2018

Cultivating Perspective: A Qualitative Inquiry Examining School History Textbooks for Microaggressions Against Native Americans

Olivia G. Holter
The University Of Montana

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Cultivating Perspective: A Qualitative Inquiry Examining School History Textbooks for

Microaggressions Against Native Americans

By

Olivia G. Holter, B.A.
B.A., The University of Montana, Missoula, MT 2015

Thesis

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in School Psychology

The University of Montana
Missoula, MT

April, 2018

Approved By:

Anisa N. Goforth, Ph.D., Chair
Psychology

Jacqueline Brown, Ph.D.
Psychology

Lucilla Rudge, Ph.D.
Education

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

Holter, Olivia, April 2018   *Psychology*

Abstract Title: Cultivating Perspective: A Qualitative Inquiry Examining School History
Textbooks for Microaggressions Against Native Americans

Chairperson: Anisa N. Goforth, Ph.D

Native American youth face a number of challenges that affect their academic success and
mental health (Center for Native American Youth, 2016). One way in which Native American
youth currently face prejudice within the school system is through curriculum (Yosso, 2002).
More specifically, Native American youth are often presented with textbooks that include
stereotyped and distorted information about their peoples' history (Loewen, 1995; Sanchez,
2007). However, there is currently a gap in the literature showing whether or not these textbooks
also contain microaggressive statements towards Native Americans. The current study looked at
5 Eighth Grade level Montana history texts from around the state to explore two research
questions. The first- are there microaggressions in history textbooks used across the state, and
the second- if there are microaggressions, what are those themes? Results of this study found that
microaggressions were present in textbooks used in Eighth Grade textbooks in Montana.
Microaggressions found in these books included 96 microinvalidations, 54 microinsults, and 11
microassaults. Furthermore, the themes of these microaggressive statements expanded beyond
Sanchez's (2007) original themes. In turn, this section further discusses the results of this study
as well as the possible implications, directions for future research, and suggestions for school
psychologists.

Cultivating Perspective: Examining School History Textbooks for Microaggressions Against

Native Americans

Chapter 1: Introduction

Native Americans have a rich cultural heritage and a history of resiliency despite

generations of adversity including genocide and historical trauma (Walbert, 2008). Furthermore,

Native Americans have a strong connection to their culture that many consider to be a

fundamental aspect of their identity (Grandbois & Sanders, 2012). This strong cultural identity

in Native Americans is linked to a robust sense of identity and many positive outcomes,

including student achievement (Fischer & Stoddard, 2013).

Despite this resilience, many Native Americans continue to experience difficulties

associated with mental health and academic achievement that can have negative outcomes. For

example, Native American youth have an increased high school dropout rate and a suicide

completion rate that is 2.5 times higher than the national average (Center for Native American

Youth, 2016). Additionally, Native American youth also consistently perform lower than their

peers in reading and mathematics by fourth grade (National Association of Educational Progress,

2011). These statistics are disconcerting and suggest that we should work to understand the

underlying factors so school psychologists and other mental health professionals are able to

provide Native American youth additional mental health and academic support.

Microaggressions are one such phenomenon that have been shown to negatively impact

the mental health and academic success of minority groups, including Native Americans (Nadal,

Griffin, Wong, Hamit, & Rasmus, 2014). Microaggressions are characterized as every day snubs

and slights directed towards minorities (Sue, 2010). Furthermore, microaggressions are

correlated with mental health problems, such as depression (Nadal, Griffin, Wong, Hamit, &

Rasmus, 2014). Nearly 98% of Native Americans report experiencing at least one

microaggression within their lifetime (Jones & Galliher, 2015), although there are few research

studies that examine this population. Specifically, the source of these microaggressions has not

been explored in current scientific literature. Currently, there have not been any studies to

examine the possible sources of microaggressions against Native American youth.

One potential source of microaggressions could be educational curriculum and discourse,

specifically history texts provided within the school setting. Culturally responsive education is

characterized as having every student be able to learn, where his or her language, culture,

heritage, and experiences are respected and used within the context of their educational

experiences (Sullivan & A'Vant, 2009). Providing culturally responsive education goes beyond

just classroom conversations, and should include curricular discourses such as textbooks.

Curriculum is the structure of a class (e.g., activities), as well as the discourse (i.e.,

conversations) related to the information presented (Yosso, 2002). In other words, curriculum is

the formal and informal methods of instruction aimed at creating a framework of understanding

of that information as well as both the recognized way of presenting information, such as a

textbook (Yosso, 2002).

Textbooks could be one source of examining microaggressions within the curriculum.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) dictates that racism is so engrained into our Western culture and

systems that a racist does not need to be present for racism to be present at the systems level

(Yosso, 2002). Although intentions to include a textbook in curriculum might be to help

students learn and succeed, the unintentional consequences of the microaggressions engrained in

those books could be substantial. Indeed, Banks (2015) discusses how textbooks solely represent

history from a dominant group viewpoint and postulates that this negatively affects minority

youth, including Native Americans, by marginalizing them. Furthermore, representing history from a dominant group perspective does not allow for social equality, or culturally responsive education, within the school setting (Gutmann, 2004).

Given that the goal of culturally responsive education is to provide an inclusive learning environment, having microaggressions directed towards Native Americans in curricula would inherently not align with this goal. In the State of Montana, all children are required to receive education about Native American history prior to graduation. Under this legislation called *Indian Education for All* (IEFA), curriculum must include Native American history, traditional beliefs, sovereignty, and identity (Office of Public Instruction [OPI], 2016).   Similarly, the National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) *Indigenous Framework* suggests that school psychologists provide culturally responsive services to Native American youth by integrating their cultural identity (Charley, Robinson-Zañartu, Melroe, Dauphinais, & Baas, 2015). Consequently, the purpose of this qualitative research study is to explore the content of middle and high school-level texts to determine 1) whether there are microaggressions directed towards Native Americans in history textbooks, and 2) if there are, what are the overarching themes of the microaggressions that occur.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Native Americans

Native Americans are historically an underrepresented and underserved population, particularly in the field of school psychology. In this section, I will be addressing historical and current research about Native Americans and the gaps in the research literature that need to be filled.

Terminology. The designation or identification of "Native American" varies depending on the perspective, entity, or government. According to the United States government, a Native American is an individual who is a member of a tribe indigenous to the United States and its territories (Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA], 2016). Similarly, the U.S. Census Bureau (2011) solely requires self-identification as Native American/Alaska Native to be considered as such in population statistics. However, these federal definitions rely on self-identification rather than tribal membership.

In academia, there are multiple ways people chose to label Native Americans. For example, the terms "Native American," "Indigenous American," and "American Indian" are often used in research, sometimes interchangeably (Brunner, 2000). However, most current research tends to use the term "Native American" as it has been perceived as the most respectful term that encompasses a heterogeneous group of indigenous peoples in North America (Brunner, 2000). Clearly, there are differences, and sometimes controversy, in regards to terminology surrounding Native Americans. Indeed, it is difficult for scholars to consider what is the appropriate term to use when addressing this population, and ideally, the Native American's own name for their tribe should be used when addressing them. After much discussion, research, and

reflection, the term "Native American" will be used in this study, to both honor and respect Native American peoples.

Governmental agencies have other ways to designate or identify people as "Native American." For example, to receive certain services from the government as a Native American, an individual must belong to an indigenous American tribe. For specific government services and aid, such as college tuition assistance, an individual must be at least one half Native American (BIA, 2016). That is, the federal government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, indicates that services can only be provided through "blood quantum." Blood quantum is a phenomenon in which a specific amount of traceable Native American ancestry, such as being 1/2 or 1/8 through traceable Native American ancestry, is required to receive membership to a tribe or access to government services (Zotigh, 2011). Using blood quantum is controversial because it has its roots in historically racist ideologies where persons with more White blood than blood from other races were considered more competent and had access to more privileges within American society such as being able to purchase and sell property (Forbes, 2000). Forbes (2001) also argues that by requiring a specific amount of "blood" heritage to claim status as Native American leaves out many individuals with either untraceable ancestry, or people with Native American ancestry that simply don't have enough blood to count. However, these individuals might still identify as Native American and face the same struggles as someone with traceable Native American ancestry (Forbes, 2001).

Native Americans are typically part of a larger community or tribe. U.S. federal law specifically defines a Native American tribe as "a tribe, band, pueblo, nation, or other organized group or community of Indians, including an Alaska Native village, that is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States to Indians because of their

status as Indians" (Pub. L. 103–322, title III, § 30103, Sept. 13, 1994, 108 Stat. 1838).

However, every Native American tribe has its own official rules for membership (OPI, 2016).

For example, the Chippewa Cree tribe, who call the Rocky Boy Reservation in Northwest

Montana their home, have four qualifications for membership and enrollment into their tribe

(U.S. Department of the Interior, 1935). To be considered part of the Chippewa Cree tribe an

individual must be one of the following; (a) A members of the "Rocky Boy's Band of Chippewa

enrolled as of June 1, 1934," (b) All children born to any member of the Chippewa Cree Tribe of

the Rocky Boy's Reservation who is a resident of the reservation at the time of the birth of said

children, (c) All children of one-half or more Indian blood born to a nonresident member of the

tribe, (d) Any person shall lose his membership if, after the adoption of this Constitution he is

away from the reservation for a period of ten years unless within that period he applies to the

Business Committee for extension of his membership and the Business Committee acts favorably

upon such application. Any extension of membership shall be construed to include all absentee

children of such member. Likewise, loss of membership by the parent shall be construed to

include loss of membership by his absentee children (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1935).

On the other hand, the Blackfeet tribe located on the Blackfeet Reservation in Northwest

Montana have different rules for tribal membership. The Blackfeet tribal membership rules

include (a) All persons of Indian blood whose names appear on the official census roll of the

tribe as of January 1, 1935, (b) All children born prior to the adoption of this amendment to any

blood member of the Blackfeet Tribe maintaining a legal residence within the territory of the

Reservation at the time of such birth, (c) All children having one-fourth (1/4) degree of Blackfeet

Indian blood or more born after the adoption of this amendment to any blood member of the

Blackfeet Tribe (Constitution and By-Laws For the Blackfeet Tribe Of The Blackfeet Indian

Reservation of Montana, 1978). These two examples further illustrate the tribe-to-tribe variations and definitions of how a person is considered Native American.

Many Native American tribes reside on tribal reservations. Reservations are considered sovereign nations, which means Native Americans have their own governing bodies, and make laws and decisions for themselves (Montana Legislature, 1995). The state of Montana would also like to recognize that when working with Native American tribes, the relationship should be thought of as "a unique government to government relationship" (Montana Code 2-15-142). However, Native Americans are also considered full citizens of the state of Montana (Office of Indian Affairs, 2016), and have their interests represented by the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA).

Native Americans in Montana. Native Americans are the largest ethnic minority group in the state of Montana, with approximately 6.3% of Montanans being Native American (U.S. Census, 2010). Montana is also home to twelve Native American tribes and eight reservations (OPI, 2016). Seven of these reservations are federally recognized, while the Little Shell reservation is solely recognized by the state of Montana (OPI, 2016). The Blackfeet Reservation and the Flathead Indian Reservation are two of the most populated Native American reservations in the United States (U.S. Census, 2010). In Montana, 11 out of the 12 tribes are federally recognized, with the Little Shell of the Chippewa tribe not currently federally recognized (OPI, 2016).

Montana's history is entwined with Native American history beginning over 12,000 years ago (Malone et. al, 2003). Although each tribe has its own distinct history and culture, there are a number of historical events that Native Americans have experienced like boarding schools, the loss of their land, and historical trauma that continue to affect them today. Historically, Native

Americans were forced to assimilate into mainstream American culture (Oberg, 2010), which has affected their community, identity and well-being.

In the late 18th century and early 19th century, American colonizers heading west displaced many Native Americans of their traditional lands (Oberg, 2010). This displacement created conflict and often warfare between Native Americans and White colonizers. In an effort to curb conflict, many Native American nations made treaties with the United States government to create peace, but doing so caused a loss of much what was traditionally Native American land (Oberg, 2010). Furthermore, although treaties were often created, the U.S. government did not necessarily abide by those treaties. For example, the Hellgate Treaty of 1855 established what would later become the Flathead Reservation, but also recognized the rights of Native Americans from the Salish, Kootenai, and Pend d'Oreilles tribes to stay in the Bitterroot Valley outside of what is now Missoula (Ojibwa, 2011). However, in 1891, the treaty was broken when the Salish were forced to march 51 miles from the Bitterroot Valley to the Flathead Reservation in what is now known as the "Salish Trail of Tears" (Devlin, 2016).

The Salish, like many other Native Americans, were often forced to live on reservations, which were only a fraction of their traditional lands (Utter, 2001). Once Native Americans were forced onto these reservations, they were involuntarily put into the position of land ownership, a cultural concept formerly not known to many tribes (Walbert, 2008). Because of this, many colonizers were able to purchase land only to find out that many Native Americans did not recognize the sale. Yet, the colonial court system would likely rule in favor of the colonizers, leaving Native Americans with a fraction of the land they once used (Walbert, 2008). The phenomenon is known as allotment, or the selling, of reservation land to non-indigenous peoples (Utter, 2001). Because of allotment, Native Americans currently only own 56 million acres of

their original 138 million acres (Utter, 2001). The forcing onto reservations, allotment, and overall loss of land has led to many Native Americans losing their traditional ways of life, as well as forcing many Native American peoples to assimilate into Western ways of life. For example, many traditionally nomadic tribes from the plains areas are now confined to a single area and made to assimilate into a stationary lifestyle (Oberg, 2010).

Loss of land was not the only way Native Americans lost their traditional ways of life. Native Americans were made to assimilate through the forcing of Native American children to attend boarding schools. Often, Native American children were forcibly removed from their families and communities (Child, 2016). The first of these schools was the Carlisle Boarding School in Pennsylvania, where many Native Americans were forcibly taken and relocated to Pennsylvania to become more "civilized" members of American society (Child, 2016). At schools like Carlisle, the children were stripped of their culture and had their hair cut off, renamed with Western names, forced to speak English instead of their own native tongues, and required to wear Western clothing (Stannard, 1992; Child, 2016). Many Native American children also experienced trauma and abuse in the boarding school system such as being denied food if the child was sick and being beaten for using their indigenous language (Lajimodiere, 2012). Consequently, many children were raised away from their homelands without a connection to, or pride in, their tribal and family relations (Brave Heart, 1999; Arizala, 2012).

This forced assimilation and loss of Native American cultural heritage led to significant historical trauma among Native Americans. Historical trauma is defined as "the cross-generational transmission of trauma from historical losses" (Brown-Rice, 2013, pp. 1). Historical trauma has been linked to current mental health issues such as alcohol abuse, and interpersonal and family violence (Brave Heart, 2003; Campbell, & Evans-Campbell, 2011).

Among Native Americans, even thinking about their peoples' historical trauma can cause

emotional distress and feelings such as anxiety, depression, and anger (Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt,

& Chen, 2004). Because of this, it is important to take the historical context of Native

Americans into account when serving them in a mental health setting.

Mental Health and Education of Native American Youth

The historical context of Native Americans is important in understanding the current state

of their mental health needs. Presently, mental health issues are more common in Native

American youth than non-Native American youth. Mendoza (2014) suggests that suicide

completion rates among Native American youth are 2.5 times higher than the national average.

Furthermore, 22% of female and 13% of males who identify as Native American report

attempting suicide at least once during high school (Center for Native American Youth, 2016).

Risk factors for mental health issues are also higher for Native American youth. For example,

one in three Native American children live in poverty, a risk factor highly correlated with the

development of depression (Dryden, 2016). Although these statistics show a grim state for

Native American youth, it should also inform researchers and clinicians that more work needs to

be done in supporting the mental health and well-being of these children.

Given the mental health needs of Native American youth, the National Association of

School Psychologists (NASP, 2012) released a statement and action plan to better serve this

population. Their position statement, *The Effective Service Delivery for Indigenous Children*

and Youth, recognizes the hardships that Native Americans have historically experienced in

regards to education, as well as outlines the best practices for culturally responsive school

psychological services with indigenous youth. The ultimate goal of the statement is to improve

the lives of Native American youth (NASP, 2012). The framework (see Figure 1) suggests that

working with Native Americans in a culturally responsive mandates a multifaceted approach that

takes the many different aspects of their unique cultures into account.

Figure 1. NASP Framework for Effective Practice with Indigenous Communities

The framework highlights that school psychologists strive to support Native American youth and

encourage school psychologists to understand seven points. Specifically, school psychologists

should understand indigenous language, cognitive/academic skills, sovereignty, spirituality,

reciprocity, physical needs, intentionality, and social/behavioral needs. Furthermore, Charley,

Robinson-Zañartu, Melroe, Dauphinais, and Baas (2015) suggest that the framework represents the way many Native Americans conceptualize the interconnectedness of many aspects of life. Additionally, understanding the unique cultural and historical aspects of Native Americans is ultimately the best way to provide culturally responsive care to these youth (Charley, et. al, 2015).

NASP (2012) also recognizes that one of the current obstacles is a vast overrepresentation and misidentification and placement of Native American youth in special education. Currently, Native American youth are more likely than their White peers to be identified and receive special education services (Collier, 2012). Native American youth are similarly more likely to be held back or retained in high school than their White counterparts, and those Native American youth who receive special education services are more likely to be suspended from school (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2016). Overall, it seems that Native American youth are being disproportionately identified in school for academic and behavior concerns over their White classmates.

In addition to an overrepresentation of Native American youth in special education services, Native American youth in the general education population remain underserved and experience many negative interactions within the school setting. For example, Native American students are more likely to receive disciplinary actions and be suspended from school as compared to their white classmates (Wallace, Goodkind, Wallace, & Bachman, 2008). Furthermore, high school dropout rates are double the national average for Native American youth (Reyhner, 1992). However, the specific reasons as to why these gaps exist are currently unknown and further research is warranted.

In sum, current research suggests that Native American youth are overrepresented in special education, experience significant mental health problems, and yet are historically underrepresented within school psychology literature. Given the high proportion of Native Americans in Montana, additional research examining this population is warranted to further understand how to best serve these youth.

Educational Curriculum

Within the State of Montana, attending school is compulsory with few exemptions (Montana Code 20-5-102). Given the law that every child is required to attend school, the curriculum (e.g., what is taught at school) should be tailored to the diverse populations that attend those schools (Banks & Banks, 2016). However, often times solely the dominant cultural perspective (the traditionally White, European perspective) is presented within a curriculum (Banks & Banks, 2016). However, the extent to which curriculum only represents one view point is not currently understood, and warrants further research on how minorities are represented within curriculum.

Curriculum is defined as the means and materials that students and education personnel utilize to meet specific learning goals (Ebert, Ebert, & Bentley, 2013). Curriculum is not simply what is purveyed through a textbook; rather curriculum also entails how children are assigned to that class, as well as the discourse related to the information presented (Yosso, 2002). In other words, curriculum is both the recognized way of presenting information, such as a textbook, as well as the informal methods of instruction aimed at creating understanding of that information (Yosso, 2002). Ultimately, curriculum is how children learn in both a formal and informal way within the classroom setting.

In 1944, George Orwell wrote "history is written by the winners," showing that the historical narrative often highlighted is only told by the dominant group perspective, losing the important and often distorted narrative and voice of minorities. Yosso (2002) purports that "traditional curricular discourses distort, omit, and stereotype Chicana/o, Latina/o, African American, Asian American/Asian Pacific Islander, and Native American experiences" (p. 93). Although it is most likely not intentional and malicious, bias against minorities can arise through our traditional curricula and has the potential to affect minority students' well-being (Banks, 2015).

