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## Manifesting Destiny: Re/presentations of Indigenous Peoples in K–12 U.S. History Standards

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**Abstract:** In this mixed-methods study, we use a postcolonial framework to investigate how state standards represent Indigenous histories and cultures. The research questions that guided this study include: (a) What is the frequency of Indigenous content (histories, cultures, current issues) covered in state-level U.S. history standards for K–12? (b) What is the difference between the frequency of inclusion of pre-1900 Indigenous content and post-1900 Indigenous content in U.S. history standards for K–12? (c) How do the standards depict Indigenous Peoples in U.S. history? U.S. history curriculum standards from all 50 states and the District of Columbia were analyzed using within-case analysis and quantified to represent each state’s depiction of Indigenous content. Findings reveal that standards overwhelmingly present Indigenous Peoples in a pre-1900 context and relegate the importance and presence of Indigenous Peoples to the distant past.

**Keywords:** American history, Indigenous studies, postcolonial theory, social studies standards, state standards

Debates about how the story of the United States is told, what content is included in that narrative, and who has the power to shape it have been central to the social studies since the discipline’s inception over a century ago (Evans, 2004, 2006; McCarthy, 1990; Thornton, 1991). Supporters of a more conservative view of American history work to silence minority experiences

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and historical narratives that do not support a united American master narrative (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995). Such narratives convey overt and covert messages to students about who we are as a nation (Alridge, 2006; Brown & Brown, 2010; Lintner, 2007). For example, Journell (2009b) found state standards tell a traditional, Euro-American narrative of immigration in the United States that largely ignores historical and current acts of xenophobia and discrimination across the country. Similarly, Noboa's (2012) study of the Texas standards found the pro-Euro-American narrative extended to the teaching of world history by, for example, the limited coverage of Mesoamerican contributions to Mexico and Texas. A Eurocentric narrative causes fissures in society, lacking complexity and excluding alternative voices from the official story of the United States.

Despite recent movements to address social justice issues and the one-sided nature of U.S. history textbooks, social studies scholarship routinely finds that Euro-American voices dominate textbooks and content standards, which ultimately also influence classroom experiences (Alridge, 2006; Barton & Levstik, 2004; Cornbleth, 2002; Epstein, 2009; Foner, 2010; Grant, 2003; Lintner, 2007; Symcox, 2002; Thornton, 1991, 2008; VanSledright, 2002, 2011; Wineburg, 2001). Brown and Brown's (2010) study of elementary and middle school social studies textbooks found that while textbooks sometimes graphically described the horrors of slavery and the Middle Passage, they failed to adequately address the long-lasting impact of institutionalized racism on the lives of Black Americans in the United States. They concluded that "what students learn, and fail to learn, will impact the sociocultural knowledge base they will develop about the role race and racial equality played, and continue to play, in the United States" (pp. 150–151). In a related study, Vasquez-Heilig, Brown, and Brown (2012) reviewed the Texas standards and found only 33% of the standards specifically addressed issues related to the lived experiences of individuals and groups of color with the majority focusing on Blacks and Latinos. Indigenous Peoples were only represented in 4% of the Texas standards. These standards certainly "fail to provide the historical knowledge and conceptual tools needed to make sense of the elusive, complex, and institutionalized nature of race inequality" (p. 420). Furthermore, Journell (2009a) found state standards in California, Georgia, Indiana, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Virginia focused more on the oppression and emancipation of Black Americans than their societal and cultural contributions in the United States. Specifically, Journell found these states portrayed slavery as an "undesirable occurrence in American history that was eventually rectified" by the Civil War, Civil Rights Movement, and ultimately the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (p. 46). Likewise, Anderson and Metzger (2011) found standards in Michigan, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Virginia failed to engage students in a critical study of racialized identities and racial tensions during the Civil War and Reconstruction. These studies point to a persistent trend in textbook and curriculum-making to silence racial inequality in the story of the United States.

Few research studies, however, address the frequency and contexts of Indigenous Peoples' histories, cultures, and current issues in U.S. history standards. First, Journell (2009a) found that state standards halt their coverage of Indigenous cultures and histories after the implementation of forced relocation policies in the 1830s and prescribed "to a traditional version of history that identifies American Indians as victims and marginalizes them by failing to identify key individuals or examples of societal contributions" (p. 28). Second, Anderson (2012) compared Arizona's and Washington's standards portrayal of Indigenous Peoples. While Arizona's standards simplified the narrative of Indigenous–American relations based on the economic, political, and social development of the United States, Washington's standards created an accessible binary narrative for the telling of historical and current issues. Anderson determined that "curriculum policy work necessarily involves choices and trade-offs about what a society deems most important for its children to learn" (p. 506). These tensions are inherently bound within unique contexts of the state. Ultimately, both studies demonstrated that the states in question promoted a Eurocentric narrative of Indigenous Peoples' experiences in U.S. history.

The purpose of this article is to investigate the frequency of and kinds of Indigenous Peoples-related content in K–12 U.S. history standards. We argue, based on the findings of this study, that students are denied opportunities to unpack re/presentations of Indigenous histories, cultures, and current issues within the current standardized curriculum. By understanding the ways in which state-level standards include—or exclude—Indigenous histories, cultures, and current issues in U.S. history, we hope to begin a critical dialogue about the implications of standardized curriculum for social studies.

We initially draw on Au's (2009) definition of social justice in which "[s]ocial studies for social justice actively seeks to recognize the diversity of the world and the *complexities* associated with issues of racism, sexism, class oppression, and other forms of inequality" (p. 25, emphasis added). We then connect this concept of social justice within a larger postcolonial analysis of hegemony. This approach to analysis provided avenues for sense-making of the historical content and narratives embedded across the state standards.

### **Positioning the Researchers Within the Research**

We acknowledge that we are members of the dominant culture of the United States and the academy. We further recognize the historical tensions surrounding White men and women in Indigenous research contexts. For example, non-Indigenous scholars have written approximately 90% of the literature related to the study of Indigenous contexts (Fixico, 1998). We have often been asked how we came up with the idea for this study. Sarah Shear, the lead author on this article, was a 2nd-year doctoral student in social studies education and had completed a series of readings on re/presentations of Indigenous Peoples

in social studies textbooks, and so she proposed the idea because she wanted to “have a better understanding” of how Indigenous Peoples’ cultures and histories were presented in state-level standards. We began the study with the support of our advisor and co-author, Antonio J. Castro, and it took 2 years to complete.

This study has been a labor of love for each of us over the past 2 years, and we find inspiration in McCaslin and Breton’s call for reflexivity on the part of non-Indigenous Peoples working in Indigenous contexts:

I know that decolonization necessarily challenges my privileged treatment, and I also know that I and my fellow colonizers have vested material interests in keeping things “as is.” But more than that, I know that my social conditioning and the socially constructed sense of who I am—all the mental, emotional, and material habits that I have been raised to accept—support oppression in a thousand subtle and blatant ways. These dynamics of oppression have been rendered invisible to me, however painfully visible they are to others. The decolonizing work begins here with naming these dynamics, so that I can engage the lifelong work of breaking their hold. (McCaslin & Breton, 2008, p. 519)

We hope this article opens new doors for critical dialogue about how, for what purposes, and who makes decisions about teaching Indigenous Peoples’ cultures and histories to all students, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. In seeking more culturally appropriate and historically accurate representations of Indigenous Peoples in U.S. history standards, we see this work as emotionally and politically charged and seek the insights of all who struggle for social justice education in the United States.

