

THE PORTRAYAL OF THE CHEROKEE
IN CHILDREN'S FICTION BOOKS

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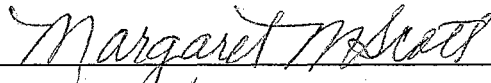
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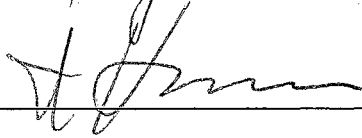
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	01
Statement of the Problem.....	03
Significance of the Problem.....	04
Definition of Terms.....	05
Limitations.....	06
Assumptions.....	06
Summary.....	07
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	08
Diversity in American Culture.....	08
Historical Development of American Indian Stereotypes in Children’s Literature.....	10
Conclusions regarding Children’s Literature.....	14
Minority Characters in Children’s Literature.....	19
Effects of Stereotypes of Literature on Children.....	22
The Role of Literature in teaching Children.....	25
The Role of Teacher Attitudes in teaching Children’s Literature.....	29
Summary.....	32
III. METHODOLOGY.....	33
Chapter Overview.....	33
Content Analysis.....	33
Units of Analysis.....	35
Selection of the Sample.....	36
Development of Codebook.....	40
Makeup of Codebook.....	40
Selection of Raters and Assignments.....	42
Book Assignments.....	43
Inter-rater Agreement.....	44
Summary of Content Analysis Steps Used.....	45
Summary.....	45

Chapter	Page
IV. FINDINGS.....	46
General.....	46
Values of Entire Sample.....	47
Values in Individual Books.....	51
Portrayals Over Time from 1952 - 1994.....	69
Indicators of Portrayal of Cherokee Women Over Time.....	73
Summary.....	83
V. DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	85
Summary.....	85
Discussion.....	86
Conclusions.....	89
Recommendations.....	91
REFERENCES.....	93
APPENDIXES.....	104
APPENDIX A—INDICATORS OF STEREOTYPES.....	105
APPENDIX B—CODE BOOK.....	107
APPENDIX C—ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY BOOKS USED IN THE STUDY.....	112

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Books Selected for the Study.....	38
II. Book Assignments for Raters.....	43
III. Frequency of Indicators for Incompetence for Cherokees.....	48
IV. Frequency of Indicators for Cherokee Women.....	49
V. Books with Indicators of Incompetence over Time.....	71
VI. Books with Indicators for Cherokee Women over Time.....	76
VII. Totals of Indicators for Incompetence and.....	79
VIII. Average Number of Incidences per Book for Incompetence Of Cherokees.....	81
IX. Average Number of Incidences per Book for Cherokee Women.....	82
X. Average Number of Incidences per Book for both Incompetence And Women.....	83

INTRODUCTION

Currently, there is a movement in education to create a “multicultural” or “diverse” curriculum (Hayden, 1992). The purpose of this curriculum is, ostensibly, to prepare students to live in a diverse society in which minorities will share more equitably in that society. Hayden (1992) states that a concern for ethnic diversity in children's books once was addressed as an aspect of promoting better world relations. If minorities are to share equitably in society, then all groups must be able to live and work together. In order to live harmoniously, these diverse cultures must understand each other. O’Neil (1993) states that:

...a multicultural curriculum is another prerequisite for racial understanding. When pupils study the norms and practices of various cultures-and learn how many different cultures have contributed to the American experience-they are more likely to understand and value diversity (62).

Many of the impressions of minorities in this society have been imprinted on our consciousness by the media, first by print, then by movies, and later by television. During the author’s childhood, images of Native Americans (called Indians, American Indians, Amerindians, Native Americans, and more recently, aborigines by some groups) came from John Wayne movies where they were portrayed as savages, who all lived in teepees, and always lost. The image of the

“only good Indian is a dead Indian” filled the movie theaters. Television used Michael Ansara, a non-Native, to portray the great chief Cochise in its production of *Broken Arrow*. Again, we have visions of teepees and bows and arrows. Native Americans were rarely used to portray their own people.

Textbooks told only of "good" Indians who helped white settlers survive in an alien world (Costo, 1970; Otis, 1973). Children studied Squanto and Pocohontas who were credited with saving settlers lives and promoting the welfare of white settlers to the detriment of their own people (some might term their behaviors as treason). Whether these stories are true have been the subject of speculation in recent years, but for most of adults in today's society, these myths have helped perpetuate the general perception of Native Americans in today's society. So deeply ingrained are the stereotypes surrounding Native Americans that Native American student groups on a major Southwestern university campus felt compelled to celebrate Native American Week by erecting a teepee on campus as a symbol that all people can recognize as being Native American even though most tribes did not live in teepees.

Hayden (1992) states that stereotypes of Native Americans are, unfortunately, part of the national popular culture of the United States. Byler (1973) states that the device of referring to people in impersonal and anonymous ways, and reinforcing the anonymity with illustrations, creates the impression that one is not dealing with full-fledged human beings. This impersonalization creates the attitude of the omnipresent “they” that can be blamed for the ills and failures of society to encourage the fulfillment of all of its members.

As a result, the image that children receive of Native Americans is distorted by

stereotypes. This is detrimental to both Natives and other groups alike. The *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin* (1980) states:

For children to develop positive attitudes toward racial and cultural groups different from theirs, they need to be exposed to a variety of experiences, information and images about each cultural group in order to develop an understanding of rich cultural pattern and diversity (10).

In addition to the need for groups to develop positive attitudes to other cultural groups, there are negative effects for children of the dominant culture as well. Elrich (1994) states, "We are all very much prisoners of the same racism; the hater and the hated bound up together with a web of lies that have shaped both of us" (15).