This lack of accurate representation of minority history, specifically Native American history, can also negatively affect students. Banks and Banks (2016) state that, "Students learn best and are more highly motivated when the school curriculum reflects their cultures, experiences, and perspectives." Moreover, when minority students' culture and history is represented within the curriculum of a school, overall standardized test scores can improve (Cabrera, Milem, Jaquttee, & Marx, 2012). Minority students can also feel alienated because of the differences in culture between their school and home life (Au, 2011; Lee, 2007). For example, Romero-Little (2011) explains that Native American children, especially those from her own Pueblo background, grow up in a culture of learning that is very different than how learning is expected to happen within the traditional curricular discourses. In traditional curriculum, "learning" is what is taught in school; however for many Native American people, "learning" can be participation in feasts and religious ceremonies (Romero-Little, 2011). It is this focus on participation that many Native Americans value and consider education on becoming a part of their society. However, this discord between Western learning and Native American learning needs to be further explored and challenged.

One way in which scholars suggest challenging traditional curricular discourse is through counter storytelling. Counter storytelling, or telling the minority perspective, is one way to challenge racism engrained within traditional curriculum (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Education scholars purport that counter storytelling is an important addition to traditional curriculum because it brings to light the perspective of minority communities that might otherwise be ignored (Delgado, 1990; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Yosso, 2006). This counter storytelling might include bringing in a Native American speaker to the class to share his perspective, or attending a local powwow. However, although these small events are important, one speaker cannot fully present the entire perspective of the Native American in the context of American history. Thus, it is important to note that counter storytelling can be taken one step farther, and show that space for minorities' perspectives should be created in traditional curriculum means, such as textbooks. Banks (1993) suggests that solely presenting a Eurocentric, dominant group view of U.S. history allows for both the continued narrative of race and social power and the continued subjugation of minorities including Native Americans.

For an example of what counter storytelling could look like, consider the following example put forth by Banks and Banks (2016):

> When the European explorations of the Americas are viewed from a Eurocentric perspective, the Americas are perceived as having been "discovered" by European explorers such as Columbus and Cortés (Loewen, 2010; Zinn, 1999). The view that Native peoples in the Americas were discovered by the Europeans subtly suggests that Indian cultures did not exist until they were "discovered" by the Europeans and that the lands occupied by the Native Americans were rightfully owned by the Europeans after they settled on and claimed them (Banks and Banks, 2016, pp. 153).

This simple, yet powerful example shows how thousands of years of history can be erased in one history lesson. An example of counter storytelling in this case could be as simple as reminding students that Native Americans had been settled on the Americas for thousands of years prior, and that when Columbus and Cortés came to the Americas, they also brought with them disease that wiped out hundreds of thousands of Native Americans. Simply put, counter storytelling is making sure that the narrative of minority groups is represented within the classroom setting (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

In sum, although schools use curriculum to meet educational goals and disseminate a broad baseline of knowledge to students (Ebert et. al, 2013; Montana Code 20-5-102), this curriculum may also include stereotypes and misinformation about minorities (Yosso, 2002). This presentation of misinformation could be potentially harmful to minority students given the current research suggesting that when minority students are not taught their own history they are more likely to feel isolated within the school setting (Banks & Banks, 2016). Understanding the degree to which this misinformation exists in curricula, and particularly textbooks, may help educators and psychologists better understand, instruct and support the well-being of minority students such as Native Americans.

Montana Curriculum: Indian Education for All. Native Americans have a long and rich history within the state of Montana, which is recognized by both the citizens of Montana as well as the state government (Malone, Roeder, Lang, 2003). In fact, the Montana Constitution, "recognizes the distinct and unique cultural heritage of the Native Americans and is committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity" (Montana Code Annotated, 2015). However well-intentioned this addition to the constitution is, the people of Montana as well as legislators, felt as if it was not doing enough to preserve the history and culture of Native

Americans in the state of Montana (OPI, 2015). To remedy this, in 1999, the Montana state legislature decided that they were not honoring this aspect of the Montana Constitution well enough and passed the *Indian Education for All Act* (IEFA), a legislative intent with the goal of making sure that Montana students learn about the history and heritage of Native Americans (OPI, 2015). The Indian Education for All specifies,

> Recognition of Native American cultural heritage -- legislative intent. (1) It is the constitutionally declared policy of this state to recognize the distinct and unique cultural heritage of Native Americans and to be committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural heritage. (2) It is the intent of the legislature that in accordance with Article X, section 1(2), of the Montana constitution: (a) every Montanan, whether Indian or non-Indian, be encouraged to learn about the distinct and unique heritage of Native Americans in a culturally responsive manner; and (b) every educational agency and all educational personnel will work cooperatively with Montana tribes or those tribes that are in close proximity, when providing instruction or when implementing an educational goal or adopting a rule related to the education of each Montana citizen, to include information specific to the cultural heritage and contemporary contributions of Native Americans, with particular emphasis on Montana Indian tribal groups and governments. (3) It is also the intent of this part, predicated on the belief that all school personnel should have an understanding and awareness of Indian tribes to help them relate effectively with Indian students and parents, that educational personnel provide means by which school personnel will gain an understanding of and appreciation for the Native American people (IEFA; MCA 20-1-501,1999).

The IEFA is the first of its kind within the United States, and sets precedence for the rest of the country in making sure that all students receive access to education as well as a fair and accurate historical representation of Native Americans.

Nonetheless, there are not many details or standards within the legislations. Specifically, there is a lack of standards set forth within IEFA that outline what grade levels students should learn aspects of Native American history (OPI, 2015). Many schools elect to have Montana history courses in upper elementary school as well as in Eighth Grade to meet the goal of knowing aspects of Montana's history by the end of middle school (Jetty, 2016). However, none of this is mandatory and there may be differences across schools or school district standards and curricula.

In an effort to evaluate the effectiveness of IEFA, the Montana OPI hired an outside consultant to conduct a study of 20 geographically diverse school districts from across the state of Montana (deAnn Bachtler, 2015). Ultimately, 157 teachers, administrators, other school personnel, as well as students from the selected school districts participated in the small group portion of the study. When students were asked about why they learn about Native Americans in class, they responded, "It's part of American history," "It helps us not be racist," "It's good to learn about other cultures," and "They were the first people to settle here and they live here, too;" however, most did not know that IEFA legislation was responsible for why they were learning this information (deAnn Bachtler, 2015, pp. 7). In response to the same questions, teachers in the study discussed the fact that IEFA encourages culturally responsive education, as well as long-term social justice impacts within the state. It was also reported that OPI's implementation of IEFA was "intentional, inclusive, and well informed" (p. 7). This study helps

illustrate that even though students may not know about the specific legislation of IEFA, the impacts of IEFA are thought to be beneficial by a wide variety of school personnel.

In conclusion, Indian Education for All is an act put forth by Montana Legislature to ensure that Native American students are receiving fair access to education, as well as educating all students about the history of Native Americans (OPI, 2016). One specifically stated goal of IEFA is to learn about the culture of Native Americans in a "culturally responsive manner" (IEFA; MCA 20-1-501,1999), but this is not possible if students are presented with curricula that include misconceptions about Native American people and their heritage. Currently, it is not known whether the representation of Native Americans in texts and traditional curricular discourses is done in a culturally responsive manner. The current proposed study aims to help fill this gap in the literature by analyzing the representation of Native Americans in Montana historical texts to better serve Native American students as well as meet the goals put forth by IEFA.

The Use of Text Analysis in Educational Research

History courses, more than any other type of courses, regularly use the textbook as the main source of information (Lowen, 1995). However, textbooks often carry a great deal of misinformation on minority peoples (Council on Interracial Books for Children Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators, 1977; Banks & Banks, 2016). The earlier example of the misrepresentation of Columbus' arrival in America is one such example of not including the minority perspective within text. As a result, understanding where and how textbooks may stereotype and misinform about minorities is an important task in determining what steps need to be taken to create culturally responsive curriculum. Text analysis is one method in which to explore how stereotypes and misinformation are presented in history textbooks.

One of the first textbook content analyses was performed by the Council on Interracial Books for Children Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators ([Council on Interracial Books], 1977). In their book, titled *Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks,* the scholars exposed how women, Asian American, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Native American's history was represented in textbooks. This content analysis compared books from prior to the 1960's to what was then the most "current" texts (from the mid 1970s). Results of their text analysis suggested that the texts of that time included more inclusive, less stereotyped information of minority peoples as previous texts. Nonetheless, there were still many distortions, stereotypes, and omissions of minority peoples within the more current, 1970s, texts (Council on Interracial Books,, 1977). For example, there were multiple passages of texts included within the analysis that completely misrepresented Native Americans perspectives of historical events. This illuminates the fact that much work is needed to accurately represent minority's, including Native American's, experiences.

Lowen (1995) popularized the idea of textbook analysis with his book *Lies My Teacher Told Me*. Lowen's analysis was conducted on twelve of the most popular junior high-college level American history texts published from 1974 to 1991. Although Lowen's analysis was not solely focused on Native Americans, Lowen did include a component of the analysis about Native Americans. Specifically, Lowen speaks to how many events, such as the first Thanksgiving, are misinterpreted to solely represent the experiences of White ancestors. He concludes that the representation of Native Americans has improved, however the depiction of Native Americans is still not completely accurate. For example, few of these texts discussed the fact that many of the indigenous people that once inhabited the Americas died by widespread disease, and further, many texts failed to represent that it was often colonizers that brought these

diseases with them (Lowen, 1995). Lowen's book is a strong analysis that brings to light many

troubles with solely representing the dominant group historical perspective. Nevertheless, the

widespread focus of Lowen's analysis lacked depth and emphasis on how specific minorities are

represented within history texts. For this reason, it is important to narrow the focus of text

analysis and focus on one minority group at a time, such as Native Americans.

Most recently, in Padgett's (2015) article "A Critical Case Study of Selected U.S.

History Textbooks from a Tribal Critical Race Theory Perspective", he lays the original

foundation for using Critical Race Theory in the analysis of textbooks. In this study, Padgett

uses critical case qualitative methodology to analyze five American history textbooks used in the

Hillsborough County Florida School District. Padgett used Janesick's (2004) outlined method of

exemplary critical case studies and began by answering Janesick's questions of "who, why, how

and where." Specifically, the following is how Padgett answered these questions.

Who: The portrayal of Native Americans in textbooks in Hillsborough County Florida.

Why: The case study is of significance to the researcher because the researcher identifies

as a Native American.

How: Padgett uses Sanchez's (2007) guidelines of the Five Great Values of generosity

and sharing, respect for the elderly and women, getting along with nature, individual

freedom, and courage, as well as a Tribal CRT theoretical framework. Padgett also uses

critical discourse analysis which is an interdisciplinary approach that allows people to

analyze text from a sociopolitical viewpoint.

Where: This analysis is centric to textbooks used in Hillsborough county Florida.

Padgett's study is one of the first studies that has used CRT as a theoretical framework

for text analysis. Although the choice to use a critical case study to outline the analysis was

strong, the methodological rigor of this study appeared less so. For this reason, I have elected to use much more rigorous qualitative methods within the current research study.

An example of a study using strong qualitative methodology is Sanchez's (2007) study "The Depiction of Native Americans in Recent (1991-2004) Secondary American History Textbooks: How Far Have We Come?". In this study, Sanchez investigated the depiction of Native Americans in 15 recent American secondary (middle, high school, and university) history textbooks. To analyze the content of these texts, Sanchez used the *Five Great Values* proposed by Reiten (1995), which include generosity and sharing, respect for elders and women, getting along with nature, individual freedom and leadership, and courage. The *Five Great Values*, or themes, were identified as being important to most all Native American cultures and histories (Sanchez, 2007). These themes were used as a form of fidelity to ensure that major aspects of Native American history and culture were addressed in the texts books; however, it should be noted that although these five themes have been identified as important to almost every Native American culture, they might not completely capture every important aspect to all of the different Native American tribes and cultures.

In the study, each textbook was read and passages depicting Native Americans were coded using the *Five Great Values*. Additional subcategories were then found in order to identify "stereotyping, respectful language, tokeneism, historical distortion and/or omission, lifestyle, and gender roles" (pp. 313). Based on the coding, each textbook was then assigned a rating between 0 (blatantly poor, obvious omissions, insulting) to 5 (accurate, comprehensive depictions). Sanchez found that current history texts included more quantity about Native American cultures as compared to earlier texts from the 1960s or 1970s. However, five textbooks received a score of 1 on their rating scale, showing a generally poor depiction of

Native American history and culture, three texts received a score of 2, four textbooks received a satisfactory rating of 3, and three textbooks received a rating of 4, falling short of a rating of 5 due to not meeting the comprehensive standards put forth by the Five Great Values. Overall, a majority of texts fell at or below an average rating of depicting Native Americans, showing that although there have been strides towards actually representing Native Americans, there has not been sufficient enough progress to holistically and accurately represent the Native American perspective in American history.

Institutional Racism

Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) were the first to use the term "institutional racism" in their seminal book *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. In this book, Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) note that we often consider racism to be interpersonal acts. However, the definition of racism should also be expanded to include the social and political structures that create barriers that keep people of color from meeting their full potential. In other words, racism can also be perpetuated at an "institutional" level. It has been noted that institutional racism can be seen in a variety of ways. For example, Johnston and Packer (1987) noted that less than 1% of people who held executive positions in the United States were people of color. In fact, Jeanquart-Barone and Sekaran (1996) conducted a study that shows that many people of color perceive there to be large amounts of institutional racism within their workplaces. However, it is important to know that institutional racism is not only found in the work place, but can also be found within the school system as well. Sue (2010) writes that biases in curriculum are just one example of institutional racism within the school system. Furthermore, Critical Race Theory provides one lens in which to look at Institutional racism within the school system.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) was first proposed in 1980 and suggests that racism is engrained within our society at a systems-wide level including in education and curriculum (Delgado & Stefancic, 1995). More specifically, CRT is a movement in a variety of fields dedicated to examining the relationship between race, privilege, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 1995). Scholars suggest that a racist need not be present for racism to exist within a system (Yosso, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1999). That is, although the dominant culture today may not be overtly racist, racism can still exist due to the building blocks of many institutions being solidified during times where minorities were clearly in subordinate positions (Yosso, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1999).

Delgado, Stefancic, and Liendo (2008) state that the CRT movement attempts to place issues of race within a broader academic perspective, as opposed to traditional civil rights movements which question the building blocks of the democratic and broader bureaucratic process (Delgado et. al, 2012). CRT begins to challenge traditional academic theories by pairing them with more neutral principles of law. As applied in a more modern era, Delgado and colleagues (2012) suggest that people in many fields of academia are taking concepts of CRT and applying them to research in education, law, and the social sciences.

There are five main tenants of CRT cited by scholars within the framework of literature (Soloranzo & Delgado Bernal, 2001). The first tenant suggests that there is intersectionality of race, class, and sexuality. This tenant explains that students who have multiple marginalized identities, such as identifying as a black, gay, and a woman, will potentially face more institutional discrimination than a person with just one marginalized identity, this is also the main idea of intersectionality (Yosso, 2006).

The second tenant of CRT is dedicated to challenging mainstream ideology. In education, the dominant group, or White perspective is often presented as the only narrative (Yosso, 2006). In history texts, this argument shows the importance of challenging those ideals and presenting minority perspective, such as counter storytelling (Yosso, 2006). For example,

> From the beginning there were a few settlers who made friend with the Indians and tried to understand them… Churches sent missionaries to teach their religion to the Indians, cure their sicknesses, and try to teach them new ways. The missionaries accomplished much, but there were never enough of them or of other settlers who wanted to help the Indians (Council for Interracial Books, 1977 ;p. 564)

In this case, it is important to challenge the mainstream, Eurocentric viewpoint that Native Americans were "savages" in need of uplifting from "heathen" beliefs" (Council for Interracial Books, 1977). A presentation of fact this way could also be considered a microinvalidation (a form of microaggression that ignores or omits a person's experience (Sue, 2010) in the way that it completely omits the Native American narrative.

The third tenant is a commitment to social justice. CRT was meant to change the status quo and help minority people's progress. Education has long been aligned with social justice, and making sure that all students get not only the dominant group narrative, but the minority history perspective as well is important and formative for progress within education (Banks, 2016). For example, if it is found that there are macroaggressions against Native Americans in Montana history texts, it would be important to advocate for more inclusive texts.

The fourth tenant suggests that CRT acknowledges the importance of storytelling and experiential knowledge for the retelling of minority history (Yosso, 2006). This tenant of CRT shows that many students will not be shown the experiences of minority peoples without the

presence of narratives from people of color (Yosso, 2006). This tenant is extremely important in cultures where oral history and experiential knowledge is considered more important than history written in books (i.e., Native American history; Romero-Little, 2011). In recent history, the field of education has identified that counter storytelling is an important aspect of making sure that minorities understand their own history as well as feel included within the classroom setting (Solóranzon & Yosso, 2002; Yosso, 2006).

Finally, the fifth tenant is that CRT challenges scholars to move away from the singular perspective that much research takes and instead shift towards a multidiscipline approach that has the power to bring in many academic perspectives to important research (Sue, 2006). This thesis aims to include both theories from Education and Psychology to attain the goals this tenant puts forth.

These five tenants are critical to CRT because it builds the theoretical framework of the current study. Although not intentional, many traditional curricular discourses may include information that distorts and omits information on minorities (Yosso, 2002). This presentation of misinformation as fact could potentially negatively affect minority students (Smith et al., 2007; Solorzano, 1998; Solorzano et al., 2000). However, there is no current research specifically examining history textbooks as a source of microaggresisons.

Currently, there is momentum for CRT research and methods to be used within the social sciences. Most notably, Carbado and Roithmayr (2014) published an outline of 10 arguments as to why more people in the social sciences should engage with CRT, most important to this thesis are the arguments that,

Because racism exists at both the subconscious and conscious levels, the elimination of

intentional racism would not eliminate racial inequality. Our racial past exerts contemporary

effects. Racial change occurs when the interests of white elites converge with the interests of the racially disempowered. Racial stereotypes are ubiquitous in society and limit the opportunities of people of color. The success of various policy initiatives often depends on whether the perceived beneficiaries are people of color (p. 151).

These arguments are important in the current study because it is hypothesized even though there are microaggressions present in history textbooks, it is most likely not committed at a conscious level, rather, it is likely that it is committed at a more subconscious level. Yosso (2002) purports that a racist need not be present for racism to occur, and if it does occur it might be in a subconscious fashion such as a microaggression. IEFA is an important law; however, if the textbooks being used in Montana include microaggressions towards Native Americans, the policy initiative of representing Native Americans in an inclusive and holistic fashion is not being met. This study aims to examine history curriculum from the objective and neutral standpoint of CRT by examining microaggressions in history texts and by using a scientific field like psychology to examine the contents, in the hope that we can improve curriculum and education in the state of Montana.

Microaggressions

Microaggressions are every day exchanges that degrade minorities because of their group membership (Sue, 2010). In other words, microaggressions are the routine slights, snubs, or insults, that communicate intimidating, belittling, or negative messages to minority peoples based solely upon their group membership. It is important to note that some microaggressions are not intentional and stem from misunderstanding on the part of the microaggressor. For example, a person complimenting a Hispanic-looking individual for speaking "good English" could be a microaggression (Sue, 2010).

