conflicts between the Indigenous peoples and the US settler colonialists, the textbooks also begin to include discursive elements that imply the downtrodden Indian stereotype. The textbooks state Indigenous peoples' major resistance ended because of the US government (Lapsanksy-Werner, et al. 2016, 2019). From the content analysis, the narrative of who "started" the violence also includes who "ended" the violence. The Indigenous people are depicted as the instigators, while the settlers are described

as the protagonists. The inference, then, focuses on how representation can support settler innocence and exceptionalism.

Settler Expansion: Settler Entitlement to Land, Property, and Ownership

This section covers various parts of the textbooks where the content and discourse about land are analyzed that explain the justifications for settler expansion. The connecting points between all these topics in this chapter pertain to land, land usage, resources, and production. This includes topics such expansionists, Manifest Destiny, and economic expansion in relation to, and in contrast with, the settlers' conceptualization of Indigenous peoples. The connection of these points demonstrates how the repetitive aspect of these things lay the foundation for the generation, or sustainment, of settler hegemony.

In chapter 0.3, America in the early 1800s, the chapter describes pressing issues regarding the direction of the country after the American Revolution (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). The only map that has Indigenous peoples on it is the Trail of Tears (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016). The charts focus on the reform movement and the roots of Manifest Destiny. Each of the maps, graphs and charts, and pictures have their own prompts that contextualize and provide the reader with questions (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016). What is being depicted here in this section is another contradiction to the notion of "democratic progress." Rather, an important question arises from this chapter, to whom does "democratic progress" apply? The implication of this settler narrative is that the road towards democracy, in the context of US history, has, or had, its troubles. It also implies that "democracy" applied to certain individuals, their families, or their communities where specific descriptors apply. The inferences being that democracy was not as it is conceptualized today; that this serves as a potential lesson in democracy, and that the past is not necessarily connected to the present. Thus,

the content and discourse are framed by whig historiography and are then supported through the construction and presentation of the chapter. This proves to be a valuable site for settler colonization as the inferences create a potent site for the generation of settler hegemony to take form through settler innocence.

The starting point for understanding settler expansion begins with the conceptualization of the expansionists by the textbooks. Furthermore, it is necessary to make a connection to whig historiography and the focus on individualism where settler innocence can be activated in settler narratives. The purpose here is to make a connection between how the land should be used, and the logics for why it should be obtained by the settlers. The textbooks start by defining the expansionists as Americans who coveted the territories in Oregon and the Mexican provinces of Texas, New Mexico, and California in chapter 0.3 (Lapsansky-Werner, et al, 2016, 2019). However, the textbooks define the expansionists in slightly different terms in their respective glossaries. The analysis demonstrates how the settler government can put space between itself and its population in an historical context. The California textbook definition of expansionist from the glossary is as follows, "people who favor territorial growth (Lapsanksy-Werner, et al., 2019, p. 853). The Texas textbook definition states that expansionists as, "person who favors expanding the territory or influence of a country" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 816). The definitions cover the favorability of land usurpation, however, the Texas textbook definition places emphasis on the expansion of American politics which favor one portion of the population over another. Furthermore, the use of "people" and "person" are also prominent words within these definitions as they refer to the collective and the individual. Thinking about these terms in relation to challenges to expansionism, allows us to recognize how the textbooks assign or shift blame for Indigenous removal and replacement on individuals rather than that actual settler

colonial system and its genocidal policies for access to land, labor, and resources. For settler narratives, "people" can be relegated to the past and absolved of their sins. The use "person" allows the settler to "blame" specific individuals that are relegated to the past as well.

The other issue with the use of "people" and "person" is that it does not tell you who specifically was interested in moving West. However, chapter 0.3 explains that farmers were interested in moving into Mexican territory. "During the 1820s, farmers from the South had begun to settle in Texas, becoming Mexican citizens. By 1835, Texas was home to about 30,000 Anglo-Texans" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 27). By referring to the expansionists moving into Mexican territory, it removes slavery from the cause of the Mexican American War, which also removes the cause from the slave-owning farmers. Both textbooks identify President James Polk as, "a slaveholder and expansionist" who would go on to annex Texas (Lapsansky-Werner, et al. 2016, 2019). Placing blame on a president and his policies over the actual slave-owners who were in the area attempts to remove the interconnected, structural elements that were necessary to annex areas of Mexico. The representation of this historical event indicates a that it is an incomplete story as it ignores Indigenous existence in westward expansion. As a result of the discourse and content analysis, using the words "people" or "person" to describe settler expansion, the settler government, that implements Indigenous removal policies and take military actions against Indigenous peoples, is not a direct culprit.

Chapter 0.3 also provides definitions within the chart titled, "Roots of Manifest Destiny," offer different motivations for the expansionists. The chart shows three different categories of expansionists' motivation, including social, political, and economic. The isolation of the motivating factors allows for the creation of laws meant to define who has property, what that property entails, and how that property can be used. In other words, the ideological realization of

property is expressed through the material reality of land, and what land provides. For instance, under the social category of motivations, the four-bullet points state, "Belief in America as an exceptional nation, desire to spread American democracy and ideals, belief that it was God's will for America to expand, view that white Americans were superior to Native Americans" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 27). The political category provides another four bullet point that state, "Monroe Doctrine warning against European colonization in the Western hemisphere, desire to acquire Oregon from Britain, desire to acquire Texas from Mexico, Success of Democrats, who supported expansion, over Whigs, who did not" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 27). Finally, the economic category has three bullet points that state, "Farmland for settlers, access to resources, land for Southern crops such as cotton" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al. 2016, p. 27). Below the chart there is a sentence that reads, "People had different reasons for supporting the idea of Manifest Destiny" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). This potentially gives the impression that the three categories: social, political, and economic, are isolated from one another and that the actions taken by the expansionists are not in relation to one another despite the connections between the three categories. By listing motivations as separate, the chapter leads the reader to believe that settlers' desire for land and property ownership is separable from their individual sociopolitical motivations.

In chapter 0.3, Manifest Destiny is also related to the ideas of property and ownership of resources. Manifest Destiny, itself is given two paragraphs in each textbook in chapter 0.3 with one paragraph being a quote from John L. O'Sullivan and the other paragraph explaining the movement of thousands of peoples Westward into California, Oregon, and Utah (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). The quote stems from an article written by John L. O'Sullivan in the New York Morning News, December 27, 1845. "The American claim is by the right of our

manifest destiny to overspread and possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and … self-government entrusted to us" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 27). This scant, yet explicit, information is surprising as Manifest Destiny has been assumed to play a significant role in defining the American settler identity. However, there are other instances within the textbooks where Manifest Destiny takes on an implicit form. Despite the short paragraphs and the isolated motivations provided by the chart, Manifest Destiny is still clandestinely present.

The textbooks in chapter 2.2, The west is transformed, explain that as the settlers moved westward, they found gold and silver as well as wanting to establish a continental railroad (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019) To further the connection between Manifest Destiny and the connection to the material world, the conceptualization of land and land usage are explained as the desire for generating wealth. This is directly connection to capitalist motivations for control over resources; this means the acquisition of land is at the forefront of settler colonization. In chapter 2.1, the textbooks identify the desire to use, and create advances in communication and transportation along with rapid industrialization and economic expansion added to the conflict between Indigenous peoples and the white settlers (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 120).

Although Manifest Destiny is considered an important part of the mainstream American story, Indigenous scholars and scholars of Indigenous Studies, oppose Manifest Destiny precisely because of its connection to Indigenous genocide and how it persists in the US through its curricula (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; McCoy, 2014; Shear, Knowles, Soden, & Castro, 2015). Indigenous critiques provide connections between Indigenous genocide and Manifest Destiny. The access to lands, labor, resources, and the reinforcement of a political system that generates

support are all things that stem from Indigenous genocide. The opposition, then, lies in the critical examination of how US settler history continually isolates the past from the present. This also includes how the presentation of US history contributes to settler hegemony.