Racism affects all people. The stereotypes of Native Americans are detrimental to Native American children in particular. The Cherokee is the largest of the Native nations. Finley (1997) stated that the current tribal membership is in excess of 182,000 members, however the current Census puts the figure at 308,000 (U. S. Census, 2000). Books written about the Cherokee have a greater impact on Cherokee children simply because there are more of them.

Statement of the Problem

Native Americans are portrayed in children's literature in negative ways. Children learn through books. Byler (1982) states that:

Non-Indian writers have created an image of American Indians that is almost sheer fantasy. It is an image that is not authentic and one that has little value

except that of sustaining the illusion that the original inhabitants deserved to lose their land because they were so barbaric and uncivilized (p. 39).

This study examined how the Cherokee is portrayed in children's fiction books.

The works will be analyzed to address the following questions:

1. Are the Cherokees shown as incompetent and degraded because of race?
2. Are Cherokee women portrayed as subservient to men and presented in a derogatory manner?
3. How have these portrayals of Cherokee people changed over time from 1942 to 1994?

Significance of the Problem

Many of the values of a society are reflected in its literature. Children develop much of their sense of self from the literature that they read. There are currently more than 3 million Native Americans in the United States (U. S. Census, 2000). The Cherokee are the largest of the indigenous peoples of North America with a population of more than 308,000 (U. S. Census, 2000). Only 65.5 per cent of Native Americans graduate from high school as compared to 75 per cent in the general population.

Since children develop sense of self through reading, it is imperative that the books children read portraying their heritage, be accurate and positive in nature. Leu (1995) urges that the books' total effect on the child's self image be considered. Banks (1993) cites the work of Agnes (1947), and Jackson (1944), which conclude that reading materials about [minorities] helped students develop positive racial attitudes. It is important not only that Native children develop positive self images, but that non-Native

children develop positive, realistic images of Native peoples rather than stereotypical images that are not accurate portrayals. Coats (1996), aged four, commented, "Indians don't know anything. They just listen to their chief and do what he says". Such remarks by a four-year-old indicate that stereotyped images of Native peoples are flourishing in the present culture. Banks (1993) conducted a literature search and found that few studies related to children's racial stereotypes have been conducted since 1980. Gast (1965) urges that further research be conducted in content analysis studies of the characterizations of individual American minority groups in children's fictional literature.

Definition of Terms

The following terms were used in this study:

Children's Literature: That body of literature whose primary audience is children.

Cherokee: The tribe of North American aborigines known collectively as Cherokee.

Stereotype: The attribution of supposed characteristics of the whole group to all its individual members. Stereotyping has the effect of exaggerating the uniformity within a group and its distinction from others (Klein, 1984).

Derogatory to women: Characterizations of women that make them appear subservient to men or to those of another race or that make them appear incompetent.

Content Analysis: A research technique for the objective systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communications (Berelson, 1952).

Codebook: A research instrument used in content analysis to obtain data for research.

Fiction: Literary work that portrays imaginary characters and/or events. It may include historical fiction, biographical fiction, realistic fiction or fantasy.

Biographical fiction: A literary work that is based on the life of a real person but the events are largely imaginative.

Myths: Considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past.

Raters: Readers and reviewers of the selected works being studied who used a prescribed codebook to record data.

Limitations

Limitations of this study are:

1. The study was limited to children's fiction books about the Cherokee.
2. The study was limited to books with publication dates beginning in 1942. This was the earliest title located.
3. Of the titles found, two titles were eliminated from the study because the researcher was unable to locate the books.

Assumptions

There are several assumptions inherent in this study and they are as follows:

1. Knowledge and attitude can be built and modified through reading.
2. Stereotypes are damaging to children's self image.
3. There is a need for literature for Native American children that portray their heritage in a positive manner.

4. Books about other cultures can foster understanding and harmony among diverse cultures.

Summary

Chapter I discussed the statement of the problem and the need for the study. The significance of the study includes the effects of stereotyping and the large population of Cherokee in this country. Definitions and limitations were included in the chapter. Chapter II will review significant literature pertaining to the study.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Diversity in American Culture

Diversity in the American culture cannot be overlooked. What was once promoted as “the melting pot” has been redefined since the melting pot did not work. Rather than melt, society and ethnic groups have retained their identities. As Janzen (1994) states:

In the past, multicultural education often attempted to assimilate new groups into a single American culture. Now, tradition has a rival:
Cultural Pluralism.

Society is becoming more and more diverse. In addition, as communication technologies become more efficient, the global community is becoming smaller. Diamond and Moore (1995) state that one of the overriding expectations in the workplace is that employees are able to work with people who are different from themselves. Children are active participants in this global community. Banks (1993, 1977) tells us that children as young as three are aware of racial differences and that children learn about race from parents, television, cartoons and movies. Banks (1977) further states that many of the ideas and attitudes that children learn from a wider society are negative and damaging to the children themselves and to the victimized group. Clark, (1963) states that

children's attitudes toward [minorities] are determined not by contact with, but by "contact with prevailing attitudes toward" (25). Clark (1963) further states, "It is not the person, but the idea of the person that influences children" (25). This attitude is evidenced by a quarter-blood Cherokee twelve-year-old who hates Indians. A child who hates what he is cannot possibly be happy with himself.

It is important that children learn who each person is as an individual. If we wish for children to respect themselves, we must first respect them. Cole (1995) states, "Every culture and every student deserves honor and respect" (6).