Along these same lines, there are always questions among students, teachers, scholars, and the general public about the “appropriate” term to use when discussing racial and/or ethnic groups. The appropriateness of such naming terms as Aboriginal, Indian, Native American, American Indian, Amerindian, Indigenous, First Nations, or First Peoples largely depends who you ask. Cornel Pewewardy (2000) noted that these identifiers are culturally and politically charged because most have been imposed by Euro-Americans. He further commented:

Many embrace the terms Indigenous Peoples and First Nations People and use these two terms interchangeably in our discourse as they originate new positive meanings and tribal identity rather than to elaborate and articulate terms that are externally imposed conceptualizations. (p. 13)

Identifiers using the word “Indian” are linked inextricably to Columbus and the European invasion of the Americas, but it is not uncommon to still

see the name “Indian” used by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in the United States and Canada. Pewewardy (2000) noted that even the term “Indigenous” is problematic because it paints with a broad brush very unique cultures that all had vastly different experiences with colonization. On the other hand, Smith (1999) wrote that the “Indigenous Peoples” identifier is a new term coming out of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. The focus on “peoples” gives credence to Indigenous activists’ struggle for self-determination. For the purposes of this article, the authors shall use the term “Indigenous Peoples” to respect the current discourse around identity, sovereignty, and naming.

### **The Portrayal of Indigenous Peoples in Textbooks and State Standards**

History education, especially with regard to content, has been and will likely continue to be contentious within social studies because of the long-standing debates over the American master narrative as discussed previously. The research has shown that U.S. history books dismiss culturally appropriate and historically accurate content related to Indigenous Peoples. Fixico (1998) penned, “By ignoring the dark episodes of the destruction of Indians in their cultures, historians in effect denied that these ever happened” (p. 86). Instead, studies of textbooks reveal that these texts conveyed narratives filled with stereotypes and negative depictions of Indigenous Peoples (Aldridge, 2006; Fleming, 2006; Loewen, 2007, 2010; Marino, 2011; Moore & Clark, 2004; Sanchez, 2001).

First, textbooks present Indigenous Peoples in negative ways. For example, Moore and Clark (2004) examined Nebraska social studies textbooks and discovered that the books told a narrative of history devoid of historical and cultural accuracy and empathy. These texts presented Indigenous Peoples as thieves, drunks, bloodthirsty savages, and lazy. Issues of land rights were masked in a narrative of Eurocentrism, which ignored Indigenous Peoples and provided a theme of inevitability that posited western expansion as a foregone conclusion. Indeed, “the highly ethnocentric approach to textbook history and social studies is stabilized by a language of universality and objectivity” (McCarthy, 1990, p. 123). This type of language was found in Trafzer and Lorimer’s (2014) study of California history textbooks that fail to include critical content related to the kidnapping, rape, murder, and enslavement of Indigenous Peoples throughout California during the Gold Rush era. Instead, one of the texts focused “heavily on the mythology of the era and the thrilling life of American pioneers moving West” (p. 75). Yet another text, they concluded, could lead elementary students to perceive the Indigenous Peoples as being the cause of “their own demise by attacking miners” (p. 78). By and large, the California texts failed to adequately address the well-documented genocide of Indigenous Peoples in the state (Trafzer & Lorimer, 2014).

Second, textbooks often minimize Indigenous Peoples' culture and history in favor of preserving a Eurocentric narrative. Sanchez (2001) found that commonly used elementary and secondary-level trade books perpetuate stereotypes and simplistic ways of viewing Indigenous Peoples. Similarly, Gesener (2011) noted that Texas history textbooks and trade books commonly portrayed Karankawa Peoples as victims or "inhuman savages" (p. 233). Chappell (2010) and Mason and Ernst-Slavit (2010) demonstrated how textbooks present Indigenous Peoples using long-held stereotypes and the language of Eurocentricity. Furthermore, in a study of how teachers taught for diversity, Wills (2001) found that teachers often present overgeneralized and simplistic information about marginalized groups, such as Indigenous Peoples' perspectives of colonization, by not providing students with enough information about the unique and varied perspectives of Indigenous Peoples.

Even though textbooks and standards may not necessarily characterize what is actually taught in the classrooms, they often represent a societal misperception about Indigenous Peoples that teachers may themselves perpetuate. To counteract a Eurocentric trope, Stanton (2012) demonstrated the benefit of incorporating critical Indigenous curriculum for social studies learning. Featuring Indigenous voices, however, does not mean the historically known pro-White American narrative will be dismantled. Stanton emphasized the need for educators to carefully consider how counter-narratives are presented and "look beyond the literal in curriculum resources" (p. 363).

While much scholarship investigates textbook portrayals of Indigenous Peoples, this study seeks to analyze the frequency and the nature of Indigenous content found within and across the 50 state standards and in the District of Columbia. We limited our study to state standards because, according to Bolgatz (2005), "Textbooks, state standards and guidelines, and standardized tests neatly package and limit the treatment of race into confined arenas" (p. 260). We acknowledged three aspects about state standards as we began our work. First, researchers disagree about the role of standards and accountability assessment on curriculum decisions (Grant & Salinas, 2008). While some scholars advocate that teachers find ways to negotiate and circumvent social studies state standards and accountability-driven testing (Gradwell, 2006; Salinas, 2006), others suggest that what is tested dictates what is taught in social studies classroom (Mathison & Freeman, 2004; McNeil, 2000; van Hover, 2006).

Second, across the various states and Washington, DC, the standards varied widely with respect of content asked for, skills stressed, and other curricula and instructional material items included. Indeed, The National Council for the Social Studies (2014) noted this wide "variance amongst state social studies standards regarding their scope, length, disciplinary focus, and level of content specificity" (p. 199). Indeed, the current College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework of the National Council for the Studies supports the adoption of critical thinking and historical inquiry but does not specify which kinds of content to utilize in the classroom. Despite the variations in the kinds of state

standards and the unique contexts of each state, we felt confident in our ability to synthesize the data across these standards.

Finally, as we alluded to earlier, we recognize that what is listed in state standards does not necessarily imply what is being taught in the public school classroom. Grant (2003) established that a teacher draws on his/her own personal biographies, beliefs about teaching, and prior knowledge when making curriculum decisions. However, especially as states instill accountability-driven assessment strategies, state standards play increasing significant roles in the curricular choices of teachers (Apple, 2004; Mathison & Freeman, 2004).

Generally, scholarship has unpacked several overarching gaps in the nature of Indigenous content included and excluded. Chandler (2010) highlighted the crux of the problem of representation—that of Indigenous Peoples as relics of a distant past, void of complexity and a voice in modern America. Similarly, Rains (2006) articulated many problems within social studies curriculum, especially as it deals with Indigenous Peoples in modern contexts. For example, Indigenous Peoples did not receive citizen status in the United States until 1924, and their ability to vote was not fully granted until the 1960s. Rains found that much of social studies curriculum “bypasses such history” (p. 142). With this study, we hope to provide deeper insights into the portrayal of Indigenous Peoples and extend our knowledge base in this area.