It is important to note how the aftermath of Manifest Destiny and the placement of Indigenous people on reservations is narrated in the textbooks. The textbooks explain that reservations had a direct result on Indigenous peoples' way of life which was difficult to sustain (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). For example, the Texas textbook states, "many Indian peoples face these challenges with courage and determination, tens of thousands died in war or on poverty-stricken reservations. Only a small number were left to carry on their legacy" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 125). Both of the textbooks briefly explain a segment of structural genocide that highlights part of the transition from frontier killings that lead into post-frontier structural genocide. "Traditional tribal feasts, dances, and even funeral practices were outlawed, and Native American religions were discouraged. To further speed assimilation, missionaries and other reformers established boarding schools, to which Indian parents were pressured to send their children" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 124-125).

From a TribalCrit framework, the forced removal and subsequent physical, epistemological, and ontological death are a major consequence of the settler conquest for land, labor, and resources for the sole purpose of becoming a petty landlord. Although this quote is a little more candid regarding the removal of Indigenous peoples, it is still something that is relegated to the past, which does not explain the consequences on current or future generations. The framing and construction of this settler narrative reduces assimilation to the removal of Indigenous cultural practices and not the forced removal of Indigeneity. It also ignores the fact that Native American religions were not just discouraged, but completely outlawed. It fails to

provide further context where Indigenous people were then forced to practice their cultural lifeways in secrecy. It also fails to mention what this meant for Indigenous families beyond parents being pressured to give up their children. Whig historiography provides the framing and construction of this settler narrative that allows for continued moves towards innocence which furthers settler hegemony.

Assimilation as Genocide

Before analyzing the rhetoric of assimilation in the US history textbooks, it is important to understand what genocide is and how it has functioned in the United States. Despite the contentious controversy around genocide in the United States, Indigenous scholars are adamant about addressing the experiences assimilation as genocidal. Genocide, especially when discussing the Indigenous peoples of the United States, is controversial in the settler institution of education (Dunbar-Ortiz & Gilio-Whitaker, 2016). Structural genocide, as described by Patrick Wolfe (2006), provides a more precise account of genocide in the United States as the genocidal practices have been long-term in comparison to other genocides that have happened. Moreover, Wolfe (2006, 2013) notes how these genocidal practices have changed through time. Thus, the definition, and use of the term genocide is contentious at best with comparisons to Nazi Germany and other genocidal regimes at the ready for exceptionalist perspectives on history (Dunbar-Ortiz & Gilio-Whitaker, 2016, p. 61).

Dunbar-Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker (2016), demonstrate the importance of looking at the United Nations Genocide Prevention, article II as it can assist in deconstructing past and current events for genocidal practices. According to the United Nations Genocide Prevention, article II,

"In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

1. Killing members of the group;
2. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
3. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
4. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
5. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

The document continues by discussing the two facets of genocide which include the physical and the mental health of human beings (Dunbar-Ortiz & Gilio-Whitaker, 2016). It is clear, although not directly stated, that genocide is structural and takes on different forms that perform the same function – the ultimate destruction and removal of a people. In relation to assimilation, whether forced or coerced, there are clear acts of genocide that are obscured through the settler narratives.

To contextualize the United Nations description of Genocide, it is important to understand that this was developed after World War II. Although these characteristics definitively apply to Indigenous people's experiences with genocide, they do not seem to take history into consideration. It is easy to see why the settler institution of education would deny or reduce the genocide of Indigenous peoples as the result of an incredibly gross "misunderstanding" as proclaimed in the beginning of chapter 2.1. What is more, force and coercion are also forms of genocide that intersect at various times and places backed by political policies and social conditions. For example, some Indigenous people did not attend boarding schools, yet they still assimilated into the mainstream (Amerman, 2010). What follows is a

description of how the US history textbooks discuss structural genocide, and related people and events.

At the end of chapter 2.1, the textbooks discuss reformers and humanitarians who promoted education for Indigenous peoples, with the settlers having strict control over the education for Indigenous peoples (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). In this section, of chapter 2.1., the main title of this section reads, "The government encourages assimilation," this is followed by a contextual explanation of assimilation,

> "The reservation policy was a failure. Making Indians live in confined areas as wards of the government was costly in human and economic terms. Policy makers hoped that as the buffalo became extinct, Indians would become farmers and be assimilated into national life by adopting the culture and civilization of whites" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019).

This is just one way in which assimilation is discussed. The glossary in both of the textbooks makes the connection between Americanization and assimilation more explicit, defining Americanization as, "the belief that assimilating immigrants into American society would make them more loyal citizens" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 811). The difference between this definition, and how it is used in chapter 2.1, is that the glossary definition refers to immigrants where Indigenous peoples are not included. However, Americanization is clear within the context of the chapter, "Reformers believed that Indians had to give up tribal loyalties and behaviors before they could adopt mainstream American values and assimilate into American society. The Americanization movement aimed at Native Americans was also aimed at new immigrants from other countries" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 124). By stating that all "non-Americans," immigrants and Indigenous peoples, were assimilated, the text removes

white supremacy from the equation and ignores the historical context of Indigenous assimilation, forwarding settler innocence. Although the last sentence from the quote is correct, it does not address the deeper structural genocidal practices of the United States against Indigenous peoples (Dunbar-Ortiz & Gilio-Whitaker, 2014; Grande, 2015; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006).

In chapter 7.7, Social issues of the 1950s, the subtitle, Americanization of Native Americans, that explains the termination policy of 1953 created major changes of Indigenous peoples. More specifically,

> In 1953 the federal government enacted the termination policy, a major change in the rules governing Native Americans. The law sought to end tribal government and to relocate Native Americans to the nation's cities. It also terminated federal responsibility for health and welfare of Native Americans. Proponents of the policy argued that it would free American Indians to assimilate, or merge, into American society (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019).

When discussing coerced assimilation, both of the textbooks, in chapter 6.5, The Home Front, explains the reasons why Indigenous peoples left the reservations of jobs (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). Specifically, the Texas textbook highlights population shifts among Indigenous communities. It states, "as Native Americans left reservations to work in defense industries, they had the opportunity to learn new skills and had greater contacts with non-Indians. Many of these people, as well as Native American veterans, never returned to the reservations after the war" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, p. 399). What the textbooks fail to mention is the multiple layers of historical background of why and how Indigenous peoples had to leave their own communities. The part of the "civilizing" mission of boarding schools, from the settlers' perspective, was education for Indigenous peoples to assimilate into mainstream American

society and to obtain more economic opportunities (Amerman, 2010). This led to Indigenous peoples facing discrimination when looking for employment due to the low-level of training from those boarding schools (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Szasz, 1999). The other part of "population shift" was the relocation of Indigenous individuals and families to major industrial cities in the United States that came from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) placement strategies that included finding and procuring a job and housing for the individuals and their families (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, p. 174).

The use of "Americanization" in place of assimilation, is also important to discuss. The textbook describes the reformers as promoting "Americanization" and Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) describe them as civilizing. These words are describing the objective of assimilation through boarding schools and Western education. However, the word "Americanization" may perhaps take the sting out of assimilation for the settler society, especially when the textbooks make it clear that this applied to everyone from other countries. Thus, this rhetorical trick takes Indigenous assimilation and places it in a narrative meant to assuage the settler society, and to deflect legitimate criticisms; it is a historical fact wrapped up in a pervasive, ideological story that maintains settler hegemony through setter innocence and exceptionalism. The striking thing about Americanization – assimilation – is how it precisely describes the post-frontier as the era of destroying Indigeneity to replace it with settler ways of being.

By constructing the content as such, the textbooks convey a specific message about assimilation, along with to whom it applies. Therefore, there appears to be a multi-pronged endeavor when discussing the coercive factors of assimilation. The coercive aspect of assimilation operates directly through capitalist economics and survival. The Indigenous peoples are, in a sense, removed from their cultures and communities and in constant contact with non-

Indigenous peoples which means the continued loss of language, epistemological, and ontological traditions. From the previous quote, the textbooks further the conversation of Indigenous assimilation by discussing an unnamed law from 1871. After searching for more information, the law has been identified as 25 U.S. Code 71 The Future Treaties with Indian Tribes. This law passed by congress would not recognize any Indigenous tribes as independent nations. The textbooks further explain that this was meant to weaken tribal cultures and to deal with Indigenous peoples as individuals (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). The section on Americanization also explains how tribal customs and practices were outlawed along with religions to expedite assimilationist efforts.