Larrick (1965) sparked a storm of controversy when she called publishers to task over "the all white world of children's books". In examining children's books being published between 1962 and 1964, she found that children's books were overwhelmingly white. Fewer than 7% of books published had dark skinned children in them. Eight publishers published only all white books. While Larrick's study dealt with African American children, the percentages were not to be ignored by others. There were more books about African Americans than about other children of color.

Minorities have long been marginalized in American society. Spencer, Brookings and Allen (1987) state that society's perception of minorities has remained essentially unchanged although those perceptions may vary in form. For many students, Americanization still means the loss of linguistic and cultural differences (Stannard, 1992, Rodriquez, 1989, Saravia-Shore and Garcia, 1995).

Stannard (1992) states that the struggle for physical and cultural survival and for recovery of a deserved pride and autonomy [for American Indians] goes unabated. The idea of cultural identity is difficult for many people to grasp. Meltzer (1994) states,

“Ethnicity is more than food and festivals. It is values and beliefs. It is family and communities” (74). Longstreet (1983) states that ethnic development is “behavior learned . . . as a result of direct contact with people and immediate environment” (p. 63).

D'Souza (1995) further states:

No culture can be said to be better or worse than another. Cultures are just different, and we must learn to cherish their differences. All cultures are equally entitled to respect. Finally, the standards for evaluating or criticizing a culture must come from within that culture (p.18).

It is the many cultures that must be celebrated in the classroom and in children's literature if we are to create a truly American culture that is a blend of all the unique cultures that are a part of this society. Not a melting pot, but a mix and appreciation of all that each culture has to offer. Bruchac (1993) states: “We need to learn about ourselves by understanding others. Our own Traditions can be made stronger only when we pay attention to and respect the traditions of people who are different from ourselves” (x).

Historical Development of American Indian Stereotypes in Children's Literature

The stereotypes of Native Americans are common and strong. War-like savages who aren't intelligent enough to learn language much beyond a grunt is the image that most readily comes to mind. They all wear feathers and live in teepees. Jacobs (1972) states:

For at least 400 years the Indian has been the victim of cultural assault that has caused damage to the self-esteem and self-confidence of the Indian adult and

child. From earliest contact, racism – the idea of cultural superiority based on European lineage- has influenced damage to the Indian culture via military encounters and later by an educational military system that made the Indian feel worthless (140).

Berkhofer (1978) concurs:

For most whites throughout the past five centuries, the Indian image of imagination and ideology has been as real, perhaps more real, than the Native American of actual existence and contact...Although modern artists and writers assume their own imagery to be more in line with “reality” than that of their predecessors, they employ the imagery for much the same reasons and often with the same result, as those persons of the past they so often scorn as uninformed, fanciful and hypocritical. As a consequence...the basic image of good and bad Indian persist from the era of Columbus up to the present without substantial modification or variation” (123).

Why do we have these stereotypes? Berkhofer (1978) traces the historical development of stereotypes of the American Indian back to the European literary and artistic tradition of primitivism and romanticism (4). Perhaps, but why? It has to do primarily with greed. Berkhofer (1978) states the image of the savage serves to rationalize European conquest. The savage does create the impression of inferiority. Never mind that the Americas had cultures that were far advanced of anything European when Columbus landed (Stannard, 1992). The Americans also had something the Europeans wanted-land and gold.

Stannard (1992) states:

Since the colonizing British, and subsequently Americans, had little use for Indian servitude, but only wanted Indian land, they appeared to other Christian and European sources of wisdom to justify their genocide: the Indians were Satan's helpers, they were lascivious and murderous wild men of the forest, they were bears, they were wolves, they were vermin. Allegedly having shown themselves to be beyond conversion to Christian or to civil life-and with little British or American need for them as slaves-in this case, straight forward mass killing of the Indians was deemed the thing to do (247).

Europeans in general, and the British in particular, wanted the vast lands of the Americas. To justify their conquest, they stereotyped Native Americans as subhuman. Diamond and Moore (1995) state: "Role stereotyping in terms of race, sex and class endorses the "supremacy" of white males by ensuring that they are always in positions of power" (37).

Deloria (1969) states that the historical image of the Indian is pretty well set, "we are the bad guys who burned wagon trains and images are the white man's game" (240). Friar and Friar (1971) state that explicitly justifying the genocide perpetuated by our forefathers, Hollywood utilizes our ignorance to enforce our egoism. The stereotypes continue to be reinforced in literature. Charles (1993) asserts, "Prevailing images of what non-Indians think American Indians are supposed to be block our perceptions of what American Indians really are" (3). This prevailing image continues to perpetuate the stereotypes commonly accepted as fact by many people today. Several years ago the author was in Washington, D. C., wearing an Oklahoma State University jacket when a

woman approached her about life in Oklahoma as her husband had just been transferred to Tulsa. Of primary concern was whether the “Indians” would attack them when they left the city! When the author responded that she was Indian the response was, “You don’t have any feathers.” It should be noted that for most Native Americans, feathers were only worn on ceremonial occasions and not as part of everyday life.

It was, and is, of great importance that Native Americans appear as less than human to justify the massive genocide practiced by the United States against the Native peoples in this country. Stannard (1992) states that the destruction of the Indians of the Americas was the most massive act of genocide in the history of the world. Stannard (1992) further states, “The murder and destruction continue, with the aid and assistance of the United States, even as these words are being written” (xiii).

Television, movies and books portray the Native American as warlike and malicious. All acts of violence by Native peoples are portrayed as unjustified.