### A Postcolonial Analysis of Hegemony

In our study of state standards, we sought to engage this dialogue through a lens that challenged the hegemonic nature of the standards as they re/present Indigenous Peoples. We based our use of the term hegemony from Gramsci (2010)—that of a structured system in which the dominant group commands control culturally and legally over the entirety of society. We further found that dismantling this master narrative required “knowledge of the oppressor and the oppressor’s language” (Grande, 2004, p. 87). In this way, then, we understand hegemony as those in power who are free to establish their master narrative, which dictates not only who belongs to a society but also who does not.

As we sought to extend Au’s (2009) argument for social studies in social justice and to promote the inclusion of marginalized histories and cultures in U.S. history education, we chose to complicate the nature of hegemony in the standards using a lens both within and outside postcolonial theory. Said (1994) argued in *Orientalism* that knowledge and power are inextricably linked in the rise of colonial authority, thusly creating a dichotomy where *Others* bend to the whim of the dominant White authority. Working from Gramsci’s hegemony theory, Said commented that,

[C]ertain cultural forms predominate over others, just as certain ideas are more influential than others; the form of this cultural leadership is what



Gramsci has identified as *hegemony*, an indispensable concept for any understanding of cultural life in the industrialized West. (p. 134)

One could argue that Said's *Orientalism* creates too simplistic a dichotomy and reinforces hegemony rather than deconstructing it, as has been argued by others inside and outside postcolonial theory (Ahmad, 1994; Apple, 2004; Freire, 2010; Popkewitz, 1998; Porter, 1994; Sharp, 2009; Spivak, 1994). That being said, Said's understanding of Gramsci is worth consideration for this article because it speaks to the complexities of silencing subaltern experiences with/in dominant society. We contend that postcolonial theory can be used to unpack the struggle of the subaltern and the "*continued* dominance of western ways of knowing" (Sharp, 2009, p. 110, emphasis added) to deconstruct and create new spaces for knowing, learning, and existing (Bhabha, 1994).

One issue of prominent importance within postcolonial theory, however, is whether the subaltern can speak, as Spivak (1994) posited. She argued that the subaltern cannot speak because issues of masculine–Eurocentric representation and assimilation lie within the popular discourse of freeing the Other to speak. She argued that to find voice within the hegemonic system, the subaltern must submit to the rules of dominant society and thus exist within a space of inferiority. While apparently hopeless, a deeper reading of Spivak (1994) revealed her continued striving for the upheaval of such a system. In efforts to extend Spivak's (1994, 1999) work to upend hegemony, one could draw from Homi Bhabha's (1994) writings on hybridity, which offer spaces to dismantle the binary culture in which colonization has endured. "The postcolonial perspective resists the attempt at holistic forms of social explanation. It forces recognition of the more complex cultural and political boundaries that exist on the cusp of these often opposed political spheres" (p. 248). In the context of this article, then, social studies educators could utilize Bhabha (1994) and Spivak (1994, 1999) to further complicate the Eurocentric knowledge–power structure inherent within state-level U.S. history standards, textbooks, and the teaching of content related to Indigenous Peoples.

While on the one hand we use postcolonial theory to unpack the hegemony of U.S. history standards, we also acknowledge that this theoretical lens is often criticized for oversimplifying relationships, both historically and currently, between dominant and non-dominant peoples (Ahmad, 1994; Porter, 1994; Sharp, 2009). As Diversi and Moreira (2009) noted:

We continue to embrace the ideal and utopia of postcolonialism, but from the standpoint of embodied betweeners experiencing the world in the space between colonial forces and the postcolonial imaginary, in transition, writing about the journey toward the dream of inclusive, unconditional social justice, but not as if we had arrived at the postcolonial destination ahead of the crowds. (p. 206)

As such, in our use of postcolonial theory as a foundation for thinking critically about the nature of hegemony, we also seek a space of betweenness that complicates our understandings of hegemony and the re/presentations of Indigenous Peoples in U.S. history standards to create new spaces for knowing, learning, and existing within educational settings.

By extension, hegemony in social studies contexts is anchored to notions of Euro-American superiority and destiny in creating our nation (Brayboy, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). As Brayboy (2005) commented, “the everyday experiences of American Indians, the Indigenous inhabitants of the Americas, have essentially been removed from the awareness of dominant members of U.S. society” (p. 431). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) furthers this argument in her writings on Indigenous methodologies: “The story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others” (p. 34) is at the heart, we contend, of continued colonial thinking and teaching in U.S. history. Hegemonic ways of knowing, sanctioned in state standards, reinstitute colonialism in daily life and practice (Apple, 2004; Freire, 2010; Giroux, 2011). Michael Apple (2004) wrote that hegemony “refers to an organized assemblage of meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions which are lived” (p. 4). Four Arrows (2013) further articulated that hegemony, as embedded in education, is “designed to maintain status quo benefits for a ruling elite” and is, therefore, “by definition a form of anti-Indianism” (p. 20). Mann (2013) noted that status quo education in the United States “does not encourage students to question where all the Indigenous People have gone” largely because this history is too “unpleasant” (p. 145). Teachers, therefore, year after year, reify the hegemonic nature of U.S. history because of these silences. Ultimately, this study seeks to unpack the master narrative presented in U.S. history standards to engage social studies educators in critical dialogue about what we teach, how we teach, and for what purpose we teach about Indigenous Peoples.

## METHODOLOGY

In this content analysis, we analyzed the U.S. and state history standards from all 50 states and the District of Columbia. We sought to address the following research questions:

1. What is the frequency of Indigenous content (histories, cultures, current issues) covered in state-level U.S. history standards for K–12?
2. What is the difference between the frequency of inclusion of pre-1900 Indigenous content and post-1900 Indigenous content in the U.S. history standards for K–12?
3. How do the standards depict Indigenous Peoples in U.S. history?

To address these research questions, we printed and analyzed U.S. history and social studies content standards/frameworks from each state’s department of education website.<sup>1</sup> Content analyses have roots in both qualitative and quantitative research, and it is for this reason we utilized it in this mixed methods study. Unlike other methods, such as critical discourse analysis, content analysis yields both statistical data and frequencies of content, as well as themes related to meaning. We acknowledge that, “a key issue in content analysis methodology is the decision about whether to count occurrences of a unit of analysis or to employ a more comprehensive, descriptive approach” (Wade, 1993, p. 247). While conducting a content analysis, Merriam (2009) encouraged simultaneous data coding and category construction, as this methodological combination portrays the important characteristics of a document’s content.

To establish a sense of consistency of our coding strategies, each researcher received 13 states’ standards for which they coded individually during the first round of coding. Next, researchers rotated to another set of 13 states where they also coded the standards independently. Finally, in the third round, researchers rotated again to code independently. Therefore, standards from each state were initially coded independently by three of the researchers in this study. After the first three rounds, the researchers met to discuss issues and concerns about coding. Then it was agreed upon that the initial codes would be set aside and a new set of coding rounds would be established (rounds four, five, and six). This provided two sets of coding allowing for measures of inter-rater reliability to be calculated. Within cross-case analysis, the research team met frequently to discuss general trends and patterns and illustrated these using posters and other visual displays before reaching consensus about the findings.