Once more, the word "reformers" appears and is accompanied by an explanation as to what reformers believed needed to happen to Indigenous peoples before they were to become "American." The reformers believed that Indigenous peoples had to give up their tribal loyalties, their cultural and linguistic practices and accept White American values to properly assimilate as explained in at the end of chapter 2.1 (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) explain that such "reformation" was seen as integral to "civilizing" Indigenous peoples (p. 4). Other works regarding boarding school experiences and their assimilatory practices, reflect the objective of boarding schools (Amerman, 2010; Szasz, 1999; White, 2015).

When discussing boarding schools for Indigenous children in chapter 2.1, it is explained how missionaries and other institutions took part of the boarding school process where, "… Indian parents were pressured to send their children… Indian children were to learn and live by the rules, dress, customs, and culture of white America" (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). This incredibly complex and emotionally difficult topic is reduced to two sentences. It ignores the conditions of the boarding schools, the rampant abuse, and a whole host of other

complications that continued to enact settler removal (Brayboy, 2005; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Szasz, 1999). Although the information leaves historical traces to be examined, the presentation of this historical event implies that the information provided on boarding schools for Indigenous peoples as sufficient. This works to maintain the settler society by discursively relegating this to the past without connecting it to our current era.

Settler hegemony is generated through discourse and content within the settler narratives. The use of language such as, people, person, Americanization, reformers, and expansionists, provide surface level representations and historical contexts that serve the interests of the settler society, occupying what we are to think about Indigenous peoples and their relationship with the US settler society. The second tenet of TribalCrit reminds us that "U.S. policies towards Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, white supremacy, and a desire for material gain" (Brayboy, 2005, p. 429). In textbook analysis, the second tenet relates to the discourse found within the textbook settler narratives, and ways that language can be used alchemically to alter how colonization, imperialism, and white supremacy are understood as a thing of the past. Content from the Whig historiographical perspective is incomplete as Indigenous voices, peoples, and histories are talked about, but not necessarily included.

The common definition of assimilation as an adoption of practices is misleading in the context of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the United States settler society. It ignores the removal of Indigenous languages, epistemologies, and ontologies, that have done extensive harm to Indigenous communities (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). With the definition of assimilation provided by the textbooks in relation to the "reformers" and "humanitarians" wanting education for the Indigenous peoples, the process of destroying those aspects that inform Indigenous peoples' humanity are replaced with the dominant settler modes of being under the

guise of good intentions. Assimilation, thus, plays a significant role in the removal of Indigenous peoples that allows the settler society access to land, labor, and resources that are reinforced through its political system. Historical context is necessary when examining something as traumatic as genocide.

Conclusion

Above I have shown numerous ways in which the settler society represents its history and the people within the settler narratives within the textbooks. The purpose of (mis)representing Indigenous peoples as being part of the past serves the interest of the settler society as it provides a safety net from critical historical inquiry. This includes the justifications for violence against Indigenous peoples while simultaneous attempting to describe removal as peaceful. This is examined in conjunction with settler expansion and the conceptualizations of land, land usage, property, and ownership. Reframing assimilation, a form of genocide, as Americanization is one way that the settler society looks to distance itself from the definition, and violence of, forced assimilation through carefully crafted settler narratives. All these themes are connected to the essence of settler colonization, the removal and replacement of Indigenous peoples, that are also constitutive of the strategies and logics of elimination (Wolfe, 2006). The textbooks reinforce the primary narratives of how all of these concepts, people, and events are characterized, how they should be utilized, and how they are to be understood or inferred. By examining the context and content together, however, one can start to see how settler narratives frame, or characterize, Indigenous people.

With this, comes the answer to the second research question, which asked about the norms and values that bolster settler futurity in the textbooks examined. The normalization of distancing the US from its past atrocities moves the settler positions towards settler innocence,

and hence, the continuation of settler colonization. This is in-line with the idea that "colonization is endemic to society" (Brayboy, 2005, p. 429). Moreover, it points to how colonization impacts history education. From the promotion of an "engaged citizenry," and to whig historiography which informs the construction of settler narratives along with the historical events and actors, history education continues to be a site where settler colonization is maintained.

CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS

The Decolonization of Memory and Historical Refusal

This study explores the (in)visibility of settler narratives in United States history textbooks and their institutional propagation. In the previous chapters, I laid out the findings of the study and the of settler colonialism in text from textbook authors, consultants, and programs in chapter 4, and two US history textbooks themselves in both chapter 4 and 5, in connection to relevant scholarly literature. The critical content analysis and critical discourse analysis of the front matter explained the implicit application of settler colonization in the United States. In chapters 4 and 5, I also demonstrated how settler narratives are institutionally constructed which creates a powerful foundation for the maintenance of settler futurity. In chapter 4, I provide background observations concerning the textbooks by compiling lateral reading observations. Specifically, I examine the authors' curricula vitae, websites for organizations, and PDF files provides further context where these history textbooks are created. It requires an examination of various sources that assist in determining how context creates, or informs, the content of the history textbooks. Therefore, the observations made concerning the background information, lays the foundation for a more comprehensive understanding of settler colonization.

In chapter 5, the critical content and discourse analysis disclose what, and how, the historical information in the textbooks are presented that sustain the settler society's political position. Thus, the themes focus on the textual and visual information of the representation of historical events and Indigenous peoples. The critical content analysis demonstrates how the events and people are framed, the critical discourse analysis highlights particular words and phrases that further support the framing of the content. The themes include mixing and controlling the characterization of Indigenous peoples, the contradiction of peaceful removal and

"democratic progress," the settler conceptualization of land, property, and ownership through settler expansion, and "Americanization" – or assimilation – as genocide. The amalgamation of the themes and findings from the analysis provide another guiding question; what is to be done about settler narratives? This chapter explores potential answers to this guiding question while also addressing what has already been done in social studies and outlining what makes *historical refusal* different from other critical pedagogical practices.

Building upon this analysis, this chapter re-emphasizes how historical memories are colonized and shares a pedagogical approach I call *historical refusal* which will be followed by the implications of the approach. Next, I discuss suggestions for teachers and educators when addressing anti-colonial and decolonial projects in classrooms. I will also explain the Ojibwe understanding of land through the fifth tenet of TribalCrit. The purpose of which is to demonstrate not only the legitimacy of Ojibwe knowledge, but to also demonstrate how I have incorporated historical refusal into my way of thinking. This will be followed by an recommendations for further research along with the concluding thoughts.

Colonization of Memory: Patterns of Settler Narratives

The colonization of memory via settler narratives in US history textbooks provides examples of the primary characteristics found in settler narratives. When analyzing the textbooks, there were several points that became clear about the presentation of settler narratives. Saitio (2020) describes this part of the process of removal and replacement as one the strategies of conceptual disappearance (p. 70). The following patterns listed below point to some of the prominent characteristics of conceptual disappearance of Indigenous peoples from US settler history.

- The past is often depicted as being isolated from the present; that is to say historical events are described as being concluded. History is also presented as a progression from "less" to "more" democratic and inclusive.
- History is presented as neutral and objective. This claim is clearly contradicted by the selective tradition and the analytical parameters found within historiography.
- Through the use of highly accredited authors and organizations, the textbooks make a significant appeal to claims to authority which are designed to stop people from challenging the ideas being presented. It is also lucidly connected to the second point concerning the selective tradition and historiography.
- The colonization of memory has multidirectional impacts.

Settler Narrative 1: Isolation of Past and Progressive Narratives

History is presented as a series of events that are isolated from our current historical conditions. In other words, history textbooks present narratives that we have solved past social issues. For instance, the textbooks includes the installation of voting rights in 1965 secured voting for Peoples of Color, while ignoring the subsequent laws or policies that restrict who has access to voting. It is the continued expansion of voting rights and the end to suppressive laws and policies that limit who can vote from that historical moment to the present. The fight against gerrymandering is also an important aspect in the expression of a person's vote. However, the way voting rights are presented as a progressive finality, may potentially lead one to conclude that there is no reason to fight for the expansion of voting rights since we, as a nation, solved that problem in 1965. The question, then, is who benefits from the limitation of voting rights? There are numerous answers to this question which are beyond the scope of this research project.

However, I mention this here simply as an example of a critical question that requires an understanding that the past is intimately connected to the present.