Byler (1982) states:

The history books and story books seldom make it clear that Native Americans, in fighting back, were defending their homes and families and were not just being malicious. It is rarely, if ever, mentioned that non-Indians scalped people, but scalping as an Indian practice is emphasized in most of the books about American Indians, including textbooks used throughout the country (40).

One would like to think that as we embark on a new century that things have changed. This isn’t true. Slapin and Seale (1992) state that, “Dehumanization of Indians remains good coin of the realm because it is as useful today as it has ever been” (13).

Conclusions regarding Children's Literature

Books can change our lives. They can influence our thoughts and shape the perception of the world as we know it. Sims (1982) states:

There is power in the Word. People in positions of power over others have historically understood, and often feared, the potential of the Word to influence the minds of people over whom they hold sway. This fear manifests itself in both dramatic and mundane ways – from the burning of books to organized book banning to parent censoring of their own children's reading (1).

If books were not powerful, children wouldn't be encouraged to read and censors wouldn't censor. Keeshig-Tobias (1992) states: "Stories are not just entertainment. Stories are power. They reflect the deepest, the most intimate perceptions, relationships and attitudes of a people. Stories show how a people, a culture thinks" (97). Furthermore, Diamond and Moore (1995) state, "Literature serves an important function in our society, for children shape their reality about themselves and others based on much of what they read. Students' attitudes, values and beliefs are influenced by children's literature" (11).

Literature continues to shape us and mold us. That is why we read and why we study literature. Fuchs (1984) states that our mental makeup is based on what we read and whom we incorporate into our lives.

James Baldwin, as cited in Watkins, (1979) states, "Literature is indispensable to the world...The world changes according to the way people see it, and if you alter, even by a millimeter the way a person looks at reality, then you change it" (36).

Stedman (1982) states that popular literature reports what makes money, not necessarily that which is true. While Sims (1982) remarks:

A good story, well written and enriched with the specific details of living that make a cultural group distinctive, will naturally touch on the human universal extant within that cultural group. Such a story will be good literature, accessible to readers both inside and outside the group depicted (73).

Censors understand the power of books, that is why they censor-to control the thought processes of those who read. Bad books are rarely censored. Gerald (1972) states that an author as image maker can shape a reader's reality by using language that provokes an emotional response...man projects his cultural and racist images upon the universe and he derives a sense of personal worth for the reflection he sees gazing back at him. Gerald (1972) further asserts that he [man] defines himself and the world around him in terms of others like him. He discovers identity within the group (Gerald, 1972). People who want to control the thoughts and minds of others use words. Sims (1982) asserts:

The image maker can make us see a rose bush as pleasant because of its scent, or dangerous because of its thorns, or as a metaphor for pleasure gained only at the expense of pain depending on the author's own perspective, intent, and skills. For people who have been made nearly invisible or made the object of ridicule, the image maker has the vast potential for changing their world by changing both the way they see themselves and the way they are seen by others (94).

Censors of children's books know what we forget. Books matter. Moore and

Hirshfelder (1981) state:

Children's books are not merely frivolous "entertainment." They are part of a society's general culture. U. S. culture is white-dominated and racist. Children's books in the U. S. reflect our society, while at the same time reinforcing and perpetuating its racism. The ideology of racism against Native Americans developed in colonial times to justify the physical destruction of Native peoples and nations in order for Europeans to take over their lands. The ideology was later refined to justify the genocidal policies and the treaty abrogations of the U. S. as land continued to be taken away (20).

If children see and read images often enough they become believers of the written word. Moore and Hirshfelder further (1981) assert that, "No one illustration is enough to create stereotypes in children's minds. But enough books contain these images-and the general culture reinforces them-so that there is a cumulative effect, encouraging false and negative perceptions about Native Americans (97). Whitehead (1985) states that children absorb unquestioningly the values and attitudes of the author. Fuchs (1984) states that it is not normally a single book that make a difference in our lives, rather is the sum total of the reading material that we expose ourselves to, day after day, that shapes our values.

Klein (1985) states that children's literature is a form of mass socialization into language and imagery as modes of representing the world and is second only to television in power ... in learning the rules and expectations of society. Klein (1985) further asserts that there is no such thing as a unbiased book. This could be particularly true of children's books. Fuchs (1984) states, "As a consequence children's books tend to be highly moralistic and are concerned with teaching children right from wrong" (2).

Broderick (1973) asserts that what gets into books is what the white adult establishment wants white children to know. There is concern for children of color when the world they live in is not adequately and accurately portrayed in children's books. Authors have a responsibility for accuracy in depicting cultures of others and their own. It is just as hurtful to children to portray a perfect government and society as it is to portray other cultures as inferior. Seto (1995) states, "Writing is, above all else, a moral issue" (169).

The same year that Larrick did her study, Gast (1965) studied 42 children's books. Some of the conclusions that Gast (1965) reached regarding children's literature at that time, were as follows:

1. Recent children's fiction was more complimentary to minority Americans when compared to previous studies.
2. Recent children's literature generally contained complimentary stereotypes (sic) of present day American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Negroes, and Spanish Americans. Middle class Anglo-American virtues make up the new stereotypes imputed to these minorities by the authors of the literature. Traditional, non-complimentary stereotypes have largely disappeared from the literature.
3. Recent children's literature dignifies the difference in race, creed, and custom of the minority Americans. It emphasizes the similarities rather than the differences between minority and majority Americans with regard to behavior, attitudes, and values.