We conducted statistical analyses to check for inter-rater reliability, also referred to as inter-rater agreement (Hallgren, 2012) in both the quantitative and qualitative data. The variables displayed in Table 1 represent the averages and differences of standards by state between the first (rounds one, two, and three) and second (rounds four, five, and six) sets of coding. Displaying these averages, in terms of total standards as well as pre- and post-1900, allows for easy inspection of the differences between each set of coding. The significance tests determine whether differences in standards by state are not statistically significant. Thus, a  $p < .05$  would indicate a statistically significant mean difference between the first and second sets of coding. Table 1 shows that the mean differences between the first and second sets of coding are not statistically significant. In addition to this statistic, inter-rater reliability estimates the degree of consistency of separate estimates of the same phenomenon (Multon, 2010). Inter-rater reliability is commonly calculated with one of three methods: (a) Cohen’s Kappa, (b) Cronbach’s Alpha, and (c) intra-class correlation (ICC). Multon (2010) reviewed each of these and asserts preference for the ICC over the others. Thus, we calculated the ICC to determine inter-rater reliability. An ICC can handle continuous data with multiple coders, as used in this

**Table 1.** Averages and Difference Between the First and Second Coding by State

	First coding set	Second coding set	Difference	<i>p</i> -Value
Total standards	35.67	43.73	8.06	.128
Pre-1900 standards	32.22	37.90	5.69	.1871
Post-1900 standards	3.45	5.82	2.37	.0614
Percent post-1900 <sup>a</sup>	10.37%	11.43%	1.06%	.3564

$n = 51$ ; ICC = .871.

<sup>a</sup>Average among states percentage of post-1900 standards.

study. Following the example put forth by Hallgren (2012), Table 1 displays the average-measures ICC, calculated with a two-way mixed-effects model using the absolute agreement definition. Subsequently, an average-measures ICC of .871 suggests excellent inter-rater reliability (Cicchetti, 1994).

### Quantitative Data Analysis

To deal with the large scope of this project, we developed a coding method to quantify and analyze the inclusion of Indigenous content in history standards for K–12. We identified content standards that related to U.S. history and/or state. Although in some cases we noted Indigenous content in such areas as language arts, these were not included in our analysis as they were not specific to social studies. Furthermore, we divided content strands into two general categories, K–6 and 7–12, to represent an elementary and secondary split found in the majority of districts across the country. While we recognize that this distinction between elementary and secondary may not be consistent across all school contexts, generally the majority of state standards fit within these designations. If a state’s standards document blended grades, such as grades 6–8 or 4–7, we counted that strand for both K–6 and 7–12. We felt this would give us a clearer understanding of Indigenous content taught within the subgroups.

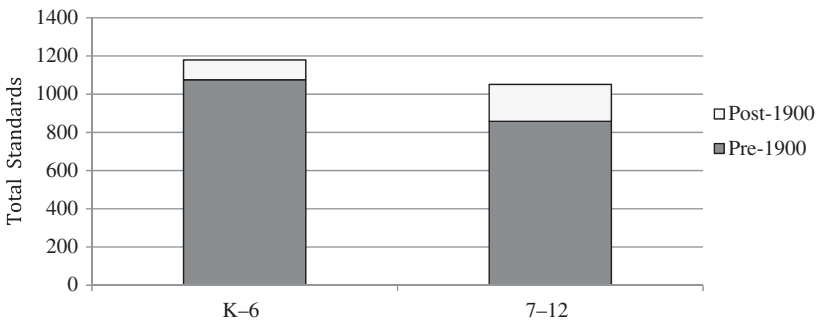
In our quantitative analysis, we sought to determine the frequency of specific Indigenous content being offered across elementary and secondary contexts and with regard to historical timeframes identified by Dippie (1982) as significant turning points in the discourse of Indigenous histories. Aligned with his work, we chose the year 1900 to be the marker between early Indigenous content and more contemporary Indigenous content, mostly because of this year’s closeness to the Massacre at Wounded Knee, which was seen as an “end” to the Indian wars, the “winning of the West,” and acceleration of White America’s domination over the continent (Dippie, 1982, p. 202). This distinction enabled us to track which kinds of Indigenous content occur more frequently in the standards documents. To aid in that process, we created lists

**Table 2.** Average by State of Pre-1900 and Post-1900 Indigenous Standards Among Different Categories

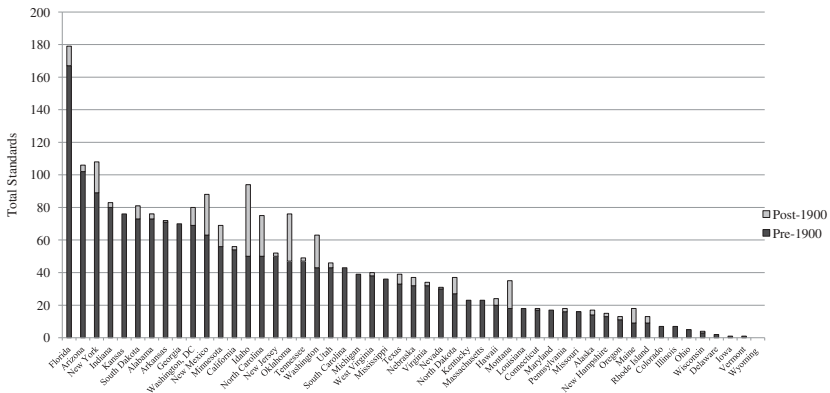
	Pre-1900	Post-1900	Difference
K-12	37.90	5.82	32.08
K-6	21.08	2.04	19.04
7-12	16.82	3.78	13.04
Events	4.37	0.14	4.24
Westward expansion	6.14	1.11	5.03
People	1.92	0.31	1.61
Legal	6.35	2.51	3.84
Pre-America	5.78	0.02	5.76
Culture	13.33	2.65	10.69

of content that appear across all the data and categorized them according to a pre-1900 or post-1900 dichotomy.

We organized data by tallying the frequency of Indigenous content by state, making the state the unit of analysis in Tables 1 and 2. For every state, we then further divided the data into relevant themes, which were events, westward expansion, people, legal issues, pre-European contact, and a more general theme related to culture. The total number of standards related to Indigenous content and a post-1900 dichotomy are located in Appendix A. To explore the variation of standards, Table 2 divides each category into pre- and post-1900. As with Table 1, the numbers shown are the averages across states, making the state the unit of analysis. Finally, the two figures graphically represent the differences in standards with Indigenous content between pre-1900 and post-1900. Figure 1 divides the two time categories into grade level, K-6 and 7-12. Subsequently, Figure 2 depicts the division by state and is ordered with the most pre-1900 mentions listed first.