As suggested by Sue (2010), there are three basic types of microaggressions: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. Microassaults are conscious and intentional discrimination. For example, displaying a swastika is considered a microassault because it is a deliberate act meant to discriminate against a group of people. Microinsults conveys rudeness and insensitivity that demeans a person's racial identity or heritage. An example of a microinsult could be Native Americans seeing a mascot that is supposed to personify their culture "whooping fiercely during football games" yet portraying Native Americans as violent people. Finally, microinvalidations are comments that subtly invalidate, nullify, or misrepresents a person's minority experiences. For example, the previous quote from Banks and Banks (2016) misrepresenting that Native Americans as being "discovered" by Columbus and Cortés completely omits the thousands of years of history before Europeans came to the Americas, which could be considered a microinvalidation. Furthermore, excluding minority groups completely from historical narratives could be considered a microinvalidation itself because it invalidates and nullifies the experiences of those groups.

Institutionalized Racism. Sue (2010) writes that microassaults are the closest microaggression to what we would consider "old fashioned racism". Sue goes on to explain that microassaults are,

> conscious, deliberate, and either subtle or explicit racial, gender, or sexual-orientation biased attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors that are communicated to marginalized groups through environmental cues, verbalizations, or behaviors. They are meant to attack the group identity of the person or to hurt/harm the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions (Sue, 2010, pp. 28).

Sue goes on to explain that microassaults can include racial slurs. However, microassaults that do contain racial slurs are "generally expressed in limited "private" situations (micro)" (Sue et al., 2007, pp. 274). Sue (2010) outlines the following 3 scenarios where microassaults typically happen; A) in situations that allow the microaggressor some degree of anonymity such as writing a slur on a bathroom wall B) in situations where the microaggressor is among likeminded individuals that encourage each other, such as a group of men referring to women as "bitches" and "whores" or C) happen when the microaggressor is in a situation where "they lose control" such as being under the influence of an illicit substance (Sue, 2010). Although racial microaggressions are a form of racism, and racial microassaults are the type of microaggression most related to "old fashioned racism", it is important to remember that they are very different. Microassaults that include racial slurs typically happen at the interpersonal (micro) level, whereas explicit racism occurs at a non-micro level.

Racism is broadly defined as the systematic oppression of a group of people based off their racial heritage (Nelson, 2006). This wide definition of racism can also include institutional racism that purports racism is engrained in institutions, like schools, and puts down people of color while allowing white individuals to thrive (Sue, 2010). Sue (2010) even goes as far as to say that institutional racism can include "an educational curriculum that ignores or distorts the history of people of color" (pp. 141).

For this reason, it is important to note that the moment that a microaggression is printed within a textbook it is no longer happening at a "micro" level (i.e., in a small interpersonal level), but instead is happening at a more systemic, or "macro" level. For the ease of this thesis, the types of systemic "macroaggressions" found in texts will be coded and categorized by the types

of microaggressions. However, the reader should be wary of the systemic injustices that these "microaggressions" represent.

Microaggressions in Curriculum. In the context of education and curriculum, an example of a microaggression could be as simple as only representing the dominant cultural viewpoint in a contentious part of history, and failing to show the minority's perspective (Yosso, 2006). For an example,

> A conflict of cultures. The Eastern Woodland Indians did not develop a highly advanced culture… Beginning in the mid-1600's, the world of the Eastern Woodland Indians suddenly changed. The Indians faced Europeans, who were people with more advanced cultures. These Europeans had better weapons, better tools, and more advanced forms of political organization (Council for Interracial Books, 1977, p. 72).

Although not labeled as such, this example is a microassault, as well as a microinvalidation under Sue's (2010) definitions due to the fact that it completely invalidates Eastern Woodland Indians' culture and represents White, Europeans as being "better."

Microaggressions align with Critical Race Theory in the way that both accept that a racist need not be present for racism to exist. Although many people believe that we live in a "post racial" climate, or a culture that has long since moved past the racism of the past, Soloranzo, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) claim that racism comes to the surface in institutional settings (such as schools) through avenues such as microaggressions. Furthermore, microaggressions within textbooks could potentially be another venue in which racism is making its way into public institutions such as schools.

Effect of microaggressions on mental health. Although the current study is not tied to the mental health outcomes of microaggressions, it is important to understand the current

research on the correlation between individuals who experience microaggressions and their

mental health outcomes. Research on microaggressions show that there can be adverse effects

on the mental health of minorities experiencing them. Mental health issues, including

depression, are significantly correlated with the frequency and duration of experiencing

microaggressions (Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007). In one

study conducted by Nadal and colleagues (2014), microaggressions were found to be

significantly associated with negative affect, depressive symptomatology, anxiety, and

deterioration in executive functioning among participants from diverse backgrounds, including

people who identify as women, LGBT+, and racial minorities.

Similarly, among college students, the mental health effects of microaggressions have

also be found to be significant. In a study conducted by Soloranzo, Ceja, and Yosso (2000), a

group of 34 African American students participated in multiple focus groups to discuss how

racial microaggressions affected their day-to-day lives. The findings suggest that those

microaggressions that are based on race in both social and school spaces have tangible

consequences, the most immediate being a poor school climate for minority students, as well as

feelings of self-doubt, frustration, and isolation (Soloranzo et. al, 2000). Many participants

reported feeling "invisible" within the school setting, especially when "African Americans were

omitted, distorted, and stereotyped within their course curriculum" (p. 65). These results speak

to the need for further research on minority students, including Native Americans, on the

presentation of their history within mainstream educational curriculum.

Although Native Americans are often represented in larger studies on microaggressions

(albeit in small numbers), there is only one known study by Jones and Galliher (2015) that solely

focuses on Native Americans and microaggressions. A survey was administered to 114 adults

who identified as Native American that belonged to around 70 distinct indigenous groups from the United States, Mexico, and Canada (Jones & Galliher, 2015). Results of the study showed that 98% of participants reported experiencing at least one microaggression; however, participants reported that the extent to which they were upset over these experiences of microaggressions were typically mild. That is, the microaggressions that they were exposed to usually did not cause any emotional distress (Jones & Galliher, 2015). It is important to note that most of the people participating in this study were not representative of the Native American population, most notably, over half of participants reported attending at least some college, when less than .01% of the Native American population reports having a bachelor's degree or higher (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Because of these reasons, this study might not be an accurate representation of what Native Americans experience in relation to microaggressions. Considering what other research studies on minority students have shown, the effects are potentially negative and dangerous to both academic success and mental health. However, more research is needed to even tell what microaggressions Native American students face.

Current Study

The purpose of the study was to explore whether or not there are microaggressions directed towards Native Americans in Montana history textbooks presently being used in schools. In theory, Montana history curriculum should not include microaggressive statements towards Native Americans due to the fact that it is not culturally responsible to do so, and that microaggressions could hinder minority students from feeling accepted within their educational setting (Soloranzo, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Native American students, like other minorities who experience microaggressions within their educational settings, face an increased risk of mental health issues, including depression (Sue et. al, 2007). However, currently there is a gap in the

literature on where Native Americans face microaggressions, as well as the implications of those microaggressions.

The first goal of this study was to investigate whether or not there are microaggressive statements directed towards Native Americans in Montana Eighth Grade history textbooks. History is a subject that relies heavily on textbooks to fulfill curricular requirements, and having microaggressions directed towards Native Americans within these texts would go against the goal of culturally responsive education set forth in IEFA (Lowen, 1995; OPI, 2015).   Given that there is a lack of research examining microaggressive statements within history texts, this research study will be highly exploratory.

Because microaggressions were found, however, the second goal of this study was to highlight the major themes, or the subject matter, of the microaggressions uncovered. Highlighting the themes of the microaggressions will further our collective understanding of how textbook writers microagress against Native Americans in the future and allow for a more targeted approach in improving texts and curriculum as a whole.

Chapter III: Method

The purpose of the current study was to explore 1) whether or not there are microaggressions directed towards Native Americans in Montana history textbooks presently being used in Eighth Grade Montana History classrooms, and 2), the major underlying themes of those microaggressions in the school textbooks.

Researchers and Researcher Biases

Primary Investigator. I was the primary investigator of this research study. Currently, I am a third-year doctoral student in school psychology. I am a fifth generation Montanan born and raised in Helena, Montana. Growing up in Montana, I was often exposed to Native American culture. In schools, I also participated in curriculum that was part of the IEFA. I participated in several events in school (e.g., attending a Pow Wow) and listened to Native American authors (e.g., Sherman Alexie). However, growing up as a White individual in Montana, I have witnessed acts of discrimination against Native Americans. For example, I was told that Native Americans were "heathens" because they did not have the same religion as my White community. As a result of witnessing these acts of prejudice, I felt driven to pursue social justice within my research and clinical practice. This commitment to social justice, as well as my White, mainstream American background, may impede my ability to objectively analyze the data in the current study. For instance, because of my views I might seek microaggressions in text where none are present. For this reason, it is important to include the perspective of multiple coders to control for biases.

Research Assistants. Four undergraduate research assistants were recruited to be a part of the data collection and coding process. All research assistants were a part of the Culturally Responsive Evidence-Based Practices in School Psychology (CRESP) lab, and therefore have

been exposed to culturally responsive practices in both research and clinical practice. Currently,

three undergraduate research assistants identify as White and one undergraduate research

assistant identifies as Native American (Bitterroot Salish). All have grown up in the western

United States. Having multiple perspectives was important to this project and lead to a decrease

in researcher bias by allowing multiple reviews to oversee data and confirm the presence or

nonexistence of microaggressions directed towards Native Americans. The research assistants

attended multiple trainings on coding to control for coder drift.

Presence of Native Americans' perspectives and insight.   To address the potential bias

as a White, mainstream American researcher, it was important that I took active steps to ensure

that the data was looked at objectively with an inclusion of Native American perspective. One

way to minimize the potential bias of having mainly White researchers was to include the

perspective of individuals who identify as Native American. Graduate students who identify as

Native American were recruited to join the study for this role. Specifically, the role of a Native

American researcher was to help with data collection oversight and data validation. In other

words, the researchers reviewed the text content, validated if the microaggressions in the text

existed, and confirmed the coding of a microaggression. The researchers also conducted an audit

of all data and validated that all data being collected was true to the parameters set forth in the

methods section.

However, it is still important to consider the unique biases that these researchers may

have brought. One graduate student researcher identified as being part of a Montana Native tribe

(Blackfeet Nation) and the other graduate student was a part of a tribe from outside of Montana.

Specifically, it was important to have a member of a Montana tribe as part of this research as

they are directly affected by how their people's history was written but could have been

potentially biased by this affiliation. However, including a researcher that identified with a tribe

outside of Montana proved to be beneficial in adding balance to our group perspective, but not

knowing the specifics of Montana history could also be a potential for bias. Overall, having both

Native graduate researchers from both Montana and out of Montana proved beneficial in the

identification and reduction of bias in this research project.

Procedure

   The first step in this study was to find and obtain the Montana history texts used in

Eighth Grade courses across the state of Montana. Originally, Eighth Grade was identified for

inclusion in this study because it was previously identified as being the grade level that most

schools chose to teach Montana history classrooms. Textbooks were found using a two-step

process (see Figure 2). First, a list of schools that included Eighth Grade across the state of

Montana was made and their websites reviewed to find schools that had a specified Eighth Grade

Montana history curriculum. If the text that the school uses was not listed online, the researchers

contacted the schools. This process continued until 1) every middle school that includes a

Montana history specific course was contacted, and 2) had either responded with what text they

use, or 3) it had been determined that the school does not have a Montana history course or has

not responded to at least 2 attempts at correspondence, over a period of a month from the

beginning of February 2017 until March 15th 2017, concerning which history text they use.

Step 1

A list of all public schools in Montana that include 8th grade was compiled.

From this list, school administrators and history teachers were contacted and asked if they include an Eighth Grade Montana History course.

If schools included an 8th grade Montana History course, schools were asked what text they use.

If schools did not respond, 3 attempts at correspondence were made. If no answer was obtained, researchers did not contact the schools again.

Step 2

A list of texts was made with the additional information of what region the text is used e.g., (NW, SW, NE, SE Montana, reservations)

Because fewer than six textbooks were found to be used, all textbooks found were included and the population of texts was considered complete.
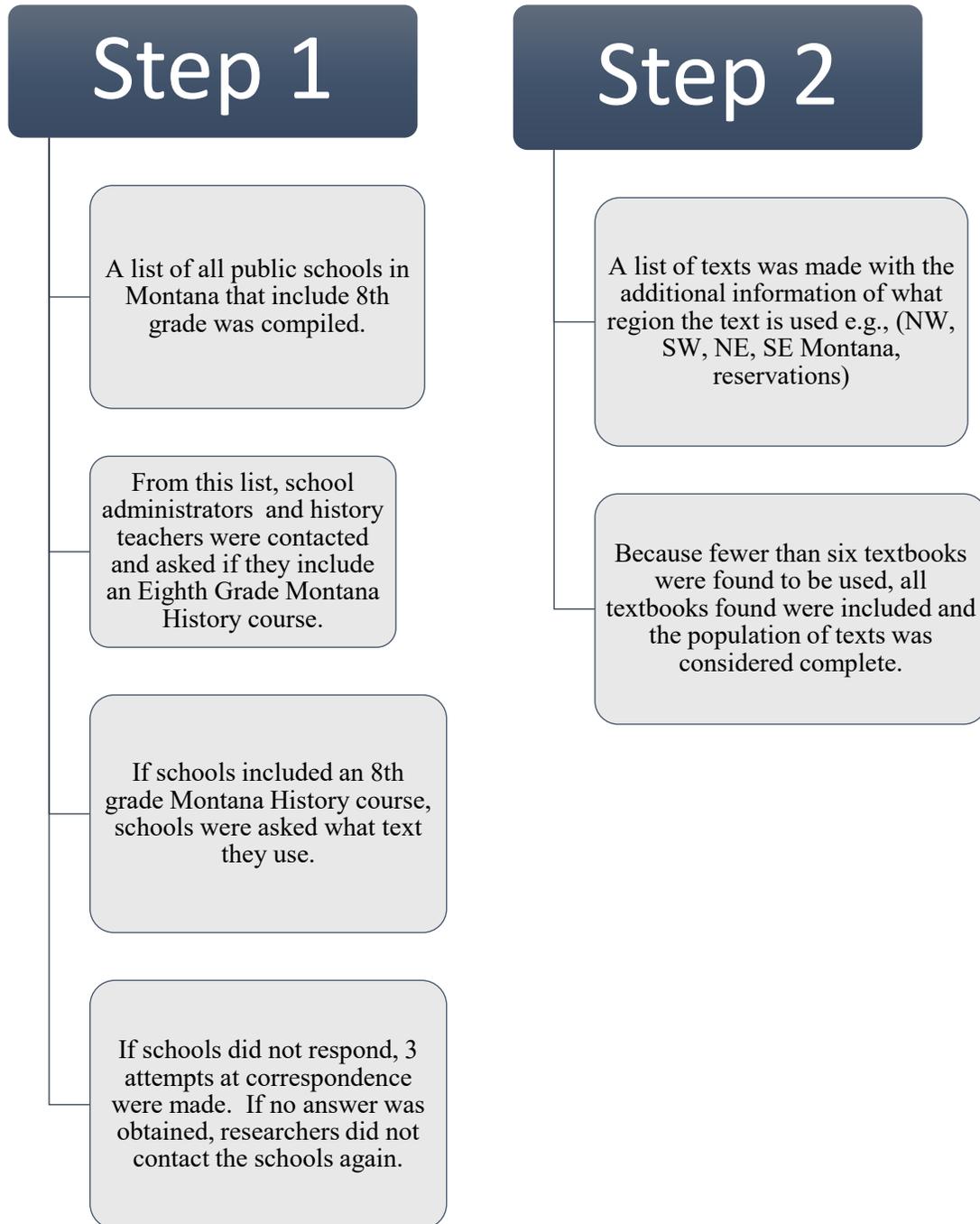
Figure 2. Method for textbook acquisition. This figure outlines the methodology of finding what textbooks were used in Eighth Grade Montana history courses.

A total of 325 schools were identified as including Eighth Grade across the state of Montana (i.e., were a traditional middle school, K-8, or K-12 school system) and were put on the list to be contacted. After the list of schools was compiled, the researchers began looking at school websites to see if they had the information on whether they included an eighth-grade Montana history course, and if so, what text the teachers used. If this information could not be found directly from looking at the school's website, both school administrators and history teachers were contacted to gather information on the texts used. Phone numbers or email were used to contact administrators and/or history teachers, to ask if their school included an Eighth Grade history course, and if so, further query as to what textbook they used within their curriculum. Sometimes, addresses or other contact information was difficult or impossible to obtain, resulting in our inability to contact an administrator or teacher. In a few cases, schools did not have websites or listed only one phone number, making it difficult or even impossible, to contact the appropriate individual.

After all information available via website was obtained, the schools were contacted. Preferentially, schools were contacted over email using a prewritten email format (see Appendix B). However, some schools did not have an email address listed. In these cases, schools were called using a unified calling script (see Appendix C). This contact period occurred between the dates of February 1, 2017 and March 15, 2017. During this time, contact information for 263 of the 325 schools was found. Of the schools contacted, 14.83% reported having an eighth-grade Montana history curriculum, 48.29% reported not having an Eighth Grade Montana history curriculum, and 36.88% did not respond.

Second, once schools were identified that offered a Montana history class, a list of textbooks used was compiled. Because fewer than six textbooks were found to be used across

the state, all textbooks found were included and the population of texts was considered saturated.

Table 1 shows the texts that were used across the state and the number of schools using them.

Table 1
Textbooks and Number of Schools Using Them, Including Schools On Reservations

Textbook	Brief Description of Text	Total Number of Schools Using Text	Number of Schools on Reservation Using Text
Holmes, K., Dailey, S., & Walter, D. (2008). *Montana Stories of the Land*. Montana Historical Society Press, Helena MT.	This text is the most widely used textbook in the state of Montana. The text covers a variety of Montana history topics from early human settlement to the modern era. It is printed and distributed by the Montana Historical Society, and is available free to schools online in PDF format on their website.	37	4
Abbott, N.C., (1951). *Montana in the Making*. The Gazette Printing Company, Billings MT.	This is the oldest textbook still found to be used in schools. The text covers Montana's history beginning with early white exploration and settlement, and was originally printed by The Gazette Printing Company. Currently, a copy of the text costs $14.99 (from www.amazon.com). Because no electronic copy of the book was available, one was made using a physical copy of the text.	1	0
Thayer, T.N., & Murphy, S., (2007). *Montana History, Discovering Tomorrow Through Today*. Montana Northwest Speaks Incorporated, Billings MT.	This text was the second newest text found to be used. The text covers a variety of Montana history topics from geology, geography, Native American history, and the white exploration and settlement of Montana. Printed by Montana Northwest Speaks Incorporated, a current copy was not found available for purchase. However, The Montana University Library system had several available to borrow and a digital copy was made using this resource.	1	0
Lang, W.L., & Myers, R.C., (1979). *Montana Our Land and People*. Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder CO.	This text is the second oldest textbook used in Montana. Lang and Myers (1979) text covers a variety of Montana history topics starting with white exploration and settlement. Printed by Pruett Publishing Company (no longer in business), a copy of this text is $8.49 (www.amazon.com). Because no digital copy of this text was available, one was created using a hard copy of the text	1	1
Davidson, & Stoff (2005). *The American Nation*. Prentice Hall School Division, Saddle Hill, NJ.	This text is the only non-Montana history textbook found to be used in Montana history curriculum. Davidson and Stoff's (2005) text covers the history of the Americas from its earliest peoples to the modern era. Printed by Prentice Hall School Division, this text costs $112 to purchase new.	1	1

During the data collection process, multiple schools reported using a primary text and a supplementary text. These schools identified using *Montana Our Land* and *People and Montana in the Making* as supplementary texts, or texts that they used infrequently and as a supplementary material, while their primary text was also *Montana Stories of the Land*. However, both texts were still included in the overall sample as they are still used within the curricular setting.