This pattern of depicting history as isolated events or a path towards progress veils current struggles that many Indigenous communities face. With settler colonialism in mind, there is a reason why I, as an Ojibwe person, speaks English as his first language and not Ojibwe. The point being that I, and all Indigenous peoples in the Americas, are part of a long-term genocidal program put forth by the settler society. In fact, it is the settler society that benefits from the dispossession and dehumanization it has inflicted upon me and other Indigenous peoples. It allows the settler society access to lands and resources to be utilized only for profit. Again, the importance of underscoring who benefits from the isolation of historical events to our current historical context cannot be understated and educators must be aware of this historiographical tendency. For educators, it is important to counter the isolation of the historical events from the past to the connection to the present by learning and teaching about historiography.

Settler Narrative 2: Positioning History Textbooks as Neutral and Objective

The tendency to describe historical events from seemingly "netural" positions is visible in both history textbooks. For instance, the idea of "Americanization" – a term for assimilation – is applied to Indigenous people and immigrants. In both textbooks, the concepts of assimilation and "Americanization" are described as neutral values without providing a room to question what they mean (see Chapter 5). Furthermore, the value of assimilation was posed on Indigenous peoples and immigrants, who share vastly different background and sociopolitical contexts. In this way, I analyzed how the use of "Americanization" is one move towards settler innocence in Chapter 5. The claim for neutrality is impossible since an institution has decided what information with worthy of being remembered while other information is considered less

important. As I demonstrated in Chapter 4, those institutions are constructed from human beings who have political leanings that have been acquired throughout their personal and professional development.

Settler Narrative 3: Appearance of Authority in History Textbooks

Textbooks have the appearance of authority - something that is reinforced by teachers and administrators - which generate the foundation for normativity. The authority appears in the form of expert authors and other entities with expertise in various areas such as curriculum design. In chapter 4, I analyzed the front matter where the textbooks identify such experts. The explanation as to what makes textbooks a site of settler complicity is the fact that people and organizations that have been identified as experts which limits, or stifles, critical engagement. This, in turn, generates the normalization of settler narratives since other people have decided what is worthy of being remembered and, consequently, what is not worthy of remembrance. Therefore, if I were to give students "only the facts" of any given historical event, it would still be ideological and political as I, as the expert, have decided what students should know or take away from historical events.

Settler Narrative 4: Multidirectional Impacts of Colonization of Memories

Colonization of memories impacts not only Indigenous peoples but non-Indigneous peoples as well. The construction and propagation of the settler narratives tell people who they are in relation to other peoples. Thus, the "great men of history" and our historical intersectional relationships to one another are dependent on our proximity to the settler narratives. Fanon (2004, 2008) directs our attention to how the colonizer must be colonized while colonizing. By identifying whig historiography as the frame for the textbooks, the critical content analysis suggests the settler society wants to be recognized in the most positive of lights despite their

continued occupation of Indigenous peoples' lands. This point, for example, ties into the isolation of the past from the present. It is multidirectional in that it impacts not just the Indigenous and marginalized peoples, but the settler colonizers themselves by being told these stories repeatedly. Through the colonization of memory, the settler society can make use of settler narratives on both the colonizing and the marginalized populations. Different sets of inferences appear to be available to both groups that have the potential to lead people towards a similar conclusion about the settler society.

The settler's narratives are incredibly adept at influencing political perspectives, including the relationship to land. From the western political, philosophical, and economic perspectives, whether it is through capitalism or communism, land is still understood as a site for different forms of production for human consumption, albeit for different reasons and are represented as such. In the textbooks examined, as I discuss in chapter 5, the settler's narratives paint the Indigenous conception of land with an incredible broad stroke that ignores the epistemological and ontological traditions of Indigenous peoples from region to region (Lapsansky-Werner, et al., 2016, 2019). Common rebuttals, a few that I have heard on multiple occasions, is that there is either too much to learn, or that the content is too complicated for the students to learn. These concerns are addressed further in the suggestions for educators section.

Additionally, the settler's narratives can also be used to point to either social progress or the maintenance of tradition; both of which have political consequences. In other words, settler narratives can be used by liberals and conservatives in the broadest sense because they maintain the dominance of the settler society. In terms of social progress, one could easily point towards the extension of voting rights for white women and for minorities, while others could point to the economic development of the United States as a good thing. Both of which ignore the greater

struggles, the exploitation of peoples, lands, and resources that cause suffering and misery while boasting democracy and freedom for those they are appealing to politically; lip service and surface level recognition are considered sufficient. Thus, the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation span the entirety of the political spectrum which is necessary in maintaining the settler society and its positions.

Disrupting the Colonization of Memories

Colonization deeply influences our relationships to the world around us along with the relationships we have with each other as humans which also includes our relationships with land. Likewise, settler colonialism maintains its ideologies and structures on multiple levels; my focus throughout this research project was on settler narratives in history textbooks and how they operate to colonize memories. According to Audra Simpson (2014), "historical memory determines social acknowledgement, recognition of social life in the construction of the present" (p. 43). Moreover, everyday historical memory shapes the perception of (il)legitimacy or foreignness (Simpson, 2014).

Historical memories are mediated through collectively constructed narratives that appear in the textbooks; however, change is still possible. Textbooks have specific content and a framework that are identifiable, which are thus, subject to problematization and critical inquiry. This means, that by extending social studies education to include how to identify historiography in history textbooks can potentially prove to be a powerful mechanism for disrupting settler narratives. Since historical memory connects people to the past and the present, it should come to no surprise how these manifest as public and educational policies which are also potentially subject to change. Thus, settler narratives, as stuck in stone as they seem to be, are tenuous at best.

Connecting the Historical Past and Present Through an Interrogation of Locality

When unsettling settler narratives, it is important to discuss locality to make historical connections between the past and the present real. Land and locality need to be taken into consideration when discussing Indigenous peoples. If, for example, one is in Mount Pleasant, Michigan, one could focus on the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe. This should move beyond the simple question of "whose land are we on?" It should also move beyond a simple land acknowledgement as well. To do this, questions such as "what does it mean to live on the traditional homelands of the Ojibwe peoples?" and "how do we benefit from their removal?" will hopefully highlight the connection between the historical past to the historical present. Also questions concerning the local settler narratives may serve as sites for continued investigation.

In Mount Pleasant, there are three street names that connect the historical past with the historical present: Andres, Arnold, and Leaton (Benz & Williamson, 2005, p. 65). These names are connected to the Betts fraud that was committed through land allotment in the late 1800s where an incredible profit was made for those three men (Benz & Williamson, 2005). This local example highlights just one devastating aspect of settler dispossession: it removed the Saginaw Ojibwe people's land title through the federal government and replaced it with capitalist exploitation of land and resources while reminding everyone of the people who committed these crimes. It would be wise to examine the settler narratives surrounding those men. Are they hailed as important job creators that helped develop Mid-Michigan? Are the stories being told critical of these men who committed fraud? If so, are there any discussions of reparations or the rematriation of land and resource to the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe? These questions are currently beyond the scope of this research project, however, they serve as a prime example of investigating the connections between the historical past and the historical present with locality

in mind. This also assists in the examination of the differences in conceptualization of land and resources. To strengthen the prior example, it would be incredibly important to include tribal members or descendants who have knowledge concerning the Betts fraud and how the Betts fraud has impacted the Saginaw Ojibwe.

A Move Towards Historical Refusal

Since high school history textbooks have settler narratives embedded in them, it is imperative to conceptualize a pedagogical approach designed to challenge settler narratives. The process, historical refusal, seeks to interrogate settler hegemony, and the ways in which settler narratives secure settler futurity. This approach offers a different mode of resistance to settler colonialism in education, primarily through the centering of historiography which highlights and challenges the political positions of settler narratives that are outlined prior to this section.

The Concept of Refusal

Historical refusal is built on the concept of refusal from the Indigenous and decolonial scholars Tuck and Yang (2014), Audra Simpson (2014), and Leanne Simpson (2017). Each of these scholars identify powerful ways in which refusal plays out not only in research and educational contexts, but also how it appears in everyday life. With this concept, I look to extend the scholarship around refusal to history education in the United States through Leanne Simpson's (2017) description of refusal since history education is interconnected with settler colonial domination. The purpose of this is to help pre-service teachers, and ultimately students, to identify and challenge the settler narratives they frequently come across regarding Indigenous people, hence the term, historical refusal. This is the overall objective of historical refusal. In terms of this research project, historical refusal is meant to address the questions about what is to

be done about settler narratives. It lays the foundation for helping pre-service teachers see how the narration of settler colonization has changed over time, but continues to use language, phrases, and other rhetorical devices that (mis)represent Indigenous peoples.