**Figure 1.** Number of Coded Standards Pre- and Post-1900



**Figure 2.** Total Number of Standards That Depict Indigenous History Divided by Pre-1900 and Post-1900

### Qualitative Data Analysis

For our qualitative analysis, we treated each state as a particular case and employed a within-case analysis (Yin, 2009) of the standards. In qualitative content analysis, according to Krippendorff (2003), the focus of analysis depends on the quality and substance of the items found within the data. Whereas quantitative analysis seeks to determine frequencies and distributions of different kinds of data, qualitative analysis uncovers nuanced understandings and underlining patterns that emerge within the data. When coding standards for qualitative analysis, we addressed each state separately at first. The history standards that were used for the quantitative data were also used for the qualitative analysis. These content strands were organized into a grid system and were then analyzed for how they approached Indigenous content. For example, if the standards for a particular state identified only wars (i.e., French and Indian War, Indian Wars, etc.), then we ascribed a theme of conflict for that state's representation of Indigenous–U.S. relations. Second, after all the states were coded in this way, we engaged in cross-case analysis comparing grid systems of within case themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to identify overarching patterns in the teaching of Indigenous content.

### Limitations

Despite efforts to ensure rigor in our methodology, this study carries certain limitations that constrain some of the generalizations that can be drawn from the data. First, we acknowledge that our analyses of the state standards do not necessarily indicate the actual classroom teaching practices of teachers in the field. We realize that although standards have historically been a major

influence on teachers' decision making, teachers oftentimes draw on a variety of resources and experiences when planning to teach (Grant, 2006). Second, we also realize that the relationship between state standards and the role of local district curriculum guidelines may differ depending various state contexts. As a result, in some cases, local districts may exert more control over social studies curriculum than state initiatives.

With regards to the methodological procedures, despite our attempts at establishing agreement among researchers, we admit that we had differing perspectives on some of the data. Such differences, however, occur as a natural result of collaboration (Yin, 2009). Despite these concerns, we felt that our varied views added moments of consensus that further established rigor in our process. An additional concern with this study is that state standards were acquired from state websites published in 2012. Since that time, especially with the new movement toward a common core in many school subjects, some of these standards may have changed dramatically. Finally, we recognize that the distinction between the pre- and post-year of 1900, which served as an important theoretical and data-based marker for this study, may not have registered strongly with a different research team who may have a different orientation to interpreting relevance in the history of the Indigenous Peoples in the United States.

Overall, we believe that findings from this study still make a valuable contribution to the research community. Indeed, this comprehensive, mixed-methods content analysis is the first study that we know of to construct a landscape about Indigenous curriculum in United States across all of its state standards.

## FINDINGS

### Quantitative Findings

The following section will provide descriptive statistics to address the first research question: What is the frequency of Indigenous content (histories, cultures, current issues) covered in state-level U.S. history standards for K–12?

The incorporation of Indigenous People's histories, cultures, and current issues varied widely across several states. For example, Florida boasted some 191 content strands related to Indigenous communities, whereas the state of Wyoming did not include a single content strand about Indigenous content. While the trend toward minimal coverage of Indigenous people has already been noted in the research literature (Journell, 2009a; Vasquez-Heilig et al., 2012), our investigation sort through the type and frequency curriculum content was present in the standards. Overall, we found that only 13.34% of the 2,230 coded standards related to Indigenous history, culture, or issues occurring post-1900. Put another way, 86.66% of the state-level U.S. and state

history standards dictate the teaching of Indigenous Peoples in the context of pre-1900 U.S. history. This finding demonstrates the systematic confining of curriculum about Indigenous Peoples to pre-1900 America.

We provide a table that demonstrates the number of content standards from each state related to pre-1900 and post-1900 history. Readers ought not to draw comparisons between and across states as this data does not take into account the varying contexts of each state and the type of standards being utilized. For example, 50% of Maine's coded standards included post-1900 content, which was the highest of any state. However, Maine only had 18 standards coded in our analysis. In comparison, Florida's overall percentage was low—less than 10%—but had 179 coded standards. What is important in this analysis is the overall picture that these state standards depict. Put simply, Indigenous People disappear from the curriculum across most state standards after 1900.

The differences between pre-1900 and post-1900 standards are graphically represented in [Figure 1](#), as well as in the qualitative findings discussion that follows later. [Figure 1](#) shows the total number of standards related to Indigenous People's history as well as the number of coded standards in the pre- and post-1900 context. The first graph clearly demonstrates the prevalence of pre-1900 content in both the K–6 and 7–12 history standards. In light of these findings, one must ask: Why does content related to Indigenous Peoples “disappear” from state standards after the turn of the 20th century? We must consider the power of the historical master narrative at play here: With the “end” of the Indian Wars at Wounded Knee, the United States entered the new century armed with complete control over the land and its peoples (Dippie, 1982).

While there was little difference between the total number of coded standards in the K–6 standards and 7–12 standards, as seen in [Figure 1](#), there are substantial differences in the pre-1900 versus post-1900 standards, as visualized in [Table 2](#), which addresses the second research question: Is there a significant difference between the inclusion of pre-1900 Indigenous content and post-1900 Indigenous content in the U.S. history standards for K–12? As discussed in the Methodology section, standards were coded for six themes: people, culture (general Indigenous content unrelated to any other code), pre-America (before the ratification of the Constitution), events, legal issues, and westward expansion. The numbers in [Table 2](#) represent the average number of items by state. [Table 2](#) provides evidence that there is a clear division between pre- and post-1900 standards across different grade levels and themes.

The delineation of pre- and post-1900 standards by state is displayed in [Figure 2](#). The states with the highest number of coded post-1900 standards were Idaho, Oklahoma, New Mexico, North Carolina, and Washington. Of significance, North Carolina's website provided standards for an elective Indigenous Peoples' history course, which we included in the study. Including this course, North Carolina had 75 coded standards in its K–12 standards. However, much of this curriculum may be confined to this elective course only. Seventeen states did not include any post-1900 standards related to the teaching of Indigenous



Peoples, which speaks to the larger theoretical problem of silencing the experiences of non-dominant peoples in a society. While we do not know from this study whether teachers are going beyond the standards in their teaching of Indigenous Peoples' experiences in the United States, we find it troublesome to consider the power that standards have in dictating "relevant" historical content for classrooms across the country and the messages those standards send on what we value as a nation. Of the 17 states without any post-1900 standards, Kansas, Georgia, South Carolina, and Michigan ranked high in overall coded standards. This finding speaks to previous arguments about the power of the Euro-American narrative to confine Indigenous Peoples to a distant past.

### Qualitative Findings

The qualitative themes that emerged from the study address the third research question: How do the standards depict Indigenous Peoples in the historical narrative? The themes illuminate our overarching finding—the standards largely depicted Indigenous Peoples as existing in the distant past and are thereby marginalized from the American present. First, Indigenous Peoples are cast as outsiders to the master narrative. Then standards communicate a theme of cooperation-to-conflict concerning relationships between Euro-Americans and Indigenous Peoples. Finally, the removal of Indigenous Peoples was portrayed as an inevitable outcome of westward expansion. These themes describe the process of by which Indigenous histories, cultures, and issues become embedded within a progressive Euro-American experience. After 1900, the standards neglect rather than promote dialogue about the complexities of U.S. history and society.