Once the textbooks were found, text searchable PDF versions of the texts compatible with NVivo qualitative software were obtained through the publisher and if no text searchable PDF version of the text was found, one was created. To create text searchable PDF versions of the textbooks, first a hard copy of the book was obtained, then a high-quality book scanner was used to create text searchable PDF's compatible with NVivo qualitative software. During this process, it was important to keep the PDF's private to respect copyright laws. For this reason, PDF's of the text were destroyed after their input into NVivo.

Materials

Included texts. Goals set forth for in Indian Education for All (IEFA) ensure that students understand Montana's Native American history and culture (OPI, 2015). The Montana Office of Public Instruction has specific goals for students within the state to learn aspects of Montana's history by the end of their eighth-grade year; however, it does not require that a specific Montana history course be taught (OPI, 2015). A substantial number of Montana schools (specifically 39 out of the 263 schools surveyed) have elected to have Montana history taught at the eighth-grade level to meet these curriculum requirements. Consequently, textbooks used in eighth-grade classrooms from across the state of Montana were selected to be a part of this study.

For the current study, all textbooks used in Eighth Grade Montana history courses were included for data analysis; however, to ensure the geographic diversity among the schools surveyed, schools were broken up into four quadrants: Northwest, Northeast, Southwest and Southeast and surveyed equally among those quadrants. Additionally, special care was made to ensure that schools located on Native reservations were included. See Figures 5 through 9 for a map of each region that has been divided to have a similar population.

MONTANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Grade Level

- ⚏ College
- ◆ High School
- ▪ Middle School
- ● Grade School
- ▲ Mixed K-12
- ▨ Reservations

Number of Schools:

Colleges:	21
High Schools:	175
Middle Schools:	221
Grade Schools:	343
Mixed K-12:	125

Figure 5. Montana divided into four sections by county and population (Faust, 2016)

NORTHWEST MONTANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Grade Level
- College
- High School
- Middle School
- Grade School
- Mixed K-12
- Reservations

Number of Schools:

Colleges:	7
High Schools:	56
Middle Schools:	87
Grade Schools:	145
Mixed K-12:	37

MONTANA SOUTHWEST PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Grade Level
- College
- High School
- Middle School
- Grade School
- Mixed K-12

Number of Schools:

Colleges:	4
High Schools:	26
Middle Schools:	34
Grade Schools:	52
Mixed K-12:	24

Figure 6. Northwest Montana, includes Flathead and Blackfeet reservations (Faust, 2016)

Figure 7. Southwest Montana (Fuast, 2016).

Figure 8. Southeast Montana includes Northern Cheyenne and Crow Reservations (Faust, 2016)

Figure 9. Northeast Montana includes Rocky Boy, Fort Belknap and Fort Peck Reservations (Faust, 2016).

The number of schools contacted from each quadrant and the number of schools with an eighth-

grade Montana history requirement can be found in Table 2.

Table 2

Representation of Geographic Diversity for Schools Included

Quadrant	Number of Schools Surveyed	Number of Schools with an Eighth Grade Montana history requirement
Northwest	98	20
Northeast	67	10
Southwest	50	4
Southeast	48	5

Qualitative software. NVivo qualitative software was used to analyze the qualitative

data from this study. NVivo qualitative software is specifically designed for qualitative research

approaches and often allows the researcher to explore, query, code, and reflect on qualitative
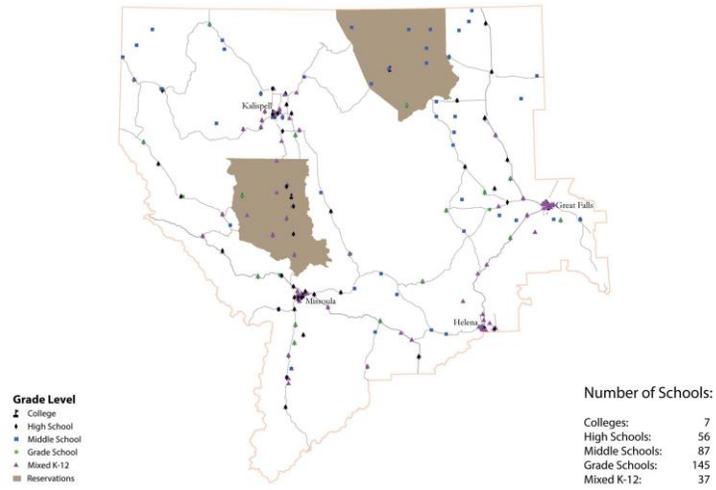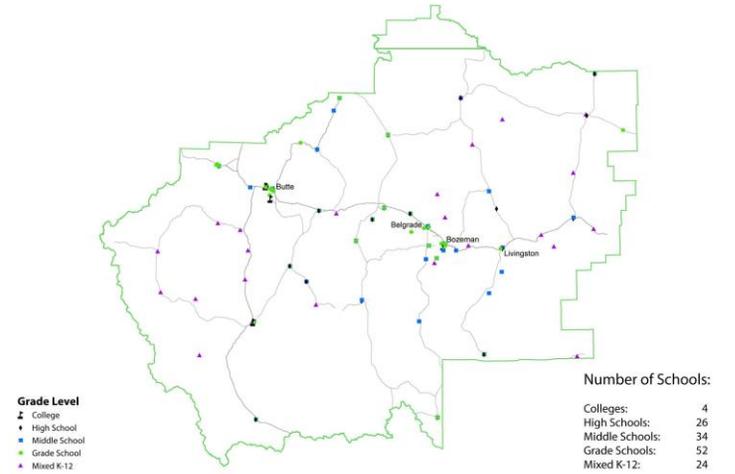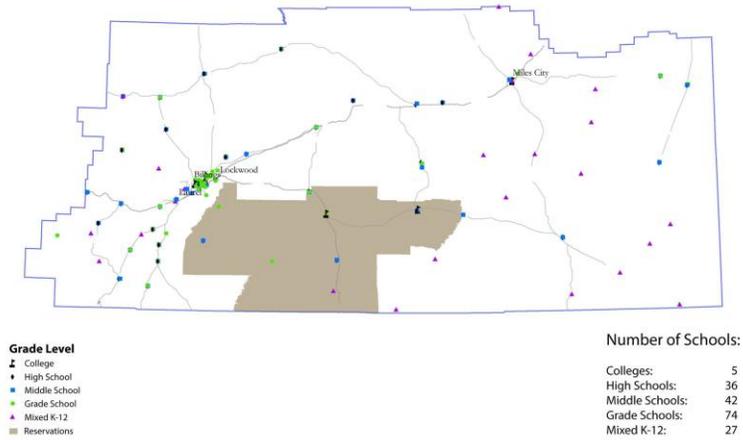
data (QSR, 2014). NVivo is also a great tool to use for large amounts of text content because it

allows for multiple coders and bias control (NVivo Workbook, 2012).

Data Analyses

The current study used qualitative research methodology. Qualitative methods provide

flexibility and allow for exploratory questions, such as in the current study (Ritchie, 2002).

Specifically, this study relied on the qualitative methods of summative content analysis as well

as conventional content analysis.

Coding. Coding was the main source of data analysis used within this research study. A

"code" in qualitative methodology is a way of representing and organizing data with "themes"

(St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). Coding is an important part of qualitative analysis that leads to

information and the development of ideas (Richard & Morse, 2007). Coding is often considered

an extremely interpretive act that allows for both data collection and analysis (Saldana, 2009).

The process of coding is often conducted with qualitative statistical software (Tesch, 1990).

Furthermore, the use of software in qualitative research allows for ease of organization and

identification of themes within qualitative data (St. Pierre, & Jackson, 2014).

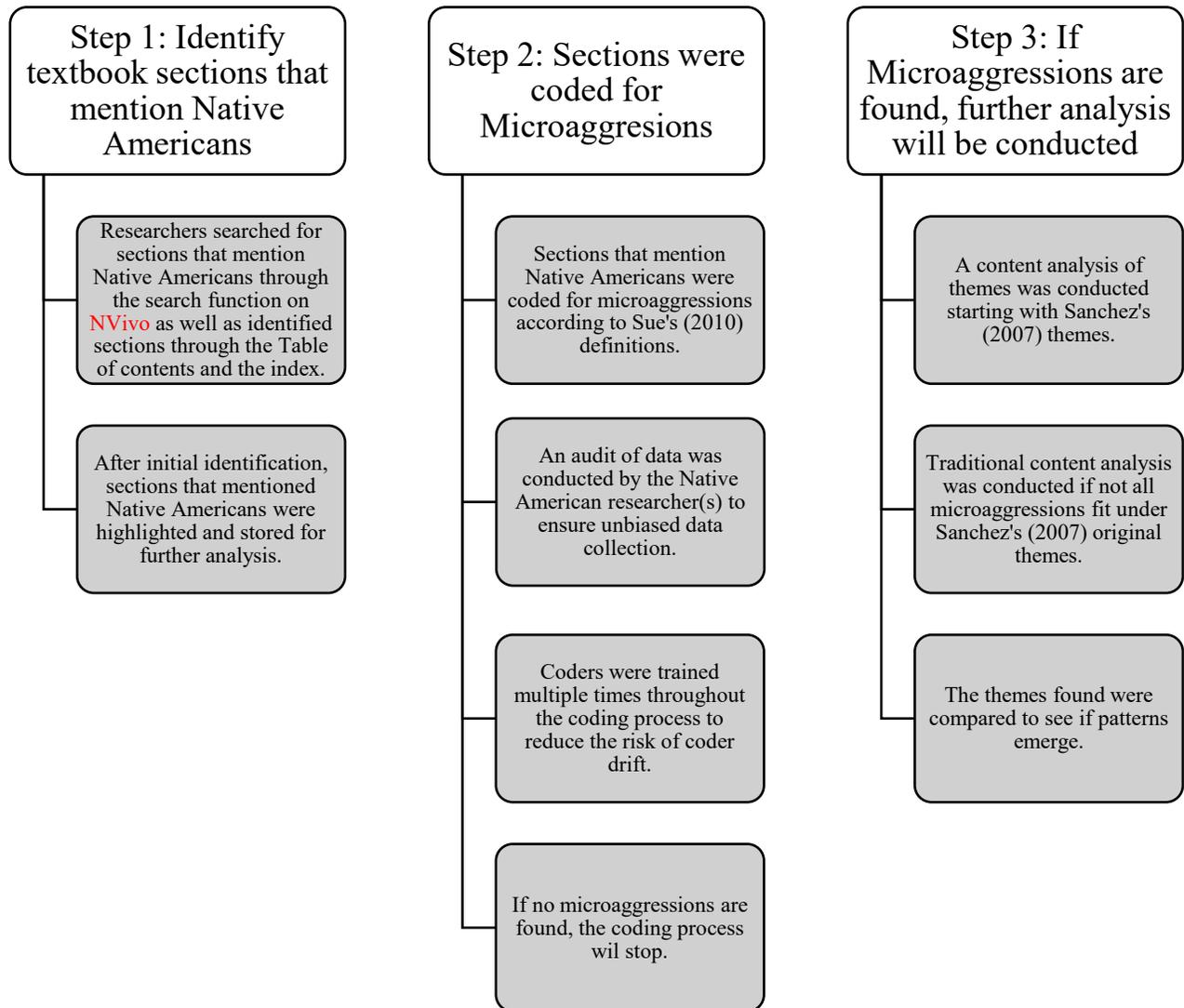| Step 1: Identify textbook sections that mention Native Americans	Step 2: Sections were coded for Microaggresions	Step 3: If Microaggressions are found, further analysis will be conducted
Researchers searched for sections that mention Native Americans through the search function on NVivo as well as identified sections through the Table of contents and the index.	Sections that mention Native Americans were coded for microaggressions according to Sue's (2010) definitions.	A content analysis of themes was conducted starting with Sanchez's (2007) themes.
After initial identification, sections that mentioned Native Americans were highlighted and stored for further analysis.	An audit of data was conducted by the Native American researcher(s) to ensure unbiased data collection.	Traditional content analysis was conducted if not all microaggressions fit under Sanchez's (2007) original themes.
	Coders were trained multiple times throughout the coding process to reduce the risk of coder drift.	The themes found were compared to see if patterns emerge.
	If no microaggressions are found, the coding process wil stop.	

Figure 10. Overview of the Coding Process. The figure outlines the coding process utilized

Because of time constraints, it was impossible to code the entirety of all texts. Instead, the coding of texts began with identifying any words related to Native Americans within the textbook. Common terms for Native American (e.g., "American Indian" or "Indian") as well as the names of Montana tribes were initially searched within documents using NVivo's search function. A complete list of words used to search for mentions of Native Americans can be found in Appendix A. Additionally, researchers reviewed the glossary or index to identify sections in the textbook where Native Americans were mentioned. If Native Americans were mentioned, the sections where they were mentioned were coded in NVivo under the code "Mentions Native Americans." All sections where Native Americans were mentioned were then coded for microaggressions.

The themes identified by this initial coding were the presence (or non-presence) of microaggressions. Specific microaggressive statements were identified and coded on whether they were a microassault, microinsult, or microinvalidation based on Sue's (2010) definitions of these constructs. Non-microaggressive statements about Native Americans were coded as such. If there was a disagreement among coders on the classification of a microaggression, coders discussed their reasons as to why they coded a microaggression as such, and if the research assistants determined that there is a more suitable code, then the microaggression was recoded.

The following is a decision hierarchy that was used to classify microaggressions:
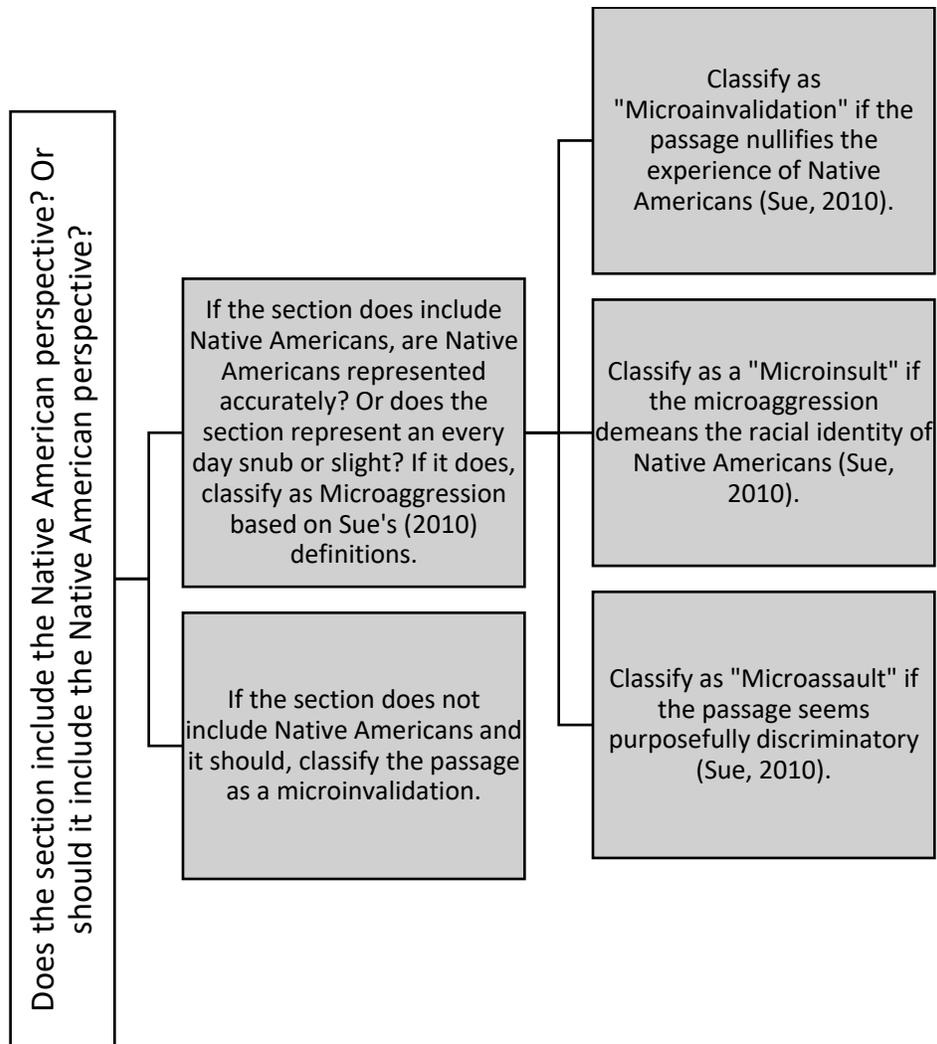
Does the section include the Native American perspective? Or should it include the Native American perspective?

If the section does include Native Americans, are Native Americans represented accurately? Or does the section represent an every day snub or slight? If it does, classify as Microaggression based on Sue's (2010) definitions.

If the section does not include Native Americans and it should, classify the passage as a microinvalidation.

Classify as "Microinvalidation" if the passage nullifies the experience of Native Americans (Sue, 2010).

Classify as a "Microinsult" if the microaggression demeans the racial identity of Native Americans (Sue, 2010).

Classify as "Microassault" if the passage seems purposefully discriminatory (Sue, 2010).

Figure 12. Decision Hierarchy. This figure was utilized to help guide decisions on whether a statement should be classified as a microaggression

The Choice to Use Microaggressions as codes. Considering Sue's (2010) definition of microaggressions, the reader may be questioning the usage of calling anything in print media (i.e., prejudice found in a textbook) a "microaggression" considering that microaggressions are traditionally considered to be "interpersonal" events. Additionally, there were no other studies found at this time that expand the definition of microaggressions to include print media. Furthermore, it should be noted that once a microaggression is printed in a textbook or another print media source, it is more indicative of institutionalized racism (discussed below). In other

words, once a microaggression is printed, it should no longer be considered "micro" but rather "macro," considering the breadth of people it reaches and the stereotypes and misinformation it has the potential to continue to perpetuate.

Microaggressions were used as a way to define and code for types of prejudice that may not be as obvious as "old fashioned racism," including racial slurs and epithets, which are found under the definition of microassaults. In fact, utilizing the definitions of microaggressions to code for prejudice in textbooks allowed for the inclusion of, and a strong argument for, uncovering less obvious forms of racism (i.e., microinsults and microinvalidations).

Summative Analysis. Summative content analysis is characterized as identifying and quantifying content within text (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The use of summative content analysis was used in answering the question of whether there are microaggressions present in Eighth Grade Montana history texts. Summative content analysis is appropriate in this situation because there was no theme development initially; rather, there was simply a report of whether microaggressions were present within these texts.

After all sections that included a reference to Native Americans were coded, a summative analysis was conducted. The number of each type of microaggression was reported, as was the final total of microassaults, microinsults, microinvalidations, and non-microaggressions. Because more than one microaggression was found, a conventional content analysis was conducted to discover the themes of the microaggressions coded within the textbooks.