Building on Audra Simpson's conceptualization of refusal, Nishnaabeg scholar, Leanne Simpson (2017) states that refusal is about refusing colonial domination along with whiteness, heteropatriarchy, and the settler institution of education (p. 33). In other words, refusal is about rejecting those phenomena that give the settler society its strength. It is about recognizing how settler colonialism and its institutions have impacted the Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples within its society. I follow Simpson's (2017) conceptualization of refusal because it also includes room for Indigenous epistemological and ontological traditions (p. 33). To extend the reach of refusal in academia, it is imperative that we understand how the settler institution of education seeks to influence its population through education. In other words, refusal, provides a path for Indigenous scholars, peoples, and communities, opportunities for survivance. In this sense, it is connected to the notions of (mis)recognition as presented by Fanon (1963, 1967) and Coulthard (2014) that seeks to highlight how the notions of (mis)recognition are prevalent within the settler narratives, and the politics of representation.

Moreover, this position understands that the settler narratives inform the political policies that either expand or contract the rights of peoples within the settler society based on the ever-changing narratives that are created, adopted, and maintained by the settler society. Thus, the politics, economics, and culture are maintained through the politics of representation and are predicated on white supremacy and those institutions that uphold white supremacy. Therefore, historical refusal is not just a challenge to the politics of representation of the past, it also works to identify and inspire change in our current era.

The important thing to remember about the concept of (mis)recognition is that it is necessarily broad which means that historical refusal is not simply meant for analyzing the dialectical categorizations of settlers and Indigenous peoples but should also include the concepts of race and racism, sexism, homophobia, white supremacy, and xenophobia along with empire, imperialism, colonialism, and class analyses. It is meant to interrogate the continued propagation of the settler narratives that occupy what and how we think of the dominant and the marginalized in relation to one another. It is the settler's institutions that determine which perspectives are legitimate and worthy of learning or remembering.

Historical refusal also provides room for Indigenous peoples to critique settler colonization, its narratives, and its institutions. Simpson (2017) poignantly explains that Indigenous critiques are valid and vital to resisting settler colonialism and its machinations (p. 31). Historical refusal also understands the dialectical, phenomenological change through time and the adaptation to new circumstances. This perspective acknowledges that the dominant institutions will use the discourse of social justice to reduce and redeploy its own conceptualizations of social issues that cause confusion or miscommunication between academia and the general population to the benefit of the status quo. For example, the concept of racism is often tied only to overt acts of racism while diminishing micro aggressions and other manifestations of implicit racism. To disrupt this overwhelming onslaught, it is necessary to develop an approach that draws attention to the not only the themes and patterns found within the settler narratives but to also ask a general, yet critical guiding question, "who benefits from the politics of (mis)representation, and in what ways?" This perspective is not intended to focus solely on the genocidal brutality on Indigenous peoples. It is also meant to provide evidence and stories of Indigenous survivance in the face of settler genocide. Following Bigelow (2003), it is

important to ask what it is we can do to make this world a better place, rather, I think a better question may be what can we do to make positive, gradual changes towards securing Indigenous futurity?

Pedagogical Possibilities of Historical Refusal

In developing historical refusal, the question of where to start is always important. In the following paragraphs, I will outline what I think is necessary for students, especially, pre-service teachers to begin the historical refusal process. First, pre-service teachers need to move beyond the dominant conceptualization of ideology and how ideology operates. In other words, the prevailing, reductive understanding of the word to mean a system of beliefs must be challenged in a way that demonstrates how, as people, we are socialized into particular ways of thinking and being. In connection to this idea, is the need to oppose the individualization of ideology; to teach that ideologies do not exist in a vacuum. We must also oppose the popular notion of "all ideas and opinions are equally valid." This should be guided by our principles as teachers. One strategy that I have used before includes asking simple questions, "Are racist ideas equally valid?" "What if these ideas inform political action?" The purpose of this is to demonstrate how ideology informs the notion of politics which has a significant impact on the population. In this case, politics is not simply identifying whether a position is liberal or conservative. Politics, more aptly, are the ideologies that justify either the expansion or contraction of the rights of peoples within a society. With the amalgamation of ideology, politics, and how they inform one another at hand, we can begin to look at topics such as historiography for pre-service teachers.

This is followed by the learning of historiography for pre-service teachers. Historiography, or the recording, writing and presentation of history, is complex with variety of schools of thought that continually strive for institutional and public legitimacy. This need not be

a daunting undertaking. The purpose of historiography for pre-service teachers is to assist in their understanding that history education is not politically neutral, and to answer the questions as to why certain topics are discussed while other topics receive minimal attention or are completely ignored. Michel-Rolph Trouillo's (2015) work on historiography may prove to be a valuable instrument along with Hoefferle's (2011) book that provides a historiographical overview of schools of thought in history. The power of each of these works demonstrates how the recording and retelling of history is not just a political act, but also reflects our understanding of past events in the present. Nevertheless, historiography for pre-service teachers will hopefully allow for the identification of historiographical perspectives such as Marxist, feminist, Whig, and so on, which assist in understanding who defines the movement of history.

Historiography is necessary for pre-service and in-service social studies teachers. Historiography is clearly linked to the topics of the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation. Guiding questions such as, "who decides what should be remembered and how did they determine the criteria?" "who benefits from this type of knowledge (re)production?" And "who benefits from this sort of representation?" "Who or what is missing from the narrative or story being told about the issue or the event?" I refer to this process of learning about the colonization of memory as an introduction to historical refusal which leaves room to address the incompleteness of the settler's narratives. Discourse and content analysis may assist in clarifying the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation as they allow for an interrogation into the dichotomy of what is either present or absent. When something is present in the historical narrative, what exactly is being said? Likewise, when something is absent, what is being acknowledged or ignored? Since settler colonialism is predicated on the genocide of Indigenous peoples for the sake of land, resources,

and labor acquisition and extraction for profit, it is imperative that critical scholars, teacher educators, and educators in general need to interrogate the settler's historiography.

With the combination of the ideology, politics, and historiography at hand, it is assumed the pre-service teachers will have a better understanding of politics in education and the role politics play in determining what is worthy of being remembered and propagated. In other words, they begin to understand the politics of knowledge (re)production. With these concepts in mind, it is recommended to engage in a tertiary analysis of the curricula with the pre-service teachers. The purpose of this is to continue to demonstrate how history education is not neutral. Not only does the selective tradition play a significant role in determining which historical information should be remembered, school boards and other institutions, have an invested interest in influencing curricula and reflecting their ideas of what constitutes a sufficient history.

While going through these topics, there are a few methodological approaches that can help students further their analysis. I recommend discourse analysis and content analysis as starting points as each of these particular approaches allow for an analysis of asymmetrical social power that includes the topic being discussed and the ways in which the topics are described. When doing a short textbook analysis example with pre-service teachers a number of years ago, I asked the students about the word "civilization." I deconstructed the word and asked what is meant by the word civilization and asked to whom it applied. Unsurprisingly, they talked about European civilizations and when I inquired about the characteristics, the students focused on technology and technological advances. I then directed their attention back to the textbook, and to no surprise, an American history textbook identified technology as the main difference between Europe and the rest of the world. With the focus on technology being the determining factor in characterizing a civilization, I then drew their attention to the Mayan and Aztec

civilizations which had sophisticated technology; including powerful farming techniques, city planning, and architecture as brief examples. Suddenly, there was a collective shift in their understanding of how the word "civilization" has been applied in a very narrow manner that favored the white supremacist narrative. This example demonstrates that discourse analysis may prove to beneficial to pre-service teachers. Especially, in terms of illuminating the politics of representation.