### Insiders, Outsiders: Indigenous Peoples Framed Within and Outside the Euro-American Experience

The pre-1900 standards across all the states were dominated by stories of a pre-America in which general cultural standards deal with the ways Indigenous Peoples lived before and at the dawn of European arrival. These standards are always framed, however, within the context of Euro-America. For example, New Mexico's seventh-grade standards called for students to "describe the characteristics of other indigenous peoples that had an effect upon New Mexico's development (e.g., pueblo farmers, great plains horse culture, nomadic bands, etc.)" (New Mexico Department of Education, 2009, p. 1). Similarly, Massachusetts called on third-graders to "identify the Wampanoags and their leaders at the time the Pilgrims arrive, and describe their way of life" (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2003, p.20). These standards frame Indigenous Peoples as both insiders and outsiders to the creation of the

American experience—that being the arrival and development of Europeans to the landscape. Another example of states standards' broadly defined content regarding Indigenous Peoples in a pre-1900 context, Rhode Island's K–4 standards called for students to understand “various cultures and people groups (e.g., Native Americans, American Colonist, European, Ancient Egyptian, Mayan, Chinese, etc.)” (Rhode Island Department of Education, 2002, p. 6). When considering the list of options presented, Indigenous Peoples could be seen as outsiders despite the inclusion of the “American Colonist,” thus further pushing aside their various cultures and histories.

One notable exception is North Carolina, which provides state-level standards for an elective high school Indigenous history course. Its K–6 history standards contained only one standard—to “locate and describe American Indians in North Carolina, past and present” (North Carolina Department of Education, 2006, p. 30). The high school curriculum, on the other hand, had a substantial amount of general and specific content standards related to Indigenous Peoples' histories. These standards, however, follow the trend that frames much of the content in a Euro-American context, thus continuing to perpetuate an insider–outsider dichotomy. Competency goals for North Carolina asked students to learn about Indigenous Peoples “prior to the arrival of Columbus” and to analyze “historical developments that characterize Native American life in the period prior to the Civil War” (North Carolina Department of Education, 2006, p. 78). The standards further asked students to analyze developments after the Civil War, learn about Indigenous diversity (broadly defined), and analyze contemporary issues (broadly defined). While North Carolina's standards addressed and incorporated more Indigenous content in this course, one must consider that the learning goals are framed within a U.S. context and within a U.S. timeline rather than an Indigenous-centered context and timeline, further calling into question whether Indigenous Peoples are insiders or outsiders to the American experience. Although North Carolina included post-1900 standards, one must also take into consideration that this course is an elective and not part of the standard coursework for *all* students in the state.

### **From Cooperation to Conflict: How State Standards Narrate Indigenous/U.S. Relationships**

By extension, we found the standards emphasized cooperation (at the onset of European arrival to the continent) and later conflict (toward the dawn of westward expansion). Events like Thanksgiving, Columbus Day, the French and Indian War, the War of 1812, and general standards related to colonial and early American settler conflicts with Indigenous Peoples dominated the standards across all grade levels. First, this narrative began with vague references to Thanksgiving and cultural exchanges between Indigenous

Peoples and Europeans. For example, Florida, which included seven separate notations for Thanksgiving, asked first-grade students to “identify national holidays as a way of remembering and honoring people and events, such as Thanksgiving, Independence Day, and Memorial Day” (Florida Department of Education, 2008, p. 6). Similarly, Arizona’s first-grade standards asked students to “describe the interaction of Native Americans with Pilgrims (e.g., arrival of the Mayflower, Squanto, the Wampanoag, the First Thanksgiving)” (Arizona Department of Education, 2006, pp. 10–11). This particular standard was one of four, which also included a standard for students to “describe the exchange of ideas, culture, and goods between the Native Americans and the Pilgrims” (Arizona Department of Education, 2006, p. 11). Georgia’s fourth-grade standard serves as an exemplar of the vagueness associated with standards in which students were asked to “describe examples of cooperation and conflict between Europeans and Native Americans” (Georgia Department of Education, 2004, p. 1). Likewise, the vast majority of states included standards related to Christopher Columbus and Columbus Day. Coverage varied greatly from inclusion of Columbus as an explorer who contributed to the discovery of the Americas to the holiday listed as one that students should be able to identify and/or describe. District of Columbia’s (2006) fourth-grade standards served as an outlier because it used children’s literature as a way to help students think about Columbus from two vantage points: Indigenous Peoples and Columbus and his crew.

Second, California’s fifth-grade history standards further exemplified the telling of a distant Indigenous history in relation to cooperation and conflict. The standards included a call for students to “describe the cooperation and conflict that existed among the American Indians and between the Indian nations and the new settlers” (California Department of Education, 2000, p. 17). References to the Pequot and King Philip’s Wars, Powhatan Wars, French and Indian War, and Trail of Tears were included in this standard. Georgia’s standards (Georgia Department of Education, 2004) provided another example of the cooperation and conflict language, calling on students to understand Indigenous–U.S. relations within the context of the French and Indian War, Battle of Little Big Horn, and the Lewis and Clark expedition. New York’s coded standards for seventh and eighth grades, like these previous examples, were dominated by a pre-1900 context in which Indigenous Peoples were described (except for standards related to the Iroquois and Algonquin cultures) as broadly defined participants and combatants in an inevitable national project. For example, in a unit titled “European exploration and colonization of the Americas,” students were asked to consider the effects of exploration in the Americas in Europe. The standards specifically noted that “the results of contact (the Columbian exchange) may be viewed in terms of positive and negative effects for all participants; however, students should be aware that some

groups were unwilling participants” (New York Department of Education, 1999, p. 42).

This theme of cooperation to conflict sets up Indigenous Peoples as barriers to America progress. As a result, students might think that Indigenous Peoples are gone for one reason—they were against the creation of the United States. Mann (2013) furthers this argument:

Left untouched, probably because it is a hegemonic device still invisible to mainstream history, is the determined use of war-to-war timelines, which are imposed over Indigenous history as though they honestly express traditional ways of recording the past. In fact, using wars to mark historical periods is an entirely European approach. (p. 144)

Arguably, it would be easy for students to see Indigenous Peoples as America’s greatest enemy given how the standards shape the transition from cooperation to conflict, without providing space to consider various Indigenous histories, cultures, and experiences in past, present, and possible future.

### **A Means to an End: Indigenous Peoples in Modern Contexts (According to the Standards)**

The conflict narrative intensified when the history standards reached the time period encompassing westward expansion. At this point, the master narrative centered on monumental events and legal issues at each grade level. With the American Revolution all but concluded and the Constitutional Convention’s work nearly completed, the traditional narrative found in the standards turned toward building the dream of America through the doctrine of Manifest Destiny. Almost all of the states related the story of the United States pushing at the edge of the Mississippi River and the infamous expedition of Lewis and Clark into the heart of a wild and empty landscape, culminating in the Louisiana Purchase. Part and parcel to this narrative was the natural progression of Americans to the west via the Northwest Ordinance and Homestead Act, both of which were included in most state-level standards. For example, in Louisiana’s high school U.S. history class (up to 1877), students were asked to “explain the impact of legislation, federal Indian and land policies, technological developments, and economic policies on established social and migratory groups in the settlement of the western United States (e.g., Dawes Act, Chinese Exclusion Act)” (Louisiana Department of Education, 2008, p. 41). Twenty-nine states spread across every region of the United States also contained very similar standards related to the Louisiana Purchase, the Northwest Ordinance, and the Homestead Act in the telling of American expansion to the west.