4. Recent children's literature contains a dearth of books concerning American Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and Spanish American teenagers, while stories of Negro teenagers are numerous.
5. Recent children's fiction generally portrays American Indians as having adopted the dominant middle-class American values related to cleanliness, kindness, intelligence, ambition, hard work, and success.
6. Recent children's literature generally portrays American Indians as having lower class, socio-economic status.
7. Recent children's literature portrays American Indians as living a simple and a virile life, and are generally pictured as living serenely, with few material comforts, in remote and sparsely populated areas of southwestern United States. They are said to have an innate understanding of, and reverence for, nature and a particular fondness for animal life.
8. Recent children's fiction about American Indians emphasizes male characters and perpetuates the male-superiority tradition.
9. Recent children's fiction stereotypes the American Indian wearing ethnic garb. Indians are illustrated wearing moccasins, headbands, and other traditional garb.
10. In recent children's literature, social acceptance in the dominant Anglo-American culture is the predominant theme in books about the Negro minority, while it is only a minor theme in books about American Indians. American Indians are portrayed as having little contact with Anglo-

Americans because of their geographical isolation or "segregated" living conditions and apparent ethnocentrism.

Minority Characters in Children's Literature

While Gast (1965) states that recent children's fiction was more complimentary, he neglected to state to which studies that he compared his data. In addition, his sample included works from 1945 to 1962, and only found forty-two children's literature fiction books that included minority characters; the majority of which were African American. This is an extremely small percentage of all children's literature published during that time, hardly enough to be called an improvement.

While his data does show that Negroes (African Americans) fared better in the literature, it did not appear that American Indians necessarily did. In Gast's (1965) study, Native Americans were the only ethnic minority that was shown to be academically behind their peers. In addition, the majority of the American Indian characters were shown to be poor. Occupations of American Indians were that of shepherd, of rug weaver and silversmith, or of other stereotypes. Gast's (1965) study measured values based on middle-class white values as the desired norm. Falkenhagen, Johnson and Balasa (1973) studied 22 children's books published since 1965, and found children's literature still tended to stereotype the Native American.

While there appears to be a discrepancy in the literature, it should be noted that there continues to be stereotyping of Natives in children's literature. Talbot (1974) states that:

It is this heritage - that of the first Americans - which makes all of us on this continent uniquely American with respect to the rest of the world (p. 42).

Saravia-Shore and Garcia, (1995) state:

the broad range of experiences and perspectives brought to school by culturally, linguistically, and ethnically diverse students is a powerful opportunity for everyone to learn more-in different ways, in new environments, and with different types of people (p.49).

Instead, we have half-truths and stereotypes in children's literature. Perhaps one of the most offensive of the stereotypes is the portrayal of Native Americans unable to ever speak English beyond the level of an infant just learning to speak using broken English and one word sentences often no more than a grunt. As Josephy, (1968) states:

More common among whites are the false understandings and images which they retain about Indians...the dour, stoic, warbonneted Plains Indian. He is a warrior, he has no humor unless it is that of an incongruous, farcical type, and his language is full of 'hows', 'ughs', and words that end in 'um' ...Yet so enduring is the stereotype that many a non-Indian, especially if he lives in an area where Indians are not commonly seen, expects any American Indian he meets to wear a feathered headdress. When he sees an Indian in a conventional business suit he is disappointed (p. 8).

Stereotypes continue to haunt Native Americans. It seems as if there is no end to the indignities perpetrated on Native peoples. Dorris (1982) states:

In the Never-Never Land of glib stereotypes and caricature, the rich histories, cultures and the contemporary complexities of the indigenous, diverse people of the Western Hemisphere are obscured, misrepresented, and rendered trivial. Native Americans appear not as human beings but as whooping, silly, one-dimensional cartoons. On occasion, they are presented as marauding, bloodthirsty savages, bogeys from the nightmares of pioneers who invaded their lands and feared for their consequences. At other times, they seem preconcupiscent angels, pure of heart, mindlessly ecological, brave and true. And worst of all, they are often merely cute, the special property of small children (vii).

Byler (1973) concurs:

There are too many books featuring painted, whooping befeathered Indians closing in on too many forts, maliciously attacking 'peaceful' settlers or simple leering menacingly from the background, too many books in which white, benevolence is the only thing that saves the day for the incompetent childlike Indian, too many stories sitting forth what is 'best' for American Indians (28).

Stereotypes of Native Americans so dominate our culture that many people have no knowledge of what Native Americans are really like. Little Soldier (1997) states, "... many people are surprised to discover that Native American still exist at all, much less a cohesive and growing microculture within American society" (650).

According to Seale (1992):

Romanticizing Indians may be potentially less inimical to our continued existence, but it is no less insulting to people who want only to be seen as real. Dehumanization of Indians remains good coin of the realm...Of course, it has always been a matter of economics (13).

Moore and Hirschfelder (1981) concur:

But most of the images children receive of Native Peoples and cultures are like the images in these books-stereotypic distorted and unreal. And these images play a crucial role in distorting and warping non-Native children's attitudes toward Native Americans (8).

It is imperative that minority characters in children's literature be presented in and accurate manner that is free from stereotypes. It is equally important for minority children and the children of the dominant culture.

Effects of Stereotypes of Literature on Children

Children read books in schools and at home. Children absorb what they read.

Willett (1995) states,

There is a strong belief that the power of literature can affect the minds and hearts of the reader, especially children and young adults. Children need to be exposed to good literature. Children don't always know when negative stereotypes are reinforced in the books they read.

Willett (1995) further states,

I felt their stories [her children's] and their lives were invisible. When children cannot identify with a book or see their lives celebrated through stories, it may

have an effect on their self-image. The message they get is that their lives and their stories are not important (176).