It should be noted that historical refusal is not, nor should not, be considered a panacea to settler colonialism. It should also be noted that it is not the only way to help pre-service teachers develop a critical consciousness around the historical information they have, and are, continually consuming. Historical refusal is meant to assist decolonial and anti-colonial efforts. It looks to expand the reach to include more people into the de/anti-colonial practices. The reason this for this is to begin the process of assisting the colonized, colonizer in understanding how their positions affect Indigenous peoples. This process is not meant to re-center the settler. Rather, this process is meant to demonstrate the historical, interconnected relationships between the settler society, Black Americans, and Indigenous Americans. There is also room for immigrants to refuse the manifestations of white supremacy in history education, in this approach as well. It should also be noted that any work that challenges deeply held beliefs will generate resistance. However, we should be reminded that this is part of the struggle for liberation. To give up on those who do not immediately share our views is to have a lack of faith in the ability for people to change. We must still hold them responsible and accountable along the way. Thus, historical refusal is less about converting people to think a certain way and more about helping people develop a stronger, more critical stance on the master narratives to which they are exposed.

Pedagogical Suggestions for Educators

In terms of disputing settler narratives, the Zinn Education Project (ZEP) provides numerous outlines and materials that assist teachers in discussing colonization with students. It is a wonderful resource for pre-service and in-service teachers who are interested in screening settler narratives. The Zinn Education Project designed a people's pedagogy where more perspectives are brought in to demonstrate the complexity of history and historical events (Zinn Education Project, 2020). To develop this approach, the ZEP critique of standard textbooks provided similar insights into the construction and representation of historical events; primarily the idea that history is a series of progressive events, that history is not neutral, and that movers of history are the peoples themselves, not the great men of history (Zinn Education Project, 2020). The Zinn Education Project has a collection of free teaching materials. Teachers and educators are clearly working on how to help students make sense of colonization. One incredibly important point the people's pedagogy emphasizes is that it is not to inundate students with stories of brutality committed against marginalized peoples. The main difference between the people's pedagogy and what I am calling historical refusal is the approach to examining the neutrality, or "objectivity," of history. Talking about historiography can only further help teachers and students understand why textbooks present historical events in the way they are described. It would also explain why certain peoples and events are given more room, while others are marginalized or ignored.

The Zinn Education Project also places emphasis on narratives that highlight justice and equity. This is in contrast to the CRF website that looks to create "engaged citizenry" through the maintenance of its political, cultural, and economic institutions by using its selective tradition on history and civics as the foundation for its citizens. More specifically, the pedagogical approach

from the Zinn Education Project, looks "…to nurture active citizens, rather than consumers," which understands the importance of history and civics, however, it is more concerned with positive social change rather than the maintenance of the current system (Zinn Education Project, 2020). The primary difference is that the CRF website promotes the C3 Framework which is based on helping students survive and support the current system we have in place; to maintain the status quo instead of changing it. The Zinn Education Project has stronger materials that seem to challenge conventional knowledge and promote positive social change by reconceptualizing history and social studies as vital instruments in securing justice and its extensions. Although both look to create active or engaged citizens, the ways in which they go about presenting information is fundamentally different. Thus, as educators we must also continue to explore who defines the purpose of history or social studies education as this may impact our curricular decisions. As educators, we must ask ourselves what we believe the purpose of history or social studies ought to be, and to find ways to make changes towards those ideas.

If educators find themselves concerned about co-opting Indigenous perspectives, they can still assist Indigenous peoples by beginning to challenge settler narratives about Indigenous peoples which may also avoid decolonial co-optation as well. The following is a prime example of how challenging settler narratives can indirectly impact Indigenous peoples. Bill Bigelow's (2003) lesson on Columbus reveals numerous overlapping ideas that correspond to the historical refusal approach. Bigelow's (2003) work starts by opening with two primary concerns. Specifically, that textbooks are imbued with an inherent claim to authority and that textbooks lie through omission, or perhaps more aptly, through the selective tradition that serves as the foundation for the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation. Next,

the lesson plan interrogates the notion of Columbus discovering America through a tertiary discourse analysis of the word "discovery" as used by the textbooks (Bigelow, 2003). To further contextualize "discovery," the use of primary sources to demonstrate how Europeans thought of the Indigenous peoples they met, in what we now refer to as the Caribbean islands. The students also see how the selective tradition works firsthand as the textbook conclude with Columbus' first expedition and ignores his return. The purpose of this pedagogical practice is not to bring about disgust, but to provoke an important question: "Why wasn't I told this before?" (Bigelow, 2003, p. 13). Lastly, Bigelow (2003) explains that the purpose of this particular exercise is to help students interrogate the politics of print and to equip students with the ability to analyze an author's assumptions along with determining what may be useful (p. 20). This work lays the foundation for further, and perhaps, more explicit discussions of the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation. The critical analysis of historiography and how it serves the colonization of memory are important sites for decolonial and anti-colonial struggles. Bigelow (2003) ends with a call for assisting students when they take a critical step backwards when analyzing textbooks; however, one question that briefly eluded my own work which has stuck with me concerns improving the conditions in which we live, "How can I make it better?" (p. 21).

Bigelow's (2003) work demonstrates something that I had suspected to be obvious; that students can handle learning and applying both discourse and content analysis. Furthermore, Bigelow's (2003) lesson plan also highlights the positives of doing critical work with students, however, he also notes the negative side of this as well which manifests in the form of students' resistance towards learning things that challenge their previously constructed world view. As previously mentioned, settler affect is potent. Thus, we must not be afraid of student resistance as

it may prove to be an important point for learning for not only the student at hand, but the other students, and just as importantly, for us, as educators and teachers. Our reactions to the resistance are vitally important; what we do in these situations may allow anti-colonial or decolonial seeds to either flourish or perish. Thus, the relationship to the settler and the anti-colonial is one that must be taken into consideration before, during, and after these epistemological and ontological reorganizing efforts. Students' resistance is something educators should plan to address in their respective classrooms. We, as educators, must understand that the struggle for Indigenous futurity is not easy.

Finally, as educators continue to teach against the grain, we must be ready for resistance from pre-service and in-service teachers. It would be wise to remember that we are asking them to unlearn the various things they have learned and understand to be "true." Critical works like this tell students they have been lied to primarily lying through omission; this is a heavy accusation. There is the possibility of individuals having developed emotional attachments to particular historical narratives. It has been my experience that when I acknowledge the difficulty in learning something shocking, contradictory, or otherwise opposite to what students have learned in the past, that this helps students understand that what I am doing is not advocating for a change through indoctrination; I am trying to teach with integrity and honesty which are important Ojibwe concepts found in the Seven Grandfather Teachings.

Part of these teachings tell us not to interrupt another individuals' path in life provided they do not harm others. I make it a point to tell them they have the option to do what they will with the knowledge they have received. The point, then, is to plant the seed of critical engagement with historical narratives. It is my hope that it survives and thrives. Bigelow's (2003) work has the potential to positively influence how students think - and what they have

been told to think - about Indigenous peoples; albeit from an indirect approach that nonetheless can generate empathy for Indigenous peoples - or at least the seeds of empathy.

The most important point of this section is not to underestimate the curiosity and intellectual rigor that students, in the broadest sense, have especially when they are dealing with new perspectives. We should not let hierarchical tendencies color our perspectives of students' abilities. According to the Ojibwe teachings I have learned, we should not undermine the value of different, or perhaps, new perspectives; we must be aware that change will happen with time. If the lessons are not learned immediately, it is absolutely acceptable. It is only unacceptable to the capitalist, imperialist, white supremacist, settler colonial society that molds the vast majority of people into cogs that fit into its machinery. Thus, to take this approach is to embrace anti-colonial and/or decolonial measures that oppose settler colonial ways of being and knowing. With this in mind, teacher educators should think about their values regarding education. Teacher educators must also consider how they might cultivate those values in themselves and their respective students. As teacher educators, we must also find ways to include in-service teachers as well.

The Turtle Island Social Studies Collective is a group dedicated educators that are looking to counter colonialism to center Indigenous voices within social studies. They provide a lesson plan for teachers titled, "Beyond Pocahontas: Learning from Indigenous Women Changemakers," that helps young learners examine historical and cultural inaccuracies in the Disney movie, Pocahontas (Turtle Island Social Studies Collective, 2022). Their website also provides additional resources for educators and parents who are looking for more information regarding Indigenous education. Some of which includes books and other forms of media that promote Indigenous voices (Turtle Island Social Studies Collective, 2022). Historical refusal

would complement their work as it is a method of interrogating settler narratives and generating questions and critiques surrounding settler representation.