Likewise, Minnesota included standards related to Euro-American expansion. This state, however, used unique language in that it related this expansion not into empty terrain, but rather into “indigenous nations’ territories” (Minnesota Department of Education, 2004, p. 123). Minnesota’s language provided a unique outlier to the findings of this study because of its recognition that the land west of the Mississippi not only had Indigenous Peoples living on it, but that those peoples lived in their own unique territories. Minnesota’s word choices here potentially provide students a counter narrative to Manifest Destiny, but one would need to assume that teachers in this state actually use the language contained in the standards when teaching this concept. As the scope of this study focused only on the standards themselves, we seek not to speak to how teachers utilize the standards outside what the research has already shown.

While the states share a commonality in their inclusion of the Euro-American narrative of westward expansion, they diverge in terms of their coverage of the implications of this movement on Indigenous peoples. More often than not, Eurocentric narratives subsumed the implications of westward expansion on Indigenous Peoples within a larger narrative of Manifest Destiny, thus lending justification to American actions and minimizing the human costs of such policies. New York’s curriculum, for example, included a number of broadly stated standards regarding this issue. Students in this state were asked to explore “territorial expansion through diplomacy, migration, annexation, and war; Manifest Destiny” (New York Department of Education, 1999, p. 130) with attention paid to Lewis and Clark and the politics of western expansion. This particular standard made no mention of Indigenous Peoples. Alternatively, Georgia’s fifth grade history curriculum called on students to “describe the impact of westward expansion on Native Americans; include the Battle of Little Bighorn and the relocation of Native Americans to reservations” (Georgia Department of Education, 2004, p. 1). While the Georgia standards made reference to the impact of westward expansion on Indigenous Peoples, these casualties were tied to the conflict narrative. To manifest its destiny of expanding west, the U.S. government had to deal with its “great problem” (Dippie, 1982, p. 16), the creation of reservations being one such solution. Broadly stated, standards reinforced American hegemony in the re/telling of how the United States developed, confining Indigenous Peoples to a secondary role as temporary barriers in the way of American progress.

With regard to the impact of westward expansion on Indigenous Peoples, few states included standards related to issues of genocide. In fact, the use of the word *genocide* in relation to the experiences of Indigenous Peoples in U.S. history was found only in one state—Washington. Students in the fifth grade were asked to “examine different accounts of the colonization era, including colonists’ perspective of settlement and indigenous people’s perspective of genocide” (Washington Department of Education, 2008, p. 48). The use of the word *genocide* suggests a deeper sensitivity and acknowledgement of the state’s large Indigenous population. However, none of the other states included

any language related to genocide despite their inclusion of specific events, such as the Trail of Tears, Navajo Long Walk, Massacre at Wounded Knee, and the Sand Creek Massacre, which are generally included in long lists of conflict between Indigenous Peoples and Euro-Americans. While the term genocide is largely associated with the horrors of World War II, recent scholarship has also included the experiences of Indigenous Peoples in the United States to broaden the discourse (Churchill, 2004).

While there were standards related to the removal of Indigenous Peoples from their lands, as mentioned previously, these standards took on a tone of detachment, focusing on political actions and court rulings rather than on the impact on the lives of Indigenous Peoples in the United States. For example, few states looked specifically at issues related to the development and implications of the reservation system—only 16 states include standards that specifically named and discussed issues related to the Dawes Act, the Fort Laramie Treaty, and the Indian Removal Act. The remaining states either included vague standards related to the removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands or nothing at all. Even fewer states include standards related to assimilation and the acculturation of Indigenous Peoples into Euro-American society. Arizona, Washington, Oklahoma, and Kansas were the only four states to include specific standards on Indigenous Peoples' boarding school experiences. For example, Oklahoma's 12th-grade state history standards directed students to:

Compare and contrast the successes and failures of the United States policy of assimilation of the Native Americans in Oklahoma including the passage of the *Indian Citizenship Act of 1924* and the efforts of the Indian boarding schools (1880s–1940s) upon Native Americans' identity, culture, traditions, and tribal government and sovereignty. (Oklahoma Department of Education, 2010, p. 57)

Of note, as this discussion follows one on reservations, Dippie (1982) further wrote that assimilation through education was another solution to the “great problem” (p. 16) of Indigenous Peoples in an ever-expanding United States. In fact, U.S. Secretary of the Interior Lucius Q. Lamar commented in 1881 that the “only alternative now presented to the American Indian race is speedy entrance into the pale of American civilization, or absolute extinction” (Adams, 1995, p. 15). It was common for students to experience physical, mental, and spiritual abuse at American boarding schools (Fear-Segal, 2007; Szasz, 1999; Trafzer, Keller, & Sisquoc, 2006). Whether positive or negative, the experiences of Indigenous students in American boarding schools were not included in any of the standards. This air of detachment further serves to marginalize Indigenous Peoples in shaping the narrative of American history.

Despite the activist efforts of Indigenous Peoples, very few states included standards related to Indigenous civil rights actions in the teaching of modern

America. Nine states (Alabama, Arkansas, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Minnesota, Nevada, New Mexico, and North Dakota) presented standards related to the American Indians Movement (AIM). None of the other states included the AIM in their K–12 standards. For the states that did include them, the AIM was grouped with other civil rights groups of the larger struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. The fact that so few states included standards related to contemporary Indigenous Peoples in the United States further illuminates the troubles discussed throughout this article—that the hegemony of American history works to negate the complexities of our history, legitimizes the destiny of White America, and relegates Indigenous Peoples to roles as insiders or outsiders depending on the context of the Euro-American timeline.

### DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In performing a mixed methods content analysis of the nation’s K–12 U.S. and state history standards, we found that Indigenous Peoples were largely confined within a pre-1900 context devoid of any significant voice. The narrative presented in U.S. history standards, when analyzed with a critical eye, directed students to see Indigenous Peoples as a long since forgotten episode in the country’s development. The state standards spoke about Indigenous peoples’ experiences in broad terms and were often blended within discussions of Euro-American destiny.

This study has significant implications for the social studies—not only in terms of the content and methods we teach but also in terms of the research we conduct. Unpacking hegemony in U.S. history standards demands that we all, as a community of social studies educators at all levels, address the continued prevalence and persistence of a Eurocentric master narrative in our textbooks and standards. Understanding what states value through an analysis of the content in state-level standards, despite their varied nature as previously articulated, can direct future dialogue about the nature of these standards and the power structures they promote. The inclusion and exclusion of certain content, and the words by which those histories and cultures are presented, arguably promote a whitewashed version of history void of the multiple perspectives (or viewpoints) on Indigenous/U.S. settler relations that would promote a more rich and complex understanding of U.S. history.