Multiple coders worked independently to code the five separate texts found to be used in Montana. Coders were trained by both reading Sue's (2010) text as well as through reading the coder manual (see Appendix A) and through regular meetings. First, coders identified the sections of text that mentioned Native Americans, and then coded those sections for

microaggressions against Native Americans. Coders used Sue's (2010) definitions of the types

of microaggressions (i.e., microinvalidation, microinsult, microassault) to identify

microaggressive statements or passages. It should be noted that historical quotations were never

coded as microaggressions. Instead, the only statements coded as microaggressions were

statements written by the authors.

After coders initially identified the microaggressions, the Native American graduate

student researchers team met to go over the coding to determine if they agreed with the initial

coding. If both Native American graduate student researchers did not agree with a specific

coding of a microaggression, the passage was re-coded as either the appropriate microaggression

type or as a "non-microaggressive statement." Additionally, if there was disagreement among

coders about the coding of a specific passage, the Native American graduate student researchers

would make the decision of what to code a specific passage. For example, at one point there was

disagreement among undergraduate coders on whether an identified microaggression was either

a microinsult or a microinvalidation. The identified microaggression was then brought to the

Native American graduate student researchers and they decided that the microaggression fit best

under the category of microinsult and was coded as such.

Development of Themes Within Microaggressions. The directed approach within

content analysis is an approach in which previously-developed themes are used to direct the

coding of themes (Hickey & Kipping, 1996). Sanchez (2007) noted many commonalities in the

depiction of Native Americans, these commonalities noted were initially used in the coding

process. If a microaggression did not align with one of these five themes, a conventional content

analysis was used to develop new themes. That is, conventional content analysis is a process in

which themes are identified and developed through the process of coding, typically using

qualitative software (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Conventional content analysis is often used in exploratory research where there have not been many themes previously developed (Saldana, 2009). In conventional content analysis, the researcher does not go into analysis with any predetermined notions of what themes might develop; instead, the researcher allows for the categories to develop naturally from the content being analyzed (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002). The combination of directed content analysis and conventional content analysis was appropriate in this study because although Sanchez's (2007) themes helped guide initial theme development, there is currently no other research on microaggressions directed towards Native Americans in texts. Thus, if microaggressions were found, the themes and categories of those microaggressions should be analyzed for further discussion and future research.

Given that microaggressions were identified in the school textbooks, the specific microaggressive statements were coded thematically. First, microaggressions were read to see if they fit under Sanchez's (2007) themes, and if they did not they were coded using conventional content analysis. Microaggressions were initially coded using themes based on the following areas, first identified in Sanchez's (2007) study that examined the depiction of Native Americans within textbooks. The categories included were a) Native American culture, b) Native American spirituality, c) Native American tribes, d) Native American historical figures, and e) omissions of Native Americans from history where they should be present (Sanchez, 2007).

The theme of "Native American culture" was used as a theme to define a microaggression that was specific to any aspect of culture. Sanchez (2007) states that it can be difficult for any educator to evaluate what is or is not part of an individual's culture without an intimate knowledge of that culture. So, for the purpose of this study, "culture" was defined as the customs, traditions, and societal beliefs of a given group of Native American peoples.

The theme of "Native American tribes" was used to code any microaggression present that was particular towards a given Native American tribe (i.e., Blackfeet, Salish, etc.). "Native American historical figures" was a theme used to code any microaggression directed towards Native American historical figures, such as those previously identified by Sanchez (2007; i.e., Pocahontas, Sacajewea, Tecumseh, etc.). The theme "hardships faced by Native Americans" was a code used to reference any microaggression directed towards a specific suffering of Native American peoples. For example, if there was a microaggression directed towards the children and families who endured Native American boarding schools, that microaggression would then be coded under this theme. Finally, the last of Sanchez's (2007) previously identified themes utilized within this research study was "omissions of Native Americans from history where they should be present." This theme is unique in that an omission of Native American from history where they should be present is in itself, a microinvalidation because it invalidates Native American history itself.

During the coding process, however, several microaggressions were found that did not fit within the confines of Sanchez's (2007) themes. In this case, if a microaggressive statement did not align within one of these six themes, a new theme was created to accurately represent the historical themes within the microaggressive statement. The number of microaggressive statements under each theme, as well as additional themes identified were discussed and reported in the final analysis. Finally, the texts were compared to see if any patterns emerge for microaggressive statements within Montana history texts.

Coder bias. The potential for bias in qualitative research is significant (Saldana, 2013). Furthermore, the potential for bias escalates when exploring sensitive issues such as race and gender relations (Cannon, Higginbotham, & Leung, 2013). Due to the potential for bias, steps

within this research study were taken to reduce the likelihood of coder bias (Saldana, 2013).

First, there were multiple coders in the research study. Having multiple coders allows for the

independent identification and classification of themes, such as microaggressions (Saldana,

2013). Using NVivo qualitative software easily allowed for multiple coders to separately

identify themes and gave the primary researcher useful measures such as coder agreement

percentage, a measure of inter-rater agreement, to determine if the coding being completed is

valid (NVivo Workbook, 2012). The percentage of coder agreement reaching 100% is

considered ideal, although less likely in qualitative research (McHugh, 2012). Thus, interrater

agreement close to 75% is considered acceptable in qualitative research (Hruschka et al., 2004).

Currently, there is disagreement in the field of the validity and reliability of the kappa coefficient

as a useful measure of interrater agreement (McHugh, 2012). For this reason, solely interrater

reliability will be presented in this research paper.

Furthermore, coder comparisons were conducted to ensure consistency and accuracy

throughout the coding process. Coder comparisons, also known as interrater reliability, is a way

to compare how multiple individuals code in comparison to each other in an attempt to make

sure that all people are coding in a way that is consistent with the method. Interrater reliability

close to 75% and a kappa coefficient nearing 0.75 are considered acceptable in qualitative

research (Hruschka, Schwartz, St. John, Picone-Decaro, Jenkins, & Carey, 2004).   If specific

passages were found to have a low rate of interrater reliability (any interrater reliability under

75%), the coding team would then discuss those passages and make a decision on how to code

that specific passage. At the end of the coding process, all codes in the summative content

analysis had greater than an 80% rate of interrater reliability suggesting that coders generally

agreed and coded microaggressions similarly.

Coder drift was another potential source for bias within this research study. "Coder drift" refers to the tendency of coders to become less reliable over time (Reis & Judd, 2014). To control for coder drift, it is recommended that coders regularly attend trainings throughout the coding process to be reminded of the agreed upon definitions of themes (Reis & Judd, 2014). In this study, coder drift was reduced through regular, bi-weekly meeting of all researchers where the themes and definitions were reiterated and potential questions that come up throughout the coding process were addressed.

Analysis of research questions. The research questions investigated in this project are highly exploratory. Many of the questions proposed have not been previously examined. Therefore, before the project began, it was difficult to predict what would be discovered. However, the highly flexible nature of qualitative research allowed for the initial exploration of these themes in a way that other research methods could not. Currently, the only questions that were answered in this research study is whether or not there are microaggressions present against Native Americans in eighth-grade Montana history texts. This question was answered in a summative content analysis fashion where the raw numbers of microaggressions were reported. The second research question of whether or not there were common themes among microaggressions could not begin to be addressed until the first research question was answered. However, because microaggressions were found, a content analysis of themes was performed to discover what historical aspects microaggressions usually target.

Chapter IV: Results

The purpose of this research study was to use qualitative research methodology to first explore whether there are microaggressions directed towards Native Americans in Eighth Grade Montana history textbooks used across the state of Montana. In turn, because microaggressions were discovered, this study also explored the themes of those microaggressions using conventional content analysis. The following section discusses the results of these two research goals.

Summative Analysis of Microaggressions in Text

Following the framework set forth in the method section, coders worked independently to identify microaggressive and non-microaggressive text passages directed towards Native Americans. Once the researchers independently coded the data, they then convened to discuss any coding discrepancies.

Total Microaggressions Identified. Results from this summative content analysis are listed below in Table 3. Overall, a total of 161 microaggressions were found in the five Montana Eighth Grade history textbooks. The most common microaggression were microinvalidations ($n = 96$), with the second most common microaggression being microinsults ($n = 54$). Finally, the least common type of microaggression found was microassaults ($n = 11$). To give a holistic picture of how Native Americans are represented in texts, it is important to recognize and quantify the number of statements in these texts that are non-microaggressive. All statements mentioning Native Americans that were not microaggressions were coded as such, and these numbers can be found in Table 3. Finally, to provide a point of comparison a percentage of microaggressions as compared to total number of statements that mention Native Americans is provided. This number is calculated utilizing the formula total number of microaggressions

divided by total number of statements about Native Americans. Furthermore, throughout this section these numbers are added to be a point of comparison. Each microaggression type is discussed further below.

Table 3
Total Microaggressions Found by Type

Book	Holmes et al. (2008)	Thayer & Murphy (2007)	Davidson & Stoff (2005)	Lang & Myers (1979)	Abbott (1951)
Microinsult	20	8	2	5	19
Microassault	0	0	0	0	11
Microinvalidation	27	10	7	4	48
Non-Microaggressive Statements	1,264	451	283	212	236
Percentage of Microaggressions as Compared to Number of Passages that Mention Native Amerians	3.58%	3.84%	3.08%	4.07%	24.84%

Furthermore, it is important to discuss the microaggressions in context of the number of schools from which they are utilized. In general, the oldest textbook used was Abbott's (1951) text. This text had the largest number of microaggressive statements, with a total of 78. However, there was only one school utilizing this text. The text with the second largest number of microaggressions recognized was Holmes and colleagues (2008) text, which is also the newest and most widely utilized text in the state with a total of 37 schools utilizing the text. The text with the third most microaggressions was Thayer and Murphy's (2007) textbook, with only one

school utilizing this text. Finally, the texts tied for the 4th most amount of microaggressions was

Davidson and Stoff's (2005) textbook and Lang and Myer's (1979) textbook. Both of these texts

had only one school utilizing them. However, it should be noted that two schools noted utilizing

both a main text (Holmes et al., 2008) along with another text.

Table 4

Number of Microaggressions in Textbooks Compared to Number of Schools Utilizing Those Texts

Textbook	Number of Microaggressions	Number of Schools Using Text
Holmes et al. (2008)	47	37
Thayer and Murphy (2007)	18	1
Davidson & Stoff (2005)	9	1
Lang & Myers (1979)	9	1
Abott (1951)	78	1
Totals	161	39

Note. The total number of schools utilizing textbook only equals 39 because 2 schools reported using 2 textbooks and are thus represented twice on this table.

The text with the most microaggressions was Abbott's (1951) textbook *Montana in the*

Making. Abbott's text is the oldest textbook with a total of 78 microaggressions as compared to

236 statements identified that did not include microaggressions (i.e., non-microaggressive

statements) about Native Americans. Furthermore, Abbott's (1951) text was the only text that

included microassaults, including racial slurs. Finally, it is important to note that Abbott's text

has the highest proportion of microaggressions concerning Native Americans. While all other

texts contained 3-4% microaggressive statements, the Abbott text contains 24.84%

microaggressions.

Next, Holmes and colleagues (2008) textbook *Montana Stories of the Land* was found to

have the second largest number of microaggressions. There were 47 microaggressions found in

the text, as compared to 1,264 non-microaggressive statements about Native Americans.

Further, it should be noted that this text had the most content on Native Americans with a total number of 1,311 passages on Native Americans with only 3.58% of these passages containing microaggressions. Holmes and colleagues' (2008) textbook was not only the most recent to be published, but also the most commonly used of all of the textbooks, with a total of 37 schools reporting its use.

The text with the third most microaggressions found was Thayer and Murphy's (2007) textbook *Montana History, Discovering Tomorrow Through Yesterday*. Thayer and Murphy's (2007) textbook was found to include 18 microaggressions as compared to 451 non-microaggressive statements about Native Americans. The proportion of microaggressive statements in comparison to statements about Native Americans was 3.84%. Thayer and Murphy's (2007) textbook is the second most recently published textbook.

Two texts had the fourth most microaggressions found: Davidson and Stoff's (2005) textbook *The American Nation* and Lang and Myers' (1979) textbook *Montana our Land and People*. Davidson and Stoff's (2005) textbook contained 9 microaggressions, compared to 283 non-microaggressive statements about Native Americans. Additionally, the proportion of microaggressive statements in comparison to statements about Native Americans was 3.08%, the lowest of all the texts. It should be noted that Davidson and Stoff's (2005) textbook is an American history textbook (i.e., it is a textbook that is about American history in general, not Montana history specifically) found by surveying all Montana schools. For this reason, many of the microaggressive statements found in Davidson and Stoff's (2005) textbook was often not specifically directed towards Montana tribes; rather, the microaggression were directed either to different (i.e., non-Montanan) Native American tribes or just generally toward Native Americans.

Similarly, Lang and Myers' (1979) textbook contained 9 microaggressive statements directed towards Native Americans, compared to 212 non-microaggressive statements about Native Americans. The proportion of microaggressive statements in comparison to statements about Native Americans was 4.07%. Finally, it should be noted that Lang and Myers' (1979) text is the second oldest text to be used in the state of Montana.

Microinsults. Overall, a total of 54 microinsults were found across all five textbooks. As noted earlier, a microinsult is a type of microaggression that conveys subtle rudeness based on a person's racial identity (Sue, 2010). That is, microinsults demean a person's racial identity or heritage. Results of the summative thematic analysis show that there were a higher number of microinsults in Holmes and Colleagues (2008) text *Montana Stories of the Land* ($n = 20$), compared to the other texts (see Table 3). Abbot's (1951) textbook, however, was a close second with a total of 19 microinsults.

In general, microinsults recognized throughout the coding process were found to demean Native Americans. Further, the statement does not consider the Native Americans' perspective within this historical event. That is, the author does not fully explain the context of why Sitting Bull and his warriors were rebelling against the White colonizers as a way to protect their way of life; rather, it solely based the historical context from the White perspective using a microinsult. Similarly, in another text, Holmes et al. (2008) states, "When the Indian tribes were strong, the U.S. government respected their sovereignty (powers of self-government). But when they became weak, the government took more control" (p. 209). This sentence was coded as a microinsult because it insinuates that it was the weakness of Native Americans that led the U.S. government to "step in" and "help" Native Americans, when we now know that the help they provided often did more harm than good (Riley, 2016).

Microassault. A microassault is a type of microaggression that seems purposefully discriminatory (Sue, 2010). Generally speaking, microassaults are considered to be the closest microaggression to "old fashioned racism" and can even include racial slurs (Sue, 2010). Overall, microassaults are statements that are explicitly discriminatory and can often be thought of as "face valid" for discrimination. Result of the thematic analysis showed that Abbott's (1951) textbook *Montana in the Making* was the only text found to include microassualts. Overall, Abbott's text included 11 microassaults.

Generally, the statements that were coded could be categorized into one of two types of microassaults: a) those that were discriminatory, or b) racial slurs. For an example of a discriminatory microassault, Abbot (1951) states, "In 1900 61 percent of the population ten years of age and older was illiterate, Indians naturally comprising the largest group with 55.8 per cent, foreign-born 9.4 percent and Negroes 7 percent" (p. 260). This passage was coded as a microassault because of the word "naturally." That is, the author appears use the word "naturally" to indicate that it is obvious that minority individuals make up the illiterate population of Montana. Furthermore, this statement seems to fall back on the old-fashioned and false viewpoint that minority individuals are often uneducated and not as intelligent as White, European people. Similarly, another example of a microassault in the text is when the author wrote: "Since that time, as the years have passed, a better understanding of the nature of the Indian problem has brought improved conditions for the Indians and at last they are becoming able and useful citizens" (Abbot, 1951, p. 291). This passage suggests that, at one-time, Native Americans were not "able and useful citizens" insulting their existence and way of life.

The second type of microassaults were those that use racial slurs. Abbot (1951), for example, used the word "squaw" to refer to Native American women, and use the term "half-

breeds" to refer to individuals who were part Native American and White. The word "squaw"

has much controversy behind it and is often considered a racial slur for Native American women,

while the term "half-breed" is considered a racial slur for mixed race individuals and insinuates

that a person who is partially Native American is lesser than (Schilling, 2017; Gilio-Whitaker,

2014).

       Microinvalidation. There were a number of examples of statements in the texts that

were coded as microinvalidations (see Table 3). Recall, a microinvalidation is a type of

microaggression that nullifies the experiences of Native Americans (Sue, 2010). In one example

the authors write, "poor sanitation, crowded living conditions, and lack of nutritious food helped

spread contagious diseases" (Holmes et al., 2008, p. 215). This specific statement was coded as

a microinvalidation because it fails to recognize the social and historical context for the spread of

disease among Native Americans. White colonizers brought many of these diseases from

Europe, and it spread quickly across the Native American population because they did not have

the immune systems to fight off these diseases (Pringle, 2017). Another example of a

microinvalidation is in the context of describing travels and the difficulties with traveling for

White colonizers. The author writes, "Great hopes were entertained for the Bozeman Road when

first opened, but these expectations were soon destroyed by the storm of Indian hostility that

made that route too dangerous" (Abbott, 1951, p. 197). This statement was coded as a

microinvalidation because the passage fails to recognize the reason behind the Native Americans

actions. Contemporary historians now recognize that Native Americans were trying to protect

the land that they believed was sacred (Powers, 2010).

Development of Themes of Microaggressions in Texts

The primary research question in the current study was to examine whether microaggressions were present in the text. Given the results, further coding was performed to explore the themes of these microaggressions. A combination of directed content analysis, using Sanchez's (2007) themes, and classic content analysis was used to investigate the themes of microaggressions.

Overall, the results of the current study show that all of Sanchez's (2007) previously identified themes were found. Specifically, the themes of 1) Native American culture, 2) Native American spirituality, 3) Native American tribes, and 4) Native American historical figures, and 5) Omission of Native Americans. In addition to Sanchez's themes, other themes of microaggressions were found: 1) Depiction of battles, 2) Hardships faced by Native Americans, 3) Depiction of violence outside of battles, and 4) Native Americans as problematic. Each theme is discussed in depth below.

Sanchez Theme 1: Native American Culture. A theme originally highlighted in Sanchez's (2007) work, the theme of "Native American culture" was used for any microaggressions directed towards the customs, traditions, and societal beliefs of a given group of Native American peoples. In total, there were 25 microaggressive statements found that aligned with this theme. Microaggressions that fit under this theme often mentioned a specific aspect related to Native American people's way of life. Some of the microaggressions included references related to traditional customs, such as tanning hides, storytelling, and the making of bull boats. For example, "A traditional story tells how the bitterroot came to be: The sun heard a mother crying because she could not find food for her family. The sun changed her tears into the bitterroot so the mother would always have food for her children" (Holmes et al., 2008, p. 19).

This was coded as a microaggression because for the Bitterroot and Salish peoples' belief that many of their traditional stories can only be told at specific times of year (Culture Committee & Elders Cultural Advisory Council, 2005). According to the Native American people of this area, integrating this story in a book may be disrespectful to their tradition because it allows people to read the story at any time of year.

The other microaggressions that fit under the thematic theme of Native American Culture generally referenced Native American culture or their lifestyle. For example, one microaggression identified in Davidson and Stoff's (2005) textbook referenced there being a change in the "way of life" of Native Americans without specifying that colonizers were what caused Native Americans to make drastic changes in their way of life. Similarly, another statement indicated that, "war itself was central to their (Native American's) lives" (Lang & Myers, 1975; p. 65). This statement was coded as a microaggression because of the implication that all Native American people are violent and war mongering. Overall, microaggressions found that fit within the theme of "Native American Culture" generally referenced the way of life or the specific traditions of Native American peoples.