It is important to center Indigenous epistemologies and advocate nation-building within Indigenous communities which can be accomplished by reframing curriculum and pedagogy. For instance, Indigenous Social Justice Pedagogy (ISJP) understands Indigenous students as integral actors who have the capacity to protect Indigenous languages, cultures, and communities. ISJP is a framework for rethinking and reconceptualizing the schooling process for Indigenous students (Shirly, 2017). Shirley (2017) argues that educators, in their various learning contexts, must be intentional in building a curriculum around Indigenous issues and concerns while making strong connections to the conditions of Indigenous communities created by settler colonization. Therefore, the education provided to youth seeks to empower their actions while simultaneously sustaining their communities. The curriculum and pedagogical practices reflect two important aspects: telling historical truths while helping students work through the emotional aspects. Furthermore, ISJP also provides space for theorizing and the co-construction of curriculum (Shirley, 2017). Regarding curriculum, historical refusal offers students a possible way of addressing settler curriculum through an interrogation of the construction and content of settler narratives found in US history textbooks. By determining the purpose of education, the framing of the settler narrative through historiography, and an examination of the content, it is my hope that students learn how to address settler narratives through an inspection of their textbooks.

In a similar vein, Red Praxis centers Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies to reaffirm, reclaim, and (re)story Indigenous relationships to place-land. It also requires teachers to deepen their understandings of the settler and indigenous futurity dialectic where change between the two occurs through space and time (Garcia, Shirly, & Grande, 2021). When taking

the settler and indigenous futurity into consideration, historical refusal allows students and teachers or educators to examine how settler narratives have changed through time. Historical refusal assists in identifying patterns of change within settler narratives and how those changes provide moves to settler innocence. By identifying the patterns of change, Indigenous futurity can plan its resistance to settler futurity.

Additionally, the work Valerie Shirley (Diné) and Jeremy Garcia (Hopi) have put forth has been powerful and inspiring to me, as an Ojibwe person and scholar. From working with them, I have learned about the power of Indigenous epistemology and ontology in educational contexts that support positive social change, for and within, Indigenous communities. For example, reciprocity served as an important catalyst in the conduction of their research studies where their motivation was, and continues to be, for the benefit of their communities (Garcia & Shirley, 2012). Thus, they conducted their research in respectful and ethical manners that bolster their communities' educational needs and objectives (Garcia & Shirley, 2012). When thinking about historical refusal, it does not necessarily contribute to reciprocity directly. However, it may assist in developing an awareness on the falsehoods found in settler narratives which may open vistas to reciprocity.

Incorporating Historical Refusal: A Brief Example

The following is a brief example of how historical refusal can operate not only as an analytical approach, but also as a decolonial or anti-colonial assertion. According to the fifth tenet of TribalCrit, "stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being" (Brayboy, 2005, p. 430). It is here that I will discuss the Ojibwe conceptualization of land through an Ojibwe perspective. I begin this section not with a retelling of the Ojibwe creation story nor simply the definition of land. To

understand the Ojibwe conceptualization of land, it is necessary to identify some of the themes that conceptualization of land may entail. The stories, and ultimately, the ideas expressed in them, demonstrate how Ojibwe ontological and epistemological perspectives add layers of phenomenological complexity to the concept of land. Before moving into the explanation of land, it is important to identify two incredibly difficult tasks ahead. First, the information that is being shared regarding land comes from the collective knowledge of Ojibwe peoples of the past and the present. Although, I am citing one Ojibwe author, it is not a rejection of other Ojibwe voices, rather, it is an acknowledgement of the plethora of Ojibwe voices that are being called upon. The settler institution of education, including the parameters of research, dictate the rules and guidelines of how credit should be given to authors, but does not necessarily address how we as researchers give credit to the people in which these ideas and conceptualizations originate. Since I am using the settler language of English, the difficulty of describing this section is predicated on making sure that land is not reduced to a romanticized, settler conceptualization of Indigenous epistemological and ontological perspectives on land, but to indeed explain the fundamental differences between Ojibwe and settler notions of land. It is through these two particular difficulties that I attempt to explain the Ojibwe conceptualization of land.

It is important to understand that there are powerful levels of interconnectedness between the people, the land, the living creatures, and the other phenomena found in the universe. Additionally, these items are related temporally and spatially; they exist through time, space, and place. Thus, history is clearly a human endeavor worthy of our understanding, and just as important, our critical self-reflection where the Seven Grandfather teachings guide our collective understanding of the past, the present, and the future; there are always teachings to learn from

(Benton-Banai, 1988). It is through these interconnected relationships as informed by Ojibwe epistemologies and ontologies that the notion of land is discussed.

One striking characteristic about land, and more precisely, the Earth, is that the designation of womanhood and the idea that the Earth is our mother; all life comes from her. The water is conceptualized as her blood that flows, nourishes, and purifies her. On top of this, the Earth preceded humans as well (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 2). The Ojibwe epistemological and ontological conceptualizations of land and Earth are characterized through the very real understanding of personhood. This begs a fundamental question about how do we, as Ojibwe people, orient ourselves toward land and the Earth? From the Ojibwe stories I heard, and with continued conversations with my father over the years, the Earth is our home and we, as Ojibwe people, are its stewards. From the Ojibwe perspective, we as humans, are all related to each other and to all other living and non-living things in our universe (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 4). Therefore, the interconnected relationship we have with each other and with the Earth itself, describe a facet of Ojibwe epistemological and ontological positions.

To continue the discussion of land is to understand the abundantly different relationships between the Earth, land, people, animals, and insects. Land, for instance, has a relationship with the Four Sacred Directions that are imbued with physical and spiritual powers that contribute to the wholeness of the Earth (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 2). The Creator sent birds, who were his singers, to Earth to carry the seeds of life in all four of the directions. Afterward, the Creator placed the swimming creatures in the water and gave life to the plants and insects. Later, He placed the four-legged animals on the land – all of the life forms lived in harmony (Benton-Banai, 1998, p. 2). The spring gave new life, the summer produced new seeds, the fall signaled change, and the winter brought the purifying snow where some plants died while others fell into

a deep sleep (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 7). The four seasons generate a cyclical pattern of life, death, and rebirth for all life forms at different points in time. According to Ojibwe epistemology and ontology, at one point in human history, harmonious relationships between land, animals, insects, and people existed. Therefore, refusal has the power to support decolonial efforts because its focus on history education intersections with other decolonial methodologies.

Further Research Initiatives

The approach to historical refusal that I describe above was developed with pre-service and in-service teachers in mind. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I was not able to apply this approach in a classroom setting with either pre-service or in-service teachers. Without these participants, it is difficult to know how, or if, the approach will be effective in supporting decolonial or anti-colonial efforts. Despite this short coming, it does leave a window open for future research. Moreover, this also leaves room for conceptualizing how to approach resistance and negative emotions that may arise when immersed in projects that generate critical consciousness.

Furthermore, I am curious to know how an approach like this may work with middle school or high school students. From Bigelow's (2003) example, it is clear that high school students can handle content and discourse analysis which has had some effect on the students. However, I am curious to know what the long-term consequences of such an approach. This stems from my work as a teacher and my experiences as a student learning history. I, along with the students I have worked with in the past, have asked similar questions such as, "who writes history?" and "why do the authors talk about certain events but ignore others?" From my current understanding of education, it is in middle school and high school where the concepts of ideology and politics begin to take stronger, identifiable shapes for students.

Along this same vein, I am also interested in learning how this approach may assist in illuminating other prominent social issues such as anti-Blackness and patriarchy as examples. Even with these in mind, it appears that whiteness and white supremacy are at the nexus of settler colonialism and other forms of oppression in the United States. Understanding how these phenomena intersect, or how they are interconnected to one another may also prove to be a valuable instrument in highlighting historical entanglement; how we as a population are historically connected to one another. If we look at the state standards and common core standards, we may find ways to encourage critical thinking. Additionally, this means more work on settler narratives is necessary. The connections between anti-Blackness and anti-Indigenous sentiments in the United States appear to be connected through white supremacy. Therefore, investigations between anti-Blackness and anti-Indigenous sentiments found in settler narratives can increase the range of both decolonial and anti-colonial works in education.