When one looks at the larger picture painted by the quantitative data, it is easy to argue that the narrative of U.S. history is painfully one sided in its telling of the American narrative, especially with regard to Indigenous Peoples’ experiences. These data are brought to life further with the inclusion of qualitative findings. Our work supports Rains’s (2006) earlier study, in which she wrote of her own reading of state standards: “American Indians are treated as relics of the past. It may be really safe to learn about generically regional Indian life before Columbus, and one can ‘feel good’ about learning that. But



that was more than 500 years ago” (p. 150). It is difficult to articulate just how abrupt this drop off is once the American West is fully established. One must engage with the standards through the lens provided in this study to truly grasp the extent to which Indigenous Peoples are excluded from the American story. While this notion of an American narrative devoid of minority voices is not new, it is ever the more evident now that every state has been examined for such a story. Indeed, social studies curricula continue to reflect a colonial mindset. Counteracting this mindset, however, is easier said than done. The National Council for the Social Studies provides broad and somewhat vague guidance in the creation of standards at the state level. As such, the questions and debates encircling who has the power to determine specific content and context will continue. As past studies have shown, the creation and modification of state-level standards are made first and foremost by political appointees and tend to promote a singular narrative of American history and culture rather than to challenge students to think about the complexities of our past, present, and future (Blanchette, 2010; Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Placier, Walker, & Foster, 2002; van Hover, Hicks, Stoddard, & Lisanti, 2010).

The qualitative findings further illuminate a Euro-American narrative that reinstates the marginalization of Indigenous cultures and knowledge. Indigenous Peoples are left in the shadows of Euro-America’s destiny, while the cooperation and conflict model provides justification for the eventual termination of Indigenous Peoples from the American landscape and historical narrative. Finally, a tone of detachment, especially with long lists of legal and political terms, dismisses the humanity of Indigenous cultures and experiences in the United States. The wording of the standards themselves across most states represents the re-colonization of Indigenous Peoples and the championing of Western ways of knowing. Enacting change, again, is not without obstacles. While tenets central to multicultural education challenge the dominance of the White, Euro-American narrative in social studies, Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández’s (2013) articulated that multicultural education focuses on opening spaces for inclusion in the larger American society rather than promoting, in the specific case of Indigenous Peoples, sovereignty. This is an important argument to consider in upending the historical narrative found in current state standards. Social justice education, which we promote here, seeks complexities and multiplicities, but we must also advance sovereignty and treaty rights as central to the larger discourse or else we face a reification of colonial thinking.

While this study produced copious amounts of data, not all of it could be fleshed out in this article. Additional analyses and approaches to looking at the data could further expand the discourse of American hegemony in the teaching of Indigenous Peoples in U.S. history. As such, the data present more questions than answers in how best to address the master narrative embedded within the standards. These questions actively live within three key areas: future standards, future scholarship, and teaching. First, with regard



to the future of content and learning standards, it is unclear how states will realign their current standards given the constantly changing policies related to Common Core and the new C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards. Only time will tell how states will address the issues of content, but it is necessary that the field maintain a critical level of dialogue regarding power standards in the teaching and learning of history. Second, there are a number of avenues for future research at the state level, including teachers' use of state-level history standards for Indigenous content and students' learning and understanding of Indigenous cultures and histories based on standards-based instruction. It is important to note, also, that engaging Indigenous scholars and Indigenous communities in these lines of inquiry supports the creation of alliances and counter-hegemonies in the struggle for social justice. Darder, Baltodano, and Torres (2009) defined counter-hegemony as "those intellectual and social spaces where power relationships are reconstructed to make central the voices and experiences of those who have historically existed at the margins of public institutions" (p. 12). Support of Indigenous and allied scholarship in the social studies will strengthen the discourse on how to move the field as a whole toward being more culturally inclusive.

The findings of this study call for educators to address the hegemonic master narrative as it pertains to the stories of Indigenous Peoples in the United States. As Daniels (2011) noted, "Silences are repressive. Working against the silences involves informing ourselves as educators, reflecting on our own identities, and bringing in critical materials to our classrooms" (p. 212). We must, as scholars, teacher educators, and teachers seek to end these silences of Indigenous histories occurring across state standards. While the narrative of American history might appear to become grimmer for some, the power of a more complex narrative to liberate us from the grasp of hegemony is a worthy struggle that could lead to a more just society. For example, Montana's constitutional amendment, "Indian Education for All," which calls for "quality Indian education for all content" areas, would be a unique case study to see how classroom teachers teach this constitutional mandate along with or against the state social studies standards (Montana Office of Public Instruction, 2014). The notion of social studies teachers serving as curriculum decision makers—challenging the standards and textbooks to make history and social studies culturally relevant, and often times, accurate—is regularly taken up in the literature, and it should be considered here as a future line of inquiry based on our findings (Gradwell, 2006; Salinas, 2006; Sleeter, 2008; Thornton, 1991, 2008; Wineburg & Wilson, 1991).

Ultimately, this study provides a broad look at how states re/present Indigenous Peoples in U.S. history standards. The findings extend what the field already knows about these re/presentations within textbooks. While the strength of the study is its look at national trends, it is limited in its depth of analysis for each individual state. Our call for additional analyses of these data

and implementation of new studies based on our findings will further problematize hegemony in history education and social studies as a whole. In particular, future studies related to this topic would benefit from the interrogation of the colonial consciousness that “incites movement away from ‘sacred’ ways of knowing toward increased secularization” (Grande, 2004, p. 84). Interrogating our own thinking about what constitutes knowledge is a much-needed step in deconstructing the hegemony of history education. The power of historical narratives must become *the* central concern for social studies educators at all levels. To deconstruct the hegemonic nature of U.S. history, teachers and scholars must recognize how the “official knowledge embedded within the curriculum reflects the views, interests, and desires of people in power” (Subedi, 2008, p. 414). By critiquing the portrayal of Indigenous Peoples in state-level standards, we can further dismantle knowledge systems that act against the core foundations of social justice in the social studies.

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### NOTE

<sup>1</sup>For a full list of state standards documents analyzed as part of this study, please contact the first author.

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## APPENDIX A

### States by Total Coded and Post-1900 Standards

State	Total Indigenous standards	Post-1900 Indigenous standards
Florida	179	12
New York	108	19
Arizona	106	4
Idaho	94	44
New Mexico	88	25
Indiana	83	3
South Dakota	81	8
Washington, DC	80	11
Alabama	76	3
Kansas	76	0
Oklahoma	76	29
North Carolina	75	25
Arkansas	72	1
Georgia	70	0
Minnesota	69	13
Washington	63	20
California	56	2
New Jersey	52	2
Tennessee	49	2
Utah	46	3
South Carolina	43	0
West Virginia	40	2
Michigan	39	0
Texas	39	6
Nebraska	37	5
North Dakota	37	10
Mississippi	36	0
Montana	35	17
Virginia	34	2

(Continued)

Appendix A (Continued)

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State	Total Indigenous standards	Post-1900 Indigenous standards
Nevada	31	1
Hawaii	24	4
Kentucky	23	0
Massachusetts	23	0
Connecticut	18	1
Louisiana	18	0
Maine	18	9
Pennsylvania	18	2
Alaska	17	3
Maryland	17	0
Missouri	16	0
New Hampshire	15	2
Oregon	13	2
Rhode Island	13	4
Colorado	7	0
Illinois	7	0
Ohio	5	0
Wisconsin	4	1
Delaware	2	0
Iowa	1	0
Vermont	1	0
Wyoming	0	0

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