Sanchez Theme 2: Native American Spirituality. There were five microaggressions that fit under the thematic theme of "Native American Spirituality" in the current study. All microaggressions found to be under this theme were in Abbott's (1951) text *Montana in the Making*. All but one microaggression that fit within this theme were not about traditional Native American spiritual beliefs; instead, the statements referenced the interaction between early, Jesuit priests and Native Americans. Many of these microaggressions focused on the priests "attempting to teach the Indians the Christian faith and the civilized ways of the White man" (p. 123). Notably, the one microaggression that fit under this theme that referenced traditional

Native American spiritual beliefs incorrectly identified that "Native American Church" traditionally utilizes "the use of the peyote drug" (Abbott, 1951, p. 345), which may be true of tribes of the American Southwest, but is not necessarily true for Native American tribes of Montana (Parker, 2011). Overall, microaggressions that fit within this thematic theme either did not mention traditional Native American spiritual beliefs, or incorrectly identified what the spiritual beliefs of Montana Natives include.

Sanchez Theme 3: Native American Tribes. There were eight microaggressions identified that fit under the thematic theme of "Native American Tribes." The two textbooks that included microaggressions directed towards Native American tribes were Abbott's (1951) and Davidson and Stoff's (2005) textbooks. For example, one microaggression stated, "The Nez Perce were among the finest Indians in all the Northwest. It was their proud boast up to the time of the Indian Wars that they had never killed a white man" (Abbott, 1951, p. 33). This passage was coded as a microaggression because of the term "finest Indians" as it seems that this value judgment is based off of the fact that the Nez Perce did not kill White colonizers. Furthermore, the statement fits under the theme of "Native American Tribes" because it specifically mentions a Native American tribe by name, as well as specific customs and practices to that tribe.

Sanchez Theme 4: Native American Historical Figures. There were two microaggressions identified that fit under the "Native American Historical Figures" theme, and both were found in Holmes and colleagues' (2008) textbook. Here, all identified themes were specifically about Native American historical figures. More specifically, both themes were about the famous Blackfeet tribal member and advocate Robert Hamilton. For example, one microaggression identified stated, "An educated Blackfeet spokesman named Robert Hamilton testified repeatedly before congressional committees and with the federal Office of Indian

Affairs" (Holmes et al., 2008, p. 202). First, this statement was coded as a microaggression because the author emphasized that Robert Hamilton was "educated," which insinuates that many other Native Americans at that time were "uneducated." The second microaggression stated, "Blackfeet leader Robert Hamilton stood up for the rights of traditional full-blood Blackfeet people against a group of mixed-blood Blackfeet businessmen who wanted to control most of the tribe's resources" (p. 224). This microaggression was coded as such because of the delineation between "mixed-blood" and "full-blooded" people and the historic debate over blood quantum. Furthermore, both of these microaggressions were coded under "Native American Historical Figures" because of the specific, named reference to an important Native American in history.

      Sanchez Theme 5: Depiction of Battles. There were six microaggressions found to fit under the theme of "Depiction of Battles." All six of these microaggressions were either found in Abbott's (1951) textbook or Lang and Myer's (1979) textbook. Two microaggressions coded under this category referred to specific battles (e.g., The Battle of the Little Bighorn). One example referring to the Battle of the Little Bighorn is, "They left their reservations and set out over the hills for the camp of Sitting Bull who was the recognized leader of all the hostiles" (Abbott, 1951, p. 310). All other microaggressions coded under this category referred to the tactics that Native Americans utilized during battles. For example, "The Indians fought like trained soldiers, digging trenches for defensive use, and shooting with fatal accuracy" (Abbott, 1951, p. 327). First, this statement was coded as a microaggression because it implies that Native Americans were not "trained soldiers," when in fact many Native Americans trained to be warriors their entire lives (Black & Starkey, 1998). Second, this was included under the theme

of "Depiction of battles" because it was specifically referring to tactics that Native Americans utilized during war.

Sanchez Theme 6: Omission of Native Americans. The final theme based on Sanchez's (2007) themes is related to microaggressions in which there was no reference to Native Americans where there should be one. Only one microaggression was found to fit under this theme. Thayer and Murphy's (2007) write, "Montana's recorded history begins with Lewis and Clark and a few men coming for furs" (Thayer & Murphy, 2007, p. 317). The major factor that led to this statement to be coded as such is the lack of reference and identification that Montana's recorded history actually begins long ago with the arrival of indigenous peoples. It is important to note that this project has been completed by students in the field of psychology who are not experts in the field of history; consequently, although only one microaggression was found to fit under this theme, it is highly likely that this is an underestimation of what is actually represented in these textbooks.

Newly Identified Theme 1: Depiction of Violence Outside of Battles. There were 15 microaggressions found to fit under the theme of "Depiction of Violence Outside of Battles." All textbooks, except Lang and Meyers (1979) textbook, included this theme. Throughout the coding process, it became clear that not all microaggressions depicting violence were about specific battles fought or tactics used by Native Americans in specific battles. In fact, many depictions of violence that included Native Americans appeared to paint a picture that all Native Americans were or are violent. For example, Thayer and Murphy (2007) wrote, "The risks were great as Indians killed one in four trappers" (p. 302), a statistic that is contradicted by an earlier statement in their book that "One out of every 4 trappers were killed by Indians, crushed by grizzly bears, or died by accident" (pp. 90). It is unclear and difficult to understand the specific

motives of the authors in utilizing both statistics in their book, but it would be a stretch to claim

that both are true (i.e., the first statistic would be much larger than the second statistic if both

were true). The first statistic includes many ways in which fur trappers died, including accidents

that were common for trappers, while the latter statistic seems to be utilized to solely illustrate

that Native Americans were "violent" peoples. Furthermore, many other microaggressions that

fit under this theme referred to specific acts of violence, such as murder, theft, and scalping.

Additionally, there were multiple microaggressions under this theme that either blamed

violent outbursts (besides battles) on Native Americans, or at least made indications that violence

was solely an act committed by Native Americans. For example, Thayer and Murphy (2007)

wrote, "by 1866, the Indians attacked settlers wherever they could, and non-Indians shot back"

(p. 328). This statement was coded as a microaggression because it does not seem to recognize

that White colonizers were also partly responsible for the violence that occurred. Furthermore,

microaggressions under this theme often made claims that if White settlers committed acts of

violence they were "resorting to Indian ways" (Abbott, 1951, pp. 101). Overall,

microaggressions under this theme depicted violence in the early history of Montana as the fault

of, or the result of, Native Americans.

Newly Identified Theme 2: Native Americans as Problematic. There were 48

microaggressions found to fit under this theme across all textbooks. Similar to the theme of

"Depiction of Violence Outside of Battles" that blamed most or all acts of violence on Native

Americans, the theme of "Native Americans as Problematic" depicted Native Americans as the

main barrier to the White settlement of Montana. For example, Davidson and Stoff (2005)

wrote, "They argued that the United States must stand up to Native Americans and foreign

countries. How could the nation grow if Native Americans stood in the way?" (p. 279).

Furthermore, under this theme, Native Americans are often referred to as "threats" or "obstacles." For example, Lang and Meyers (1979) wrote, "He wanted hostile Indians punished and removed as obstacles to white settlement" (p. 59). Overall, microaggressions under this theme depicted Native Americans as problematic and the main barrier to colonization by White Europeans.

Newly Identified Theme 3: Hardships Faced by Native Americans. Throughout the coding process, it became apparent that many microaggressions were also directed towards the hardships that Native Americans experienced. In fact, 52 microaggressions out of 161 (32.3%) were found to fit under this theme. This theme represents all microaggressions that were about a specific hardship or challenge that Native Americans faced during the White settlement of Montana. More specifically, many of these microaggressions were about food rations, Native American boarding schools, disease, poverty, substances (i.e., alcohol), enslavement, manipulation, harsh laws, the loss of traditional ways of life, treaties, and reservations. For instance, Abbott (1951) wrote, "Disease and whiskey weakened the Indians, ultimately reducing the need for military forts" (p. 131). Similar to the previous two themes, many of the microaggressions that fit under this theme suggest that all of the difficulties that Native Americans experienced were a result of their own actions, often ignoring the role of White colonizers. For example, Holmes and Colleagues (2008) write, "Sudden changes in how American Indians lived and what they ate made them especially vulnerable to illness. Poor sanitation, crowded living conditions, and lack of nutritious food helped spread contagious diseases" (pp. 215), seemingly ignoring the role that White colonizers and the U.S. government played in this hardship (Riley, 2016).

In summary, results of this study affirm that there are microaggressions present in history textbooks utilized in Eighth Grade Montana history textbooks. Microaggressions found span across all textbooks examined and include microinvalidations, microinsults, and microassaults. Furthermore, the themes of these microaggressions expand beyond Sanchez's originally identified themes. The themes identified included; 1) Native American culture, 2) Native American spirituality, 3) Native American tribes, and 4) Native American historical figures 5) Omission of Native Americans, 6) Depiction of battles, 7) Hardships faced by Native Americans, 8) Depiction of violence outside of battles, and 9) Native Americans as problematic.

Chapter V: Discussion

The current research study, to my knowledge, is the first to investigate, and find, the presence of microaggressive statements directed towards Native Americans in currently used Montana history selected school textbooks from Montana. Overall, the results of this study found that microaggressions are present in textbooks used in Eighth Grade textbooks in Montana. Microaggressions found in these books included microinvalidations, microinsults, and microassaults. Additionally, the themes of these microaggressive statements expanded beyond Sanchez's (2007) original themes (e.g., Native American culture, Native American spirituality, Native American tribes, and Native American historical figures, and Omission of Native Americans). The new themes that were identified included depiction of battles, hardships faced by Native Americans, depiction of violence outside of battles, and Native Americans as problematic. This section further discusses the results of this study as well as the possible implications, directions for future research, and suggestions for school psychologists.

Presence of Microaggressions in Montana Textbooks

The first research question in the current study was to determine whether or not microaggressions directed towards Native Americans were present in selected Montana history textbooks utilized in Eighth Grade classrooms. The results of this study suggest that there are indeed microaggressions present in textbooks, with the most common microaggressions being microinvalidations, followed by microinsults, and microassaults.

In general, the oldest textbook used, Abbott's (1951) text, had the largest number of microaggressive statements, with a total of 78 microaggressive statements; however, importantly, only one school reported utilizing Abbott's text. Moreover, this school was located in the southwest region of Montana (see Figure 7) and was not located on a tribal reservation.

Additionally, the Eighth Grade social studies teacher from this school reported utilizing this text stated that they used Holmes and colleague's (2008) text as their main textbook and only utilized Abbot's text as a supplement. Thus, although it is concerning that the textbook included microassaults, it is possible that the instructor was not using sections of the text where microassaults were included. The text with the second largest number of microaggressions was in Holmes and colleague's text, which is also the newest and most widely utilized text in the state.

Furthermore, the results of the current study are congruent with other emerging research on microaggressions faced by Native American youth in schools. Johnston-Goodstar and Velure Roholt (2017) conducted a mixed-method research study on microaggressions faced by Native American youth in Minnesota. Their research methods included conducting focus groups with Native American youth and elders, interviews with people who work with Native American youth, and an independent analysis of the 2010 Minnesota Student Survey. Results of the study suggested that Native American youth are facing microaggressions in a variety of ways in the school setting, including in books and curriculum, by teachers and other school workers, and socially with peers. Furthermore, a prominent theme that emerged from the study was that "schools don't include materials, pedagogical strategies, and curricular content that reflect the history and culture of Native American young people. Native Americans are made invisible or, if talked about, are overwhelmingly presented in inaccurate ways that demean the student's identity" (p. 38). This study is particularly meaningful in light of the current study, which further indicates that textbooks in Montana continue to include microaggressive statements directed towards Native Americans. Given Johnston-Goodstar and Velure Roholt's study in

Minnesota, it is also likely that these microaggressive statements in textbooks are affecting Native American youth in Montana.

Unfortunately, in addition to the other types of microaggressions, there was also the presence of microassaults, or the type of microaggression most similar to "old fashioned racism" (Sue, 2010). Racial Slurs were included in Abbott's text, which was published in 1951. Consequently, it may be unsurprising to some readers that the oldest book in this study includes the type of microaggression most closely related to "old fashioned racism." In one example, the author insinuates that Native Americans are "naturally" illiterate, and innately have something about them that keeps them from learning (p. 260). This racism is concerning given that this text is currently being used in schools in Montana.

Notably (and fortunately), there were no microassaults found in more contemporary texts, suggesting that perhaps there has been recognition of these terms as inappropriate within a school setting and curriculum. Although slightly dated, the Council on Interracial Books (1977) found a similar phenomenon in their content analysis where the older textbooks they examined (from the 1960's primarily) included many stereotypes, distortions, and omissions while the textbooks they examined from the 1970's (which were current at the time) had fewer. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that this book is still in use in at least one classroom today, suggesting that many Montana children, including Native American children, are reading this text as part of their core curriculum and are potentially exposed to these microassaults.

Indeed, the current study suggests that students in schools are being exposed to microassaults through their curricular materials. These results are similar to the findings found in Johnston-Goodstar and Velure Roholt's (2017) multi-method study which found that present day Native American students are still experiencing microassaults in the school system. In their

study, Johnston-Goodstar and Velure Roholt found that Native American students were exposed to microassaults "on social media, at sporting events, during interpersonal interactions, and in disciplinary patterns" (p. 36).

The patterns of discrimination and prejudice demonstrated by having microaggressions in texts is particularly concerning given that current research studies have shown a clear association between microaggressions and mental health outcomes (Paradies, 2006). However, much of the current literature has focused on other types of microaggressions, such as microinsults and microinvalidations (Wong, Derthick, David, Saw, & Okazaki, 2013). It has been speculated that microassaults are less frequently studied in literature because of their relationship and difficult delineation from overt racism (Wong et al., 2013). Wong and colleagues (2013) even go as far as to suggest that microinsults and microinvalidations are the only true forms of microaggressions. However, this debate on microassaults represents a place where further research and scholarly work is needed in order to further explore and categorize the differences and similarities (if any) between microassaults and overt racism. Furthermore, if there is, in fact, a difference between microassaults and overt racism, research should be conducted on the specific effects of microassaults on the wellbeing of minorities, including Native Americans.

Themes of Microaggressions in Textbooks

Given that microaggressions were found to be present in textbooks, the second research goal of this study was to explore the themes of those microaggressions. The results of the current study suggest that the microaggressions present in textbooks represent a number of themes, including Sanchez's (2007) themes of Native American culture, Native American spirituality, Native American tribes, Native American historical figures. This research showed

four additional themes related to the depiction of battles, omission of Native Americans, depiction of violence outside of battles, and hardships faced by Native Americans.

Overall, the new themes identified in the current study were generally an expansion of Sanchez's themes, or they represented stereotypes that have been previously identified in scholarly work (See Ganje, 2003). For example, during the coding process, it became apparent that many of the microaggressions identified were about acts of violence committed outside of the traditional setting of a battle or war. For this reason, a separate theme of "violence depicted outside of battles" was developed to capture this nuanced difference. Furthermore, even if violence was not specifically discussed, Native Americans were often discussed as a barrier to White colonization; consequently, a new theme was developed in which White colonizers perceived Native Americans as "problematic". Finally, the coding process revealed that many of the microinvalidations in the textbooks were about the hardships that were faced by Native Americans, yet often belittling those hardships or simply blaming the difficulties on Native Americans themselves.

Many of these new themes were very similar to previously identified stereotypes about Native Americans. For example, in the book *Images that Injure,* a book dedicated to exploring research and exposing common stereotypes among many ethnic minority groups, Ganje (2003) suggests that the stereotype of the "violent native" is common and has been well explored in literature. Ganje explains that media, such as comic books, cartoons, and movies play a role in the stereotyping of Native Americans as violent, problematic, and prone to hardships. Similarly, results in the current study suggest that textbooks currently used in Eighth Grade Montana history classrooms continue to perpetuate these same stereotypes.

Furthermore, the stereotype of the "violent Native American" is often reflected within schools. Perhaps the most well researched example of this stereotype is the portrayal of Native Americans as school mascots. In their multi-method study, Johnston-Goodstar and Velure Roholt (2017) found that all students within school systems often see Native Americans portrayed as violent mascots in their school athletics. Stereotypical portrayal of Native Americans as violent in both school textbooks and at sporting events is especially concerning because research has shown that this portrayal can have negative effects on individuals (Stangor, Carr, & Kiang, 1998). More specifically, the stereotype of Native Americans as "violent" is often depicted by Native American mascots (e.g. the Washington National Football League team), and these mascots have been associated with a negative learning environment and a negative perception of school climate for Native American youth (Fryberg, 2004). Furthermore, other studies have shown that these stereotypes have also been linked to decreased self-esteem in Native American youth (Vanderford, 1996). Although this study does not investigate the direct link between microaggressions in school textbooks with Native American children's outcomes, it is concerning that the themes of microaggressions are similar to the stereotypes shown in previous research. Future research should examine the possible implications of having negative stereotypes about Native Americans in school curriculum.

Another new theme identified was related to hardships experienced by Native Americans. Historical records show that Native Americans experienced significant hardships, including loss of their traditional way of life and the forcing of Native American children to attend Indian boarding schools throughout the process of colonization and settlement of their lands (Child, 2016). Results of the study showed that many of the microaggressions identified were related to those hardships. Microaggressions that fit under this theme were about alcoholism, boarding

schools, enslavement, the loss of traditional ways of life, treaties, and the loss of traditional

lands. Furthermore, results also showed that the textbooks used in Montana history curriculum

often invalidated, and perhaps even undermined, those hardships. For example, Abbott (1951)

wrote, "Disease and whiskey weakened the Indians, ultimately reducing the need for military

forts" (p. 131). This microaggression seemingly diminishes the many contributing factors for

the rise of alcohol consumption and the reduction in violent outbursts among Native Americans

(Riley, 2016). Often, the microaggressions that fit under this theme would misrepresent the

experiences of Native Americans or underrepresent the fault that the U.S. Government/White

colonizers had in perpetrating these events.

Finally, the themes of the microaggressions found within this research study present

Native Americans in a way that is not in line with the guidelines set out by the NASP Indigenous

Framework (NASP, 2012). For example, results of this study indicate that many of the themes

of microaggressions found within textbooks suggest that Native Americans are violent and that

the hardships that they faced are often belittled. Contrary to that, Charley and colleagues (2015)

suggest that the best way to serve and understand Native American youth is to understand the

unique cultural and historical perspectives of Native Americans. In order to do this, the NASP

framework suggests that school psychologists should understand or seek knowledge about

Native American student's language, cognitive/academic skills, sovereignty, spirituality,

reciprocity, physical needs, intentionality, and social/behavioral needs (NASP, 2012).