Finally, what is to be done about settler narratives? Beyond the historiographical approach to uncovering settler narratives it is necessary to develop a process for (re)humanizing Indigenous peoples. One of my mentors, Dr. Valerie Shirley, demonstrated the power of empathy in her multicultural teacher education course. It is this first-hand experience learning how generating empathy can assist pre-service teachers change the way they conceptualize or come to understand marginalized peoples that inspires positive change. With this in mind, developing and cultivating empathy may be necessary in (re)humanizing Indigenous peoples which, from Dr. Shirley's and my work with pre-service teachers, appears promising.

Concluding Thoughts

I also need to address my positionality. At this point in time, I am still reclaiming my Ojibwe language and cultural practices, teachings, and understandings. I have only been engaged

with this side of my way of being for a little over four years, which has been an on-again, off-again process. My decolonial path is a difficult path. As an Ojibwe *inini*, living in an urban context away from those traditional teachings, those elders, and those communities is by settler design. My current understanding, of myself in relation to the settler colonial present, is something that will change as I move forward. It means that my path, although it is not where I, or others, would want it to be, will progressively change towards an Ojibwe worldview. In this sense, I am a pathfinder and from the Ojibwe perspective the path is sacred. From an Ojibwe perspective, it is ok for me to be where I am at currently. To disrupt this path is to ignore its sacredness; just as settler colonization intended. Education is a life-long process and part of that process is the reclaimation of my Ojibwe ways of knowing and being. I will get there eventually. As Simpson (2017) reminds us it is ok for Indigenous scholars to use the conventions of the academy to critique settler colonialism and advance Indigenous futurity and liberation. She also poignantly tells us that Indigenous systems of knowledge provide us with equally powerful and valid critiques of settler colonialism (p. 31). "Many of us do both at the same time" (Simpson, 2017, p. 31). This is what I am learning, this is what I am moving towards. Although this is a little out of place, my future research initiatives will continue to bring in my Ojibwe ways of knowing and being which includes critiques of settler colonialism.

Since this is the context in which I developed, it is the one that I know best which is what drives my interest in settler colonialism, its narratives, and its institutions that continually plague Indigenous futurity. It is both a personal and professional endeavor. The use of TribalCrit permitted a deeper analysis of the settler institution of education through its first tenet as described in the literature review. In terms of the Indigenous-Settler futurity dialectic, it reminds us that decolonization is not simply a rejection of the settler's ways of knowing and being, but

the assertion of Indigenous humanity along with our respective epistemological and ontological traditions in the forefront with the care and well-being of our communities in mind; these are necessary in our struggle for Indigenous futurity and sovereignty.

As powerful as Tribal Critical Race Theory is, at times, I felt disassociated from it and from my Indigeneity. This, I suspect, has more to do with growing up in an urban context away from those Ojibwe ways of knowing and being where I was not necessarily able to really center my Ojibwe heritage as much as I would have preferred. However, I have found that a reflection on the Seven Grandfather Teachings have provided guidance throughout this dissertation process. It is through compassion, one of the Seven Grandfather Teachings, that I seek to cultivate care and empathy in others. It is through honesty, integrity, and respect that I put forth the effort to move toward securing Indigenous futurity without causing further harm to others. If harm does arise, how do we assist in healing while creating new understandings for others. I want to make clear, this is not a nod to Western or American notion of liberalism or the colloquial adage of being "open-minded" along with other popular liberal positions. This is an Ojibwe principled position that is guided by the Seven Grandfather Teachings, the Medicine Wheel Teachings, and an understanding of the Red Road.

Historical refusal is not the only way to combat settler colonialism in education. This is just one way in which settler colonialism can be addressed and challenged (see Simpson, 2017). There are other tremendous works in both decolonial, and anti-colonial works in education that were discussed in the literature review that speak to the various ways, critical Indigenous scholars, and critical scholars in compliance with Indigenous scholars and communities have continued to promote survivance. I advocate for the historical refusal approach due to the current US historical context; at a time when history is being mythologized and providing justifications

for continued acts of violence. This mythologizing practice generates settler affect. Although I have identified pride, other emotions are available to the settler society as well. As previously stated, historical refusal assists in illustrating how the mythologized, settler narratives function through institutions and through its collective population along with providing reasons as to why it is necessary to challenge those narratives.

This research project has illustrated the depth in which settler colonialism insulates itself against Indigenous futurity. The settler society cares deeply about what its population thinks about it, and its history which attempts to weave the general public into its fabric. The purpose of this is to bring about settler affect that generates strong associative feelings with the settler society and its institutions that maintain the settler's positions. The settler society accomplishes this through its institutions where it makes use of the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation to create its narratives and stories, about itself, for itself an in relation to other marginalized peoples within its borders. This is politically advantageous for the settler society as it is able to lock people into its grips from the left and right; this widens the attack on Indigenous peoples and futurity through Western conceptualizations that are antithetical to Indigenous notions of liberation.

Along those same lines, we need to also underscore the violence that the colonization of memory takes on the marginalized within settler borders, when stories of violence against marginalized peoples are discussed primarily on a surface level. This strategy is necessary as part of the narrative the settler institution of education seeks to perpetuate is one of progress, thus, violence from the past is not necessary to examine and is disconnected to the violence of the present. This form of violence also tells the marginalized how they should see themselves in relation to the white settler society. When examining the settler violence inflicted on the "Sioux"

the textbooks present a narrative that states violence came from both sides but is then quick to point out that it was started by the "Sioux" attacking the white settlers in Minnesota. However, there was nothing about the settlers continued encroachment on Indigenous peoples' lands and the other issues that stemmed from those actions. Thus, this message sends a particular message to both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike.

Teacher educators must make a conscious effort to challenge settler colonialism and its institution of education. To repeat the previous point, it is important for teacher educators to encourage pre-service and in-service teachers to work with the local Indigenous community members. This must be done to ensure the activities and information are culturally and historically acceptable; it must avoid the settler surface level multicultural approaches. The settler multicultural lessons need to be vetted as they may perpetuate settler representations. Mask making or giving students "Indian names" perpetuate settler understandings of Indigenous peoples that undermine our own epistemological and ontological traditions.

This research project has demonstrated just how deep and wide the settler narratives run. The narratives are carefully constructed that the historical past is reduced to events that should be remembered in a particular way. This means that the connection between the historical past and the historical present is thoroughly divorced. As an example, most people do not realize that Civil Rights activist, Ruby Bridges, is 66 years old at the time of writing this chapter. Yet, her story is constructed as something that occurred and ended while she was a child attending a desegregated school. I remember the shock the pre-service teachers had when I told them she was alive and well to which some of the pre-service teachers thought Ruby Bridges must have been in her 80s or 90s. This is a glimpse of the immense power Whig historiography and settler narratives have on us as a population. Although I am aware of this temporal reductivity in Whig

historiography and settler narratives, I, too, find myself caught up in this as well. Thus, as a researcher and teacher educator, I must keep this historiographical tendency at the forefront of future works.

Settler affect may prove to be one of the biggest obstacles. We must consider the reactions we get from students who may have never heard stories or narratives that counter the dominant ones they have heard their entire lives. It should be no surprise that affect, or other positive feelings toward the settler society, would generate varying levels of resistance which we must be prepared to understand and accept if we are to help those students move forward. We must not let students, whomever they may be, sit and stew in anger or frustration, we must actively guide them through those despondent feelings. It is through empathy and compassion that we must engage with resistant students, not anger and frustration. We must also remember that time is also necessary for the students to process or synthesize the new information. The students may not change their minds in the course of a semester, but hopefully, down the road they may reconsider those ideas, conceptualizations, and stories, they have heard.

The colonization of memory and its contributing factors, the politics of knowledge (re)production and the politics of representation, that consolidate in Whig historiography in the United States, provide an almost insurmountable obstruction to Indigenous futurity. Despite the institutional power of the historical selective tradition, there is a multitude of challenges to the settler institution of education – its curricula and curricular materials – that speak to the refusal of accepting the settler society's stories that are continuously (re)produced and circulated. The plethora of decolonial and anti-colonial works from BIPOC scholars, their communities, and communities of survivance from the past, present, and future, are a clear testament to the rehumanization efforts of oppressed peoples. The critical analysis of these textbooks has

provided another avenue to resist the colonization of memory and the physical manifestation of settler expansion. By identifying the ways in which settler colonialism has taken form in the past, it is my hope that historical refusal can assist in identifying how settler expansion operates in our current era.

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