Rochman (1995) asserts that the effects of stereotypes in the media is not just damaging to children of color, but to all children. Rochman (1995) states:

When I lived in apartheid I thought I was privileged ... but my life was impoverished. I was blind, and I was frightened. I was shut in. And I was denied access to the stories and music of the world...I was ignorant and I didn't know I was ignorant...I didn't know anything about most of the people around me. And because of that I didn't know what I could be (156).

Maria Salvadore (1995) also states that without a diverse body of literature we lead impoverished, isolated lives. According to Miller (1997), "...members of majority cultures are so accustomed to seeing themselves reflected everywhere they look that they take it totally for granted that their values, beliefs, and expectations are universally accepted" (260).

While students may miss experiences and live more "impoverished" existences, there are more serious consequences for Native American children. Byler (1974) states, "It has been well established by sociologists and psychologists that the effect of children of negative stereotypes and derogatory images is to engender and perpetuate undemocratic and unhealthy attitudes that will plague our society for years to come" (39). Twitching and Demuth (1985) state that idealized student images result in students who are different ... being categorized as less able or disadvantaged.

Students respond to stereotypes by establishing erroneous belief systems. According to Charles (1993):

Possessing a vague superficial, contradictory, and distorted understanding of American Indians, students believe American Indians are mystical, yet simple. They believe them to be nearly extinct, but the few who are alive are out west somewhere probably unemployed, drunk, and not real Indians anyway because the drive pickup trucks and wear bluejeans (4).

Klein (1985) states: “Affective learning is the kind that sticks: the information, views and values acquired in the process become part of the unique amalgam of the individual” (56). The twelve-year-old part Indian who hates Indians is explained by Elrich (1994) who states that oppressed people internalize the loathing of the oppressor and the result is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Elrich (1994) further states:

The media increasingly portray poverty and violence as a condition of race: we have ample evidence that young children are internalizing these views; and still we act amazed at what’s going on in our society. At the root of it is our inability to talk about what happened, why it happened and what the consequences of almost 400 years of racism are (15).

According to Diamond and Moore (1995) students of color ...seek an image that tells them they are important and their ideas, feelings, customs and beliefs are worthwhile. Students [of color] would like to find these images in books, movies, television and other media as do white children. Even when they do, it is often not enough. Klein (1985) states:

So fixed do these derogatory stereotypes become, that one can encounter literary or living evidence that totally refutes the stereotype, and deal with the mismatch without any of the discomfort of having to think again or reassess. ‘Oh, but he’s

different...even the exception that proves the rule,' leaves the structure of the individual's assumption intact, while considering 'the exception' independently (35).

The Role of Literature in Teaching Children

Literature is used to teach children about the world. It has long been accepted as a means for children to learn about their role in society. Sims (1982) maintains that the literature we choose helps to socialize our children and transmit our values to them. Reyhner (1994) states that the practice of using teachers and school to destroy minority cultures and to indoctrinate children is a travesty of what education should be. Saravia-Shore and Garcia (1995) state that the ways children are taught exerts a powerful influence on their linguistic, social, cognitive and general educational development. Klein (1985) states, " subjective accounts, case studies and all the research suggest that racism, sexism and other forms of negative bias in books matter a great deal" (10). Chall and others (1979) found studies to support the contention that children's books do have the power to affect self-concept and world view. Banks (1993) asserts that studies provide evidence that curricular materials and intervention have a positive effect in the racial attitudes of students. Elrich (1994) states, "My students could understand that if you teach children to be bigoted and racist, then they would likely grow to be bigoted and racist adults, not because they were mean but because of how they were taught" (14).

Schools have a great responsibility in teaching and in the use of curricular materials. Eggleston (1985) states:

[The issues are explained fully by a number of sociologists who have noticed that all societies define what constitutes high status knowledge and how it is evaluated and that the ways in which this is made available to different categories of young people through the curriculum is one of the most important mechanisms of social control.] It is clear that a genuinely racist-free curriculum must not only tackle the presentations of fundamental issues of the distribution of knowledge, the evaluation of knowledge and most fundamentally the definition of what counts as knowledge in a society (93).

Henry (1970) goes a step further by stating:

A textbook is an instrument of learning, which may be compared to an automobile as an instrument of transportation. An automobile which has defective brakes or is otherwise not dependable, is recalled by the manufacturer, so that lives may not be endangered. But a textbook which is defective, inaccurate, and unreliable, is not retired despite the possibility that minds may be endangered (11).

Chevalier and Houser (1997) conducted a study that suggests that multicultural novels can indeed help promote multicultural self-development. Diamond and Moore (1995) states that multicultural literature demonstrates common connections through emotions, needs and desires. Students often perceive differences among people more readily than they perceive similarities. Lee (1998) reported that although she was a teacher, she had always been racist. She was raised to be racist and never questioned the value system until she read, as a requirement for Young Adult Literature, the Mildred Taylor trilogy about growing up black in the South in the 1930's. Lee (1998) states that

reading those books made her see Blacks as children, an epiphany that completely changed her racist attitudes. If multicultural literature for children can have such a profound effect on an adult, one can only imagine the effect it can have on children.

Gilliland (1980) finds that for an Indian student to build a good self-concept, a feeling of personal worth, and a sense of his place in history, he must be given a wealth of culturally and historically accurate reading material about his own people. However, if the material selected for him to read pictures his people as inhuman savages, as child-like people of nature, or as highly superior beings, he cannot build an accurate self-concept. Gilliland (1980) further states, "For the non-Indian child to develop an appreciation for the Indian culture and its contributions, and to learn to accept his Indian neighbors as friends and equals; the books he reads must be culturally and historically accurate (11). " Rochman (1995) states that books can:

...break down borders. And the way they do that is not with role models and recipes, not with noble messages about the human family, but with enthralling stories that make us imagine the lives of others. A good story lets you know people as individuals in all their peculiarity and conflict; and once you see someone as a person - their meanness and their courage - then you have reached beyond stereotype (147).