Microaggressions in Textbooks as Institutional Racism

This presence of microaggressions, and particularly microassaults, in school textbooks is

concerning because these microaggressions are in printed media, and thus in a fairly permanent,

written product. This study, to my knowledge, represents the first study which exposes

microaggressions in print media. Traditionally, microaggressions are thought to occur within an interpersonal (i.e., micro) setting, and Sue (2010) describes microaggressions as being typically interpersonal acts. For example, an individual may state to an Asian American woman that she "speaks English well," with the microaggressive statement being the assumption that the woman is not an English speaker and/or not American. In this case, the microaggression is an interpersonal act between the speaker and the woman, and the microaggression is momentary, has a limited audience, and likely only remembered by the Asian American woman. In another example, while explaining a lesson, a teacher could invalidate the experiences of Native Americans (i.e., make a microinvalidation) by stating that Native Americans currently experiencing hardship is a result of their own errors, and that they should just try working harder instead. The teacher's statement would be characterized as a microaggression within an interpersonal act. Unlike a singular interpersonal event, when a microaggression is present within a textbook, it is in fact reaching a larger audience as often as the print material is used (e.g., many students across the state of Montana).

The current study thus shows that microaggressions can exist in a product or object that is enduring and extends to a larger audience. Thus, the results of this study suggest that perhaps microaggressions can exist outside an interpersonal relationship or act, and microaggressions (in the traditional sense) can, in fact, occur within the confines of curriculum. The microaggressions are now not simply affecting the individual within an interpersonal act, but also being heard and shared with a larger group of people. Thus, it could be argued that the act of printing a microaggression in a textbook may be lead to the statement being a *macro-aggression*.

This being said, it is important to recognize that the presence of microaggressions in texts may be more indicative of institutional racism. Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) were the first to use the term "institutional racism" in their seminal book *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. In this book, Carmichael and Hamilton note that we often consider racism to be interpersonal acts, much like Sue's (2010) theory of microaggressions. However, the definition of racism should also be expanded to include the social and political structures that create barriers that keep people of color from meeting their full potential. In other words, racism can also be perpetuated at an "institutional" level.

Institutional racism exists in a variety of ways and across various settings, including the health care system. For example, Sequist (2017) writes about the health disparities between White people and Native Americans as an issue of systemic racism, indicating that Native American people have unequal access to healthcare. Presently, mental health issues, such as depression, are more common in Native American youth than non-Native American youth (Serfani, Donovan, Wendt, Matsumiya, & McCarty, 2017). Furthermore, Native American youth are two and a half times more likely to complete suicide than their White peers (Mendoza, 2014). In Montana, this rate is far greater with Native American youth aged 11-24 being five times more likely to die by suicide (Montana Department of Health and Human Services, 2016) Overall, Native American youth are more likely to have mental health difficulties, and be less likely to receive behavioral health services for those difficulties (Mendoza, 2014; Sequist, 2017). Manson (2000) states that there are many barriers to receiving behavioral healthcare services for Native Americans, such as the pervasive Western ideology and lack of integration of traditional Native American spiritual beliefs within the healthcare system and lack of Native American practitioners.

Institutional racism is not only found in the healthcare system, but can also be found within the school system as well. Researchers have shown that institutional racism is embedded in school systems, such as the over identification of minority children in need of special education services (Vaught & Castagno, 2008; Collier, 2012). Given that the current study suggests that textbooks in Montana schools have various types of microaggressions, it is possible that Native American students are reading, and thus experiencing, these microaggressions. These textbooks, which are imbedded within the educational curriculum, can be viewed as a source of institutional racism.

This study, however, is not the first to purport that minority students often face prejudice within their own curriculum. In fact, there has been quite a bit of scholarly work done on the subject. For example, Loewen (1995) outlined many of the most common stereotypes and misrepresentations of minorities in the book *Lies My Teacher Told Me*. Furthermore, Loewen suggest that much of the racism embedded within textbooks often goes undetected by people who do not have a depth of knowledge about the history of minority individuals in America. For example, in history courses, events taught are commonly taught as "facts" with no room for interpretation, which often leaves students with a one-sided perspective of a historical event. Overall, it is important to note that curricular materials can often be a common source of prejudice that children in school's face.

Sue (2010), however, writes that biases in curriculum are just one example of institutional racism within the school system and that children in schools face institutional racism on many different levels. For example, it has long been noted that minority children, including Native Americans, are disproportionately identified for special education services (Collier, 2012). Recent data shows that Native Americans are 1.53 times more likely to receive special

education services for specific learning disabilities, and are 2.89 times more likely to receive

such services for developmental delays than the combined average of all other racial groups

(Collier, 2012). Furthermore, Native American children are also more likely to receive

disciplinary actions than their White counterparts (Wallace et al., 2008). Finally, data suggests

that Native American students are much less likely to graduate from high school than their White

counterparts (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2006). Overall, the results of this study, along

with the other studies discussed, indicate that Native American youth often face institutional

racism throughout multiple aspects of their education.

Microaggressions in Textbooks and Critical Race Theory

The theoretical foundation and results of the current study support the tenants of Critical

Race Theory (CRT). Specifically, much like institutional racism, CRT purports that racism is

engrained within our society at a systems wide level, and the school's curriculum can be a source

of prejudice for ethnic minority children (Delgado & Stefancic, 1995). Similarly, the current

study shows that microaggressions, a form of every day prejudice, exists within textbooks.

Furthermore, these textbooks are embedded within the school system and have the potential to

possibly affect the wellbeing of Native American students. However, further research is needed

to explore the correlation between the presence of microaggressions within textbooks and its

direct effects on the wellbeing of Native American students.

Delgado and colleagues (2012) further state that the CRT movement attempts to place

issues of race and racism, such as the inclusion of stereotyped information of minorities, within a

broader academic perspective that includes perspectives from multiple disciplines. For example,

the current study discusses the issue of the misrepresentation of minorities within curricular

materials from a perspective that includes educational research, historical perspectives, as well as

psychology. This study does this through including theoretical frameworks from both education and psychology, as well as through including historical perspectives from Native Americans. Additionally, CRT aims to expand and challenge traditional academic theories, which can often include the biases of the people doing the research, by pairing them with more neutral principles, such as law (Delgado et al., 2012). For example, this study attempts to do just that by pairing academic theories, such as the theory of microaggressions, with more neutral principles such as law stated within the Montana constitution and Indian Education for All.

This research study also specifically addresses three of the five main tenants of CRT (Soloranzo & Delgado Bernal, 2001). For instance, this study addressed the second tenant of CRT, which proposes that it is important to challenge mainstream ideology (Yosso, 2006). The White, mainstream American perspective is often presented as the main narrative within curriculum, and the minority perspective that is presented is often distorted or omitted. The results of this study affirm that often the White, mainstream American narrative is central within Montana history textbooks. For example, one theme identified in the current study was the omission of Native Americans where there should be one. There were many instances in the textbooks in which the Native American perspective, story or viewpoint were neglected; rather, the dominant perspective was from the White colonizers. The idea of omitting the experiences of minorities from historical narratives is not new (Loewen, 1995; Yosso, 2002). Indeed, even one of the first text analyses conducted by the Council on Interracial Books (1977) indicates that the minority perspective is often omitted. More recent research indicates that this continues to be the case (e.g., Sanchez, 2007,) and the current study continues to add to the evidence. Finally, the omission of minority narratives from historical texts has the potential to negatively impact minority youth by making them feel unrepresented within their history curriculum (Banks, 2015;

Banks and Banks 2016). When minority students' culture and history is represented within the

curriculum of a school, for example, overall standardized test scores can improve (Cabrera et al.,

2012).

Importantly, this study only identified one microaggressive statement that fit under the

theme related to the omission of Native American perspectives in the textbooks. Nonetheless, I

believe that this is likely an *underrepresentation* of the statements in the textbooks. The current

study was conducted by psychology undergraduate and graduate students, not by historians or

Native American tribal elders who would have the wisdom, knowledge, and expertise to provide

a more accurate representation of the experience of Native Americans. For this reason, to

confirm microaggressions based on historical inaccuracies, I sought Native American researchers

or authors of texts. I chose sources that were written by indigenous authors to fairly represent

the minority perspective and avoid the mainstream, White perspective that often permeates

historical texts. Although most research assistants (i.e., coders) in the current study likely had a

basic knowledge of Montana history, the level of knowledge necessary to identify sections of

text where Native American perspective should be added would require more expertise. In the

future, it may be beneficial to have experts in the field of history and/or Native American elders

examine texts for the exclusion of Native Americans from key historical events where they

should be represented. Furthermore, including history experts in the procedures of any further

research is in line with the fourth tenant of CRT that suggests an interdisciplinary approach to

research.

CRT also makes the claim that a racist does not need to be present for racism to be

present in systems, such as curricula (Yosso, 2002). Although I cannot know the intent of the

authors of these textbooks, I can optimistically speculate that these authors are not malicious or

intentional in perpetuating stereotypes and prejudice of Native Americans. For thousands of years, history has been written from the perspective of the dominant culture, and it has only been very recently (within the past 50 years) that people have begun to realize the dangers of presenting history from a biased perspective (Banks, 2016; Loewen, 1992). However, similar to the third tenant of CRT that recognizes the importance of social justice and working towards inclusion, recent literature suggests that when educators become more aware of the institutional racism engrained within the school system, they are better able to counter those practices (Blaisdell, 2012). Furthermore, Blaisdell (2012) suggests that educational institutions often focus on the signs of racism, such as Native American students not performing as well, and often do not acknowledge the systemic structures in place that often cause racism. For example, within a school system, teachers and administrators are more likely to focus on Native American youth not performing as well on standardized tests rather than fixing the curriculum where Native Americans are misrepresented. When teachers were able to understand these systemic issues, however, they were able to create safer classrooms for their students of color (Blaisdell, 2012). Blaisdell further explains that the key to teachers creating safe classrooms for their students of color was to understand, acknowledge, and do something about issues of systemic racism within their classrooms.

White Privilege in Education and School Textbooks

The results of this study highlight the disadvantages that Native American students may experience in the school system. Given that this study revealed that microaggressions are in textbooks, Native American students in Montana are likely subsequently exposed to these microaggressions about their culture, language and history. Currently, research shows that children who face prejudice within their school systems, such as experiencing microaggressions

in curriculum directed towards their ethnic group, are less likely to graduate from high school and more likely to have a mental health diagnosis (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2006; Nadal et. al, 2014).

Overall, the discussion up to this point has discussed in detail the disadvantages that Native American children face within the public education setting. However, it is equally important to note that the same systemic practices that put Native American children at a disadvantage often put White children at a distinct advantage (McIntosh, 1988). Banks and Banks (2016) purport that students learn best when their culture and history is represented. Yet, there is a tradition of writing history from the perspective of the mainstream, White culture highlighting that White privilege in the education systems has been longstanding (Loewen, 1995). Because history is taught from a perspective that more fairly represents the White, mainstream American culture, it is likely that White children are likely to benefit from this perspective from which history is taught. Overall, this study provides further evidence that White children are often given curricular materials in school that represent their culture and history, and are thus more likely to experience the benefits that entails.

Furthermore, results of this study indicate that Native American children often face microaggressions from the curricular materials from which they are expected to learn. Because of results of previous research studies, we can infer that Native American children may be more likely to complete assignments and engage with texts when they see characters in stories that are similar to them (Banks & Banks, 2016). Likewise, in their study of the inclusion of a culturally responsive Mexican American studies program, Cabrera and colleagues (2012) found that when a student's history is fairly and accurately represented within their school setting, standardized test scores improved. The results of the current study found that history textbooks utilized in

Eighth Grade Montana history classrooms do not fairly and accurately represent Native

Americans; consequently, future research should examine the extent to which this lack of

representation affects Native American students' academic outcomes.

Likewise, McIntosh (1988) states that the people who are accustomed to privilege seldom

see the advantages they have. For example, as a White researcher who grew up learning

Montana history, it was difficult for me to see the biases in curriculum that people of color often

face. In fact, it was not until I was much older that I realized that minority individuals are often

misrepresented within curriculum. Furthermore, research has shown that parents of White

children are likely to see the problems that face children of color, including Native American

children, within in the home setting, but interestingly, not within the school setting (Anderson,

2016). Both examples illustrate the blindness to privilege that many White individuals,

including myself, can often demonstrate.

Similarly, the results of the current study may be jarring to the caring student or teacher

who may be realizing for the first time that the textbooks they use every day include these

microaggressions or prejudice. Research suggests that simply acknowledging that racism exists

within systems (e.g., schools) is insufficient to combat institutional racism (Vaught & Castagno,

2008). Instead, individuals should instead acknowledge the privilege inherent in their Whiteness

and not accept any benefits that would not have risen in an equitable system (Vaught &

Castagno, 2008). If an individual acknowledges his or her privilege, this acknowledgement can

act as a catalyst for change and further feelings of empathy and solidarity for others who may not

have the same privileges (Samuuels, Ferber, & Herrera, 2003). Similarly, it was my own

acknowledgment of privilege that has led me down a path where I could pursue social justice

research, such as this project.

Another example of acknowledging privilege comes from a research assistant who participated in this project. After the coding process was completed, a White research assistant disclosed that he had used one of the textbooks in this study in his own schooling and had not noticed the prejudice engrained in it. The research assistant acknowledged feeling upset about never previously noticing these instances of microaggressions. He further disclosed that the project was an eye-opening experience—he realized the privileges he had experience in learning history from the White, mainstream American perspective. Additionally, he noted that he would never again read a textbook, especially a history textbook, from the same perspective again. Similarly, educators who may view the results of this study may similarly acknowledge their privilege and chose not to participate in this inequitable system by teaching from a more balanced perspective. Furthermore, educators may wish to inform more people of the prejudice in history curriculum.

Implications for Educators and School Psychologists

The current study contributes to the existing research by revealing microaggressions against Native Americans in textbooks utilized in school curriculum. Educators and other school personnel, such as school psychologists, may benefit from the results of the study by further understanding the implications of having the presence microaggressions in the curriculum.

Implications for School Psychologists. School psychologists play a vital role in advocating for all children. With the recent inclusion of social justice within the NASP practice model (NASP, 2017), school psychologists should advocate for diverse students through research, advocacy, education, and professional practices. Furthermore, the goals of advocating for Native American students and exposing the prejudice that they currently face in school are in line with the National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) Indigenous Framework and

practice model (NASP 2010; NASP, 2012). The NASP Indigenous Framework highlights that school psychologists strive to support Native American youth by understanding indigenous language, cognitive/academic skills, sovereignty, spirituality, reciprocity, physical needs, intentionality, and social/behavioral needs. The presence of microaggressions in curricula inherently interferes with these goals. For this reason, school psychologists should be made aware of the results of this study and their possible impacts on Native American students.

Similarly, the NASP (2010) Principles for Professional Ethics emphasize that school psychologists should be aware of how issues of diversity could potentially affect the delivery of services, such as therapeutic interventions. For example, if a Native American student seeks therapeutic services from a school psychologist and discloses that they feel that they have faced prejudice within their school system, it is important for that school psychologist to seek knowledge and understanding, such as attending trainings and being up-to-date on research related to this issue.

At the same time, however, the ethical guidelines also emphasize that school psychologists be aware of professional competencies and need for further training when working with culturally diverse students, such as Native Americans. In a study conducted by Robinson-Zañartu and colleagues (2011), school psychologists were surveyed on their perceived competence in working with Native American youth. The results of this study suggest that as a whole, school psychologists felt underprepared to serve Native American students. However, results also indicated that school psychologists of color (i.e., not White) felt more prepared and were better able to serve Native American youth, pointing to the importance of the recruitment and retention of diverse school psychologists.

Indeed, there is currently an underrepresentation of Native American school psychology practitioners (Goforth, Brown, Machek, & Swaney, 2016). For this reason, it is important that school psychologists take an active role in the recruitment of Native Americans into the field (Goforth et al., 2016). For instance, Goforth and colleagues suggest that there are a number of considerations that trainers of school psychologists may want to keep in mind when recruiting and retaining Native American school psychologists into training programs. These factors include creating a goal as a training program to recruit Native American students, creating and promoting cultural diversity among administration, faculty, and students, creating a support system for diverse students, the utilization of culturally responsive training, and creating financial support programs (Goforth et al., 2016).

Finally, school psychologists should also seek out more training and professional development, such as education on the culture of the tribes an individual is serving, and education on best practices in serving Native American youth (Robinson-Zañartu et al., 2011). Nonetheless, Robinson-Zañartu and colleagues (2011) indicate, even when school psychologists receive training and on-the-job experiences working with Native American students, they feel unprepared to serve Native American students. Robinson-Zañartu's work highlights the importance of both creating and seeking out more training experiences related to best practices in serving Native American students.

In regard to the current study, school psychologists should promote social justice as outlined in their professional practice by educating school personnel about the content of textbooks. The results of the study may help school psychologists identify where Native American students are facing prejudice in the school setting. This may be helpful so that school psychologists can advocate for these students and make the school setting more inclusive. For

example, school psychologists can advocate for policies that promote equity in schools, such as

the adoption of culturally responsive curricular materials. Another example is for school

psychologists to advocate for finding and using more inclusive textbooks. They could develop

or lead a curriculum or textbook review committee to ensure that curricula are reflecting the

populations of the students in the schools, with a particular emphasis in including curricula that

reflects children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Similarly, if it is not

possible for the school to adopt a new textbook, school psychologists could also advocate for the

use of other curriculum adaptations that provide a more culturally responsible way to discuss

Native American history in Montana. One specific example is adopting a curriculum designed to

educate students on the biases inherent in history texts, such as the Stanford History Education

Group's curriculum (CITE).

Furthermore, school psychologists could create opportunities for training, consultation,

and collaboration among school staff members. For example, school psychologists could utilize

the information in this study to create a workshop for staff to lead discussions about the possible

implications for Native American students within their schools. Similarly, school psychologists

could consult with history teachers on their current curriculum, and in addition to some of the

suggestions listed above, advocate for the utilization of materials by Native American scholars.

Finally, school psychologists could work with Native American students in order to

provide them with support and resources. For example, school psychologists could reach out to

the school community and let people know that their office is a safe space to discuss issues of

prejudice that students may be facing. Furthermore, given the association between

microaggressions and mental health problems like depression (Nadal et al., 2014), school

psychologists may want to consider using assessments, treatment, and consultation to explore the

experience of microaggressions within with Native American students. For example, during an interview conducted within the confines of a multi-method assessment of a Native American student, a school psychologist may want to ask questions specific to the experiences of prejudice in curriculum. Furthermore, when engaged in intervention with Native American students where prejudice has been a factor, school psychologists may want to take into account the misrepresentation of Native Americans within history curriculum and how that may be affecting the student's well-being. Finally, if a school psychologist is engaged in consultation with a history or social studies teacher in regard to a Native American student, it would be important to explore whether microaggressions engrained within curriculum could be affecting that student. Even more simply, school psychologists could display the NASP Indigenous Framework on their office door to signal to others that they are a safe person to talk to about issues that Native youth may be facing. Overall, the results of this study are concerning for school psychologists and suggest that school psychologists could play an integral role in advocating for more inclusive curriculum and helping Native American students who are affected by microaggressions.

Implications for Educators. Similarly, educators can also play a key role in advocating for more inclusive curriculum and helping Native American students. Educators, like school psychologists, also have a responsibility to meet the needs of all children. In Montana, the primary goal of Indian Education for All (IEFA) is to educate Montana's students about the history and culture of Native American peoples in a fair and accurate way (OPI, 2015). However, having microaggressions in curriculum directed towards Native Americans goes against this goal. Specifically, the language of IEFA states that "every Montanan, whether Indian or non-Indian, be encouraged to learn about the distinct and unique heritage of Native Americans in a culturally responsive manner" (IEFA; MCA 20-1-501,1999). Learning about

Native Americans in a "culturally responsive manner" is not possible if students are presented

with curricula that include misconceptions about Native American people and their heritage. For

this reason, it is important for educators in the state of Montana to be aware of these realities and

implications and figure out ways to provide education that is more culturally responsive.

Furthermore, the National Education Association (NEA) outlines in its code of ethics that

all teachers "Shall not on the basis of race, color, creed, sex, national origin, marital status,

political or religious beliefs, family, social or cultural background, or sexual orientation,

unfairly— A) Exclude any student from participation in any program. B) Deny benefits to any

student. C) Grant any advantage to any student" (National Education Association [NEA], 1975).

This code of ethics as well as current research indicating that when a minority students' culture

and history is fairly represented within school curriculum, there are improved academic

outcomes (Cabrera et al., 2012) suggest that further analysis of textbooks is important. The

presence of microaggressions in textbooks may be creating disadvantages for Native American

students, while creating advantages for students represented by the White, mainstream historical

narrative present in textbooks today. For this reason, it may be educators' ethical responsibility

to combat this discrimination in their classrooms.

One possible solution to this ethical issue for educators is in using a curriculum designed

to help students identify possible sources of bias in history texts. One such curriculum is the

Stanford History Education Group's (SHEG) free, online curriculum "Reading Like a Historian".

In this curriculum, students are given multiple primary source documents and taught to read

them through a critical lens and recognize bias (Stanford History Education Group [SHEG],

2016). Lesson plans from SHEG even include Montana centric history lessons where children

are taught to identify bias in events such as The Battle of the Little Bighorn.

Limitations and Future Research

The results of this study have contributed to our understanding of where Native American children face microaggressions within the school setting. However, it is important to consider the limitations of this study.

Presently, the school selected texts included in this study are representative of a small portion of schools within Montana. Out of a total of 327 schools in Montana that include Eighth Grade, 263 schools responded to the survey. Further, out of the 263 schools that responded, only 39 responded saying that they have an Eighth Grade Montana history curriculum. This means that the current study only represents 11.93% of schools in Montana that include Eighth Grade.

Similarly, this study only examined school selected texts used at the Eighth Grade level. However, during the phase of research where I surveyed schools across the state of Montana, I found that many schools did not have a specific Eighth Grade Montana history course but instead offered Montana history in sixth, seventh, or the ninth grade. Future studies should include these grades in order to reach a larger population of students as well as other texts that might contain microaggressions.

Furthermore, although the inter-rater reliability for this project suggests that all raters for the most part agreed upon the coding for microaggressions, there is always bias in the interpretation inherent in qualitative research methods. For example, 4 of the undergraduate coders identify as White while one identifies as Native American, specifically Bitterroot Salish. Identifying as White potentially means that coders may not have exposure to Native American culture and may have missed potential microaggressions. Further, the Native American coder may have had a different perspective on what constitutes microaggressions when compared to the other coders. Further, all coders involved in this project grew up in the western United States

and were a part of the Culturally Responsive Evidence Based Practices in School Psychology (CRESP) lab. Growing up in the West, it is likely that all coders have been exposed to Native American culture. Furthermore, involvement in the CRESP lab often means that an individual has a unique interest and knowledge base about serving culturally diverse students. Because of this unique knowledge base, researchers participating in this study may have an emotional reaction to prejudice found within school materials. Furthermore, this emotional reaction may have led the coders to look for, and potentially find, microaggressions where there in fact are none.

Similarly, there may have also been bias in the interpretation of results involved in the data audit process completed by the Native American researchers. It is one thing to be an individual who has an interest in working with a diverse population affected by discrimination, but it is another to be an individual personally affected by the prejudice discovered throughout this research project. All Native American graduate students who conducted the data audits described being emotionally affected by the realization that Montana history curriculum does in fact include microaggressions. For instance, the Native American researchers involved in this project frequently discussed their own experiences of prejudice, including interpersonal microaggressions within the school setting. Furthermore, all Native American coders reported experienced negative feelings (i.e., sadness or anger) because of the prejudice they have faced in their day-to-day lives. Moreover, having personally experienced prejudice and then being asked to look at microaggressions in textbooks could have potentially affected their ability to objectively audit the coded data.

Previous research suggests that microaggressions have been linked to significant mental health and educational impacts including the experience of depressive symptoms and perception

of a negative school climate (Sue et. al, 2007; Nadal et. al, 2014; Soloranzo et. al, 2000). Although experiencing curricular microaggressions were not represented within these studies, further studies have shown that children who are not taught an inclusive history curriculum are likely to feel isolated (Banks & Banks, 2016). The previous studies, along with the results of the current study suggest that it is possible that children who face microaggressions within their curriculum may be at an increased risk for negative mental health and school outcomes. For this reason, future research should investigate the possible outcomes of experiencing prejudice in curriculum for Native American Youth.

Moreover, future research should also explore the effects of having biased curriculum for individuals with privilege. For example, for privileged individuals reading textbooks that included stereotyped information, it is possible that prejudiced are reinforced and normalized. For this reason, future research studies should investigate whether having microaggressions in texts affects an individual's stereotypes or perceptions of Native Americans. Furthermore, research could also focus on comparing the school climate of schools with inclusive curricula compared to schools with curricula that have many microaggressions.

Conclusion

The current research study both confirms and continues the important discussion on the distortion, misrepresentation, and omission of the minority narrative in educational materials. Overall, the results of the current study suggest that microaggressions are in fact present in history textbooks presently being used in Eighth Grade Montana history curriculum. Additionally, the themes of those microaggressions have been found to expand beyond Sanchez's (2007) themes and include themes that are similar to stereotypes often faced by Native Americans. Previous research indicates that the inclusion of prejudice within curriculum,

including textbooks, has been shown to negatively impact school climate, educational outcomes, and mental health (Banks, 2016; Nadal et al., 2014). Furthermore, the results of the study indicate yet another way that Native American youth face institutional racism within the school setting.

Finally, it is important that individuals take actions based on the results of this study. More specifically, the results of this study are particularly important for both school psychologists and educators as they both have an ethical duty to combat this prejudice faced by Native American students in schools (Skalski et al., 2014; NEA, 1975). Therefore, it is recommended that both school psychologists and educators work together to make education stakeholders more aware of this issue as well as advocate for more culturally responsive educational materials including textbooks and curriculum.   For school psychologists, it is recommended to advocate for Native American youth through education and the promotion of culturally responsive curriculum. Furthermore, it is recommended that further research be conducted by school psychologists to explore the possible implications of having microaggressions in textbooks. For educators, it is recommended to discuss the prejudice engrained in textbooks and utilize a curriculum such as the Stanford History Education Group's "Reading Like a Historian."

In conclusion, I hope that this research acts as a catalyst for change and helps decrease the systemic racism that Native American students face daily.

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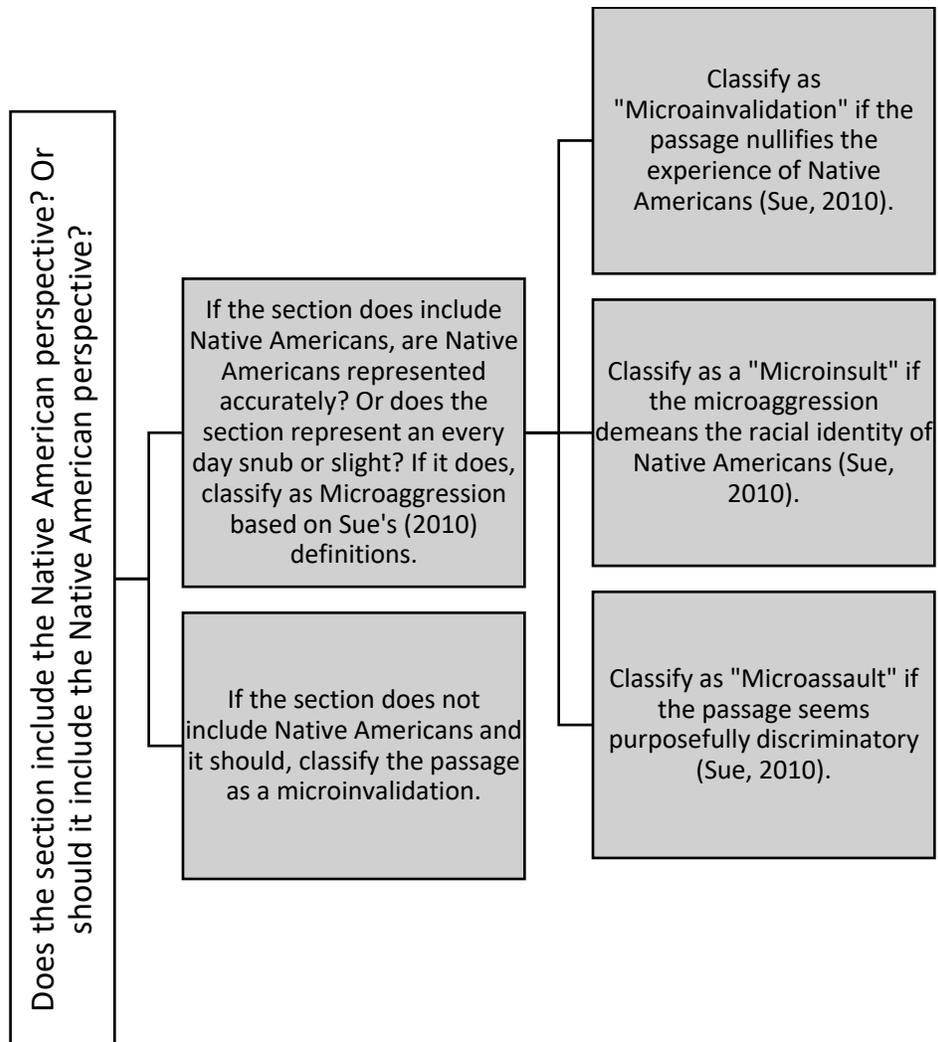
Appendix A: Coder Manual

Coding Manual

Coding General Overview. A "code" in qualitative methodology is a way of representing and organizing data with "themes" (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). Coding is an important part of qualitative analysis that leads to information and the development of ideas (Richard & Morse, 2007). Coding is often considered an extremely interpretive act that allows for both data collection and analysis (Saldana, 2009). The process of coding is often conducted with qualitative statistical software (Tesch, 1990). Furthermore, the use of software in qualitative research allows for ease of organization and identification of themes within qualitative data (St. Pierre, & Jackson, 2014).

First, the coding of texts will begin with identifying any words related to Native Americans within the textbook. Common terms for Native American (e.g., "American Indian" or "Indian") will initially be searched within documents using NVivo's search function. Additionally, researchers will review the glossary or index to identify sections in the textbook where Native Americans are mentioned. If Native Americans are mentioned, the entire chapter will be highlighted using NVivo. All sections where Native Americans are mentioned will be coded for microaggressions. However, if a section that should include a Native American perspective does not include a Native American perspective the section will be coded as a microinvalidation (i.e., the Native American perspective is so unimportant it is not included at all). Additionally, if Native Americans are not mentioned in a book, this is potentially a microinvalidation (i.e., that Native Americans are so unimportant to Montana history that they are never mentioned). However, the larger context of the book will be considered and the findings included within the final research.

The "themes," or constructs (Ryan & Bernard, 2000) being identified by this initial coding are the presence (or non-presence) of microaggressions. Specific microaggressive statements will be identified and coded on whether they are a microassault, microinsult, or microinvalidation based on Sue's (2010) definitions of these constructs. A "Microassault" is considered a purposefully discriminatory statement (Sue, 2010). However, the definition of a "microaggression" is an everyday snub or slight or an implicit bias (Project Implicit, 2011). So, if the microaggression is felt to go beyond an implicit bias, as in, the writer of the textbook deliberately believes and reports a discriminatory statement, the passage will be coded as "explicit racism". Non-microaggressive statements on Native Americans will also be coded as such. If there is disagreement among coders on the classification of a microaggression, coders will discuss their reasons as to why they coded a microaggression as such and an anonymous vote will be taken. If consensus has still not been met, the Native American coders who perform the "audit" will be contacted and asked to make a decision on how to code the text.

The following is a decision hierarchy that will be used to classify microaggressions;

Does the section include the Native American perspective? Or should it include the Native American perspective?

If the section does include Native Americans, are Native Americans represented accurately? Or does the section represent an every day snub or slight? If it does, classify as Microaggression based on Sue's (2010) definitions.

If the section does not include Native Americans and it should, classify the passage as a microinvalidation.

Classify as "Microinvalidation" if the passage nullifies the experience of Native Americans (Sue, 2010).

Classify as a "Microinsult" if the microaggression demeans the racial identity of Native Americans (Sue, 2010).

Classify as "Microassault" if the passage seems purposefully discriminatory (Sue, 2010).

After all sections including reference to Native Americans are coded, a summative analysis will be conducted. The number of each type of microaggression will be reported, and the final total of microassaults, microinsults, microinvalidations, and non-microaggressions will be reported. If more than one microaggression is found, a conventional content analysis will be conducted to discover the themes of the microaggressions found.

If microaggressions are identified, the specific microaggressive statements will be coded with Nvivo to identify specific word combinations and themes where microaggressions are present. Microaggressions will be initially coded using themes based on the following areas of historical accurateness first identified by Sanchez's (2007) study which examined the depiction

of Native Americans within textbooks. The categories included will be a) Native American

culture, b) Native American religion, c) Native American tribes, and d) Native American

historical figures (Sanchez, 2007). If a microaggressive statement does not align within one of

these 6 themes, a new theme will be created to accurately represent the historical themes within

the microaggressive statement. The number of microaggressive statements under each theme, as

well as additional themes identified will be discussed and reported in the final analysis. Finally,

the texts will be compared to see if any patterns emerge for microaggressive statements within

Montana history texts.

Steps to follow for Coding

1. Log in to the Mac at Olivia's desk in the CRESP lab.

2. Open NVivo software, the symbol should look like this

3. Or, you can open the NVivo file for the respective text. It should be on the desktop
    labeled with the books name.

4. Sign in using your name and your initials, please use the same name and initials every
    time. To keep track of names and initials, use the following table;

First Name	Initials Used on NVivo

5. Go to the specific section/chapter of the book you are too code. When you "query" in

   NVivo, it will show you search results for the entire book, but if you click on the specific

   chapter it should highlight the word within that chapter making this portion easier. For

   more information on this, look at the flowing steps.

6. The following is a basic overview of coding for this project;

Step 1: Identify textbook sections that mention Native Americans	Step 2: Sections will be coded for Microaggresions	Step 3: If Microaggressions are found, further analysis will be conducted
Researchers will search for sections that mention Native Americans through the search function on NVivo as well as by identifying sections through the Table of contents and the index.	Sections that mention Native Americans will be coded for microaggressions according to Sue's (2010) definitions.	A content analysis of themes will be conducted starting with Sanchez's (2007) themes.
After initial identification, sections that mention Native Americans will be highlighted and stored for further analysis.	An audit of data will be conducted by the Native American researcher(s) to ensure unbiased data collection.	Traditional content analysis will be conducted if not all microaggressions fit under Sanchez's (2007) original themes.
If Native Americans are not mentioned, further analysis will be conducted to see determine whether this entails a microinvalidation.	Coders will be trained multiple times throughout the coding process to reduce the risk of coder drift.	The themes found will be compared to see if patterns emerge.
	If no microaggressions are found, the coding process wil stop.	

7. After going to the proper section of the book you are too code, the first step in coding is identifying sections of the text that mention Native Americans. Use the text search query function on NVivo to help with this portion of the search. To understand how to use a text search query, please view the following video;

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QfQcLsvslcQ&list=PLNjHMRgHS4FfTN-GoztTaPLshavAb0NxR&index=9

Additionally, if you open the specific chapter after querying, it should highlight in yellow everywhere the term you searched for is.

   a. Repeat the text search query for the following terms (have to do both the plural and singular)

      i. Native American

      ii. Native Americans

      iii. Indigenous

      iv. Indian

      v. Indians

      vi. American Indians

      vii. Indian Tribes

      viii. Tribe

      ix. Tribes

      x. Specific Tribes (i.e., Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Chippewa, Cree, Crow, Gros Ventres, Kootenai, Little Shell, Northern Cheyenne, Pend D'Oreille, Salish, Sioux)

xi.   NOTE, if you come across a word used to reference Native Americans, please add it to the list.

b.   For every reference to Native Americans, **highlight the entire paragraph** with your mouse, right click on the text and hit add to existing node, and select to add it to the node of "mentions Native Americans".   You may highlight by entire page or section if the entire section or page has to do with Native Americans.

c.   As mentioned in the video above, please make sure that you are adding nodes that make sense for our research. For example, if the word Indian is used in reference to individuals from the country of India, it does not make sense to add it to our node "Mentions Native Americans"

8.   After coding your chapter for references to Native Americans, it is time to code those references for Microaggressions.

9.   I have found the easiest way to do this is to go in order throughout the book, chapter by chapter. Turn on Coding Stripes (under the view tab) and then turn on highlights for selected nodes, references to native Americans.

10. Please Code references to Native Americans using the decision hierarchy in the introduction to coding section above (note; the decision hierarchy is also posted on the board next to Olivia's desk). If you spot a microaggression, **please highlight the entire sentence/paragraph** and code it as a specific microaggression. You can code a specific microaggression by right clicking on the highlighted section and clicking add node, then selecting the specific microaggression type. If it is unclear what node a statement falls under, consult with each other or contact Olivia if you need further clarification.

    a. Please Use Sue's (2010) definitions for what constitutes each type of Microaggression. If you need clarification on a microaggression please reference the Sue (2010) book sitting on my desk. As far as coding goes, if you

        i. code "Microassault" for a Microassault

        ii. code "Microinvalidation" for a Microinvalidation

        iii. code "Microinsult" for a Microinsult

        iv. code "Non Microaggressive Statement" for passage that does not contain a microaggression

            1. PLEASE NOTE; if there are entire pages or sections of text that are non-microaggressive about Native Americans, you can highlight and code by that entire page for this code.

11. NOTE about coding for Microaggressions. Do not code quotes as microaggressions UNLESS the quote is being used to illustrate a microaggressive statement about Native Americans.

12. If you code something as a microaggression, add an annotation (note) as to your reasoning why you did this. You can add an annotation by highlighting the microaggression, right clicking, and add annotation. If you add an Annotation please be sure to put your initials at the end so that we can all see who wrote the note.

Appendix B: Email Script

EMAIL LETTER

Good (Afternoon, Morning),

My name is (insert name here) and I am a researcher at the University of Montana. Currently, we are engaged in a research project that aims to examine Native American perspectives in school history textbooks.

An important part of this research is surveying Montana schools and finding out where 8th grade Montana history courses are taught and what texts those classes are using.

To further this research, I was hoping you could take a moment and respond to this email answering these two basic questions.

1. Is Montana history being taught in 8th grade at your school?
2. If the answer to number 1 is yes, what textbook is your school using?

Thank you so much for your time and consideration.

Additionally, if you are interested in hearing the results of this research please let me know and I will put you on a list to receive a copy of our findings when we finish.

Thank you so much for your time.

Sincerely,

(Insert your name here)

Appendix C: Phone Script

PHONE SCRIPT IDEA

Good (morning, afternoon)

My name is (insert name) and I'm a researcher at the University of Montana. We're currently conducting research on curriculum and I was wondering if you could answer a couple of short questions for me.

1. Does your school have an eighth grade Montana history course?
2. If (yes) what textbook does the Montana history course use?