Fisher (1965) found that independent reading of selected material for children's literature about American Indians caused a favorable change of attitude toward American Indians. If reading about Native Americans can cause favorable attitude changes, then it is imperative that quality literature, that is free from stereotypes, be available for children to read.

There are common stereotypes among literature about Native Americans. Herbst (1977) found three ways in which Native Americans are most often characterized:

1. As savage, wild, cruel and depraved
2. Noble, proud, silent and close to nature
3. Inferior, childlike and helpless.

Herbst (1977) found that these were translated into the following stereotypes in children's books:

1. Culture is depicted as inferior to white culture, treating the abandonment of the Native American way of life as an improvement
2. Culture is depicted as valueless, and thus not worthy of respect
4. Culture is depicted as quaint and superficial without depth or warmth.

Children should have an opportunity to explore a variety of materials and viewpoints. Brown (1979) states: "The history of Indian education has shown that the educational establishments failure to accommodate to Indian culture has doomed all Indian children to low academic achievement- even for those students who initially showed academic promise" (93). In an effort to ease this problem The Indian Nations at Risk Task Force (1991) recommended:

1. establishing the promotion of students tribal language and culture as a responsibility of the school
2. training of Native teachers to increase the number of Indian educators and other professionals
3. integrate the contemporary, historical, and cultural perceptions of American Indians

4. Give education a multicultural focus to eliminate racism and promote understanding among races
5. Allocate specific funding for school serving Native children to develop and use linguistically culturally and developmentally appropriate curricula
6. Seek legislation to authorize the establishment of a national research and school improvement center for Native education
7. Colleges and universities needed to encourage scholarly work on curricula and textbook development that incorporate Native perspectives (3).

In addition to these guidelines, we should teach children that all peoples have a perspective and a point of view, which may not necessarily be right or wrong, just different.

The Role of Teacher Attitudes in Teaching Children's Literature

The way teachers respond, not only to Native children but also to the literature that portrays the Native culture, can have a profound effect on children. Banks (1977) states that:

Teacher's attitudes and expectations have a profound impact on student's perceptions, academic behavior, self-concepts, and beliefs. Studies by Ray Rist, Thomas P. Carter, and Geneva Gay indicate that teachers typically have negative attitudes and low academic expectations for their Black, Mexican American, and Indian students. Other research suggests that teachers, next to parents, are the most "significant others" in

children's lives, and that teachers play an important role in the formation of children's racial attitudes and beliefs (230).

It is not necessary to throw out all books with references that might be construed by someone as stereotypical. Teachers can use these books as teaching tools about compassion, critical reading and thinking skills, and a variety of other uses. It is not necessarily what is in print, but how it is used that determines the impact on students.

Diamond and Moore (1995) state:

As educators, we cannot let these views go unnoticed or unchallenged. Our students' ways of thinking are shaped largely by what is learned and modeled in school. Teachers can help students learn about and value differing beliefs and ways of viewing the world; teachers can help students appreciate and understand other cultures and break through barriers of fear and ignorance (5).

Some books, however, are so offensive to children of color that they should not be used in the classroom as reading material for the whole class. Teachers should examine books carefully to determine if they could undermine a child's self-concept. Henderson (1991) states, "Racism cuts at the very heart and very sense of self in the developing child of color. We know that it presents barriers to the attainment of many goals, as been demonstrated over and over again through the years" (21).

The perpetuation of stereotypes of Natives has adversely affected the success rate of these children in schools. Teachers can use a variety of means to offset these behaviors. The Indian Nations at Risk Task Force (1991) has made recommendations for schools. The Task Force (1991) recommended, among other things, that education needs a multicultural focus to eliminate racism and promote understanding among all races.

Byler (1982) recommends that teachers:

Avoid generalizations “Indians lived in teepees”.

Avoid phrases such as Mohawk Indians instead of Mohawks.

Are Natives referred to as Indians instead of the tribe [or nation].

Do not use white people and Indians, either use white people and Indian people or whites and Indians.

Do not dress animals or children as Indians.

Do not use Natives as objects to be counted or alphabetized (220).

In addition to these guidelines, Diamond and Moore (1995) suggest the following theoretical principles about cultural literacy and learning:

1. Multicultural literacy is beneficial and fundamental for all students, not just students of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.
2. Schools and teachers must embrace the cultural diversity of students and affirm the cultural beliefs, views, and personal experiences they bring to the classroom.
3. Teachers’ positive attitudes and expectations of how students will perform in school have a marked effect on students’ ability to achieve success.
4. Teachers must empower students as individuals and learners so that they receive validation for who they are: identify strengths, reinforce cultural heritage, foster positive expectations.
5. Students’ learning is enhanced when they can connect their personal cultural experiences with what they read and write.

6. Students learn best when they take an active role in the acquisition of knowledge and skills (i.e. apply their learning to their lives).
7. Students' learning is enhanced when they are encouraged to cooperate and collaborate, sharing and exchanging ideas, concepts, and understandings with others in the construction of knowledge (7).

Ultimately, teachers can do much to enhance learning and self-concept for all their students, but first they must recognize the stereotypes in their own knowledge and language. Recently at a school wide spelling bee, the elementary students were asked to spell "squaw." Until teachers accept and understand the effect that derogatory stereotypes have on children, success will not be the order of the day for Native American children. The real question may be whether the educational systems really want them to be.

Summary

Chapter II examined the literature regarding the treatment of Natives in literature and its impact on students. As a result of the dehumanization of American Indians to justify the conquest of Native Peoples, American Indians are often treated in a stereotypical manner in children's literature. While most studies deal with African American characters in children's literature, there is still a preponderance of the literature that depicts Native American children in a stereotypical manner. Stereotypes in children's literature have a harmful effect on all children in the classroom. Teachers have the power and responsibility to change these negative effects on children.

METHODOLOGY

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this study is to determine how the Cherokee were portrayed in children's literature from 1942 to 1995. In Chapter Two, relevant literature was reviewed to determine the need for the positive portrayal of the Native American in children's literature.

This chapter will discuss how the sample was selected, why content analysis was used, how the codebook was developed, how the raters were selected, and how books were assigned.

Content Analysis

Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as:

a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (p.18).

Content analysis is method of study that studies the content of forms of communication including, but not limited to, books, papers, speech, newspapers, television, movies and videos, textbooks and art and graphics. The purpose is to determine the actual content of a work. Early studies in education focused on the frequency of word use to determine which words were most often used in order to

teach effective reading strategies. Textbooks have long been analyzed to determine content and curricular agendas. Content analysis is often used to determine propaganda methods and effects. In some instances, it is simply counting words, however, content analysis can become more complex as interpretation may sometimes be involved in determining the specific content. The writer's actual use of words, rather than intent, real or implied, are considered in content analysis. In looking at books, illustrations must be considered as well as actual text. Illustrations may be in direct conflict with the words used. Illustrations may have a greater impact than words in determining the message.

Berelson (1952) states that there are three assumptions of content analysis:

1. Inferences about relationships, intent and content, and between content and effect can be validly made
 2. The study of the manifest content is meaningful
 5. The quantitative description of the communication content is meaningful
- (p. 18).

Inferences about the author's intent can be made on the basis of the author's language. Words do paint a picture that can be used to create images in the mind that affect self- concept. The entire field of advertising is based on that premise.

In addition to the assumptions made, Berelson (1952) also has requirements in the use of content analysis:

1. Content analysis must be systematic and look at semantics. It is concerned with what is said, not with the motivations of the author or character.
2. Content analysis must be objective. Definitions must be clear and precise so an agreement can be reached.
3. Content analysis must have a system to remove biased analysis.
4. Content analysis by its definition must be quantifiable.

Units of Analysis

Berelson, recommends that a unit of analysis be selected to determine the size of what is to be coded. Berelson, offers four suggestions for recording units:

1. Word. The smallest unit generally used in content analysis and may use phrases as well as single words.
2. Theme. The second smallest unit of measure in content analysis. It may be a simple sentence, but it tells subject matter.
3. Character. Includes fictional or historical characters in which there is narrative. The entire item must be read before any coding decisions are made.
4. Item. This unit is the most frequently used, and is the whole natural unit. It may be a book, movie, story, or any form of communication in its entirety.

This study will use the item, which is the book, for the unit of measure in this content analysis.

Selection of the Sample

The sample will consist of children's fictional literature that portrays the Cherokee in the book. The criteria for inclusion in the study include the following:

1. There are Cherokee characters in the book.
2. The book is considered children's literature
3. The book is fiction.

In selecting the sample, several sources were consulted. In addition to the Children's Catalog by H. W. Wilson, the following sources were used to select children's fiction books about the Cherokee:

Association of American Indian Affairs. (Ed.). (1969). Preliminary bibliography of selected children's books about American Indians. New York: Association of American Indian Affairs.

Buttler, L. W, and Lubomyr R. (1977). Building ethnic collections: An annotated guide for school media centers and public libraries. Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, Inc.

Byler, M. G. (1973). American Indian authors for young readers: A selected bibliography. New York: Association on American Indian Affairs.

Center for Interracial Books for Children. (1977). Stereotypes, distortions, and omissions in U. S. history textbooks. New York: Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators.

Nevada State Department of Education. (Ed.). (1972). Books about Indians: 7th-12th grades. Carson City, Nevada: Nevada State Department of Education.

Gilliland, H. (1980). Indian children's books. Billings, Montana: Montana Council for Indian Education.

Hayden, C. D. (Ed.). (1992). Venture into cultures: A resource book of multicultural materials and programs. Chicago: American Library Association.

Hirschfelder, A. (Ed.). (1970). American Indian authors: A representative bibliography. New York: Association on American Indian Affairs.

Hirschfelder, A. (Ed.). (1982). American Indian stereotypes in the world of children: a reader and bibliography. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press.

Lass-Woodfin, M. J., Editor (Ed.). (1978). Books on American Indians and Eskimos: a selection guide of children and young adults. Chicago: American Library Association.

Poehlman, C. H. (Ed.). (1972). Books about Indians: graded reading lists for PS - 6th. Carson City, Nevada: Nevada State Department of Education.

Rochman, H. (1995). Against borders. Horn Book, 71(2), 144-157.

Slapin, B., and Seale, Doris. (1992). Through Indian eyes: The Native experience in books for children. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Slapin, B. and. Seale, Doris. (1988). Book without bias: through Indian eyes. Berkeley, Ca: Oyate.

There were several books that appeared on one list as fiction and another as nonfiction. If the book was listed in the Children's Catalog or had a Library of Congress number, that designation was considered the proper classification. Two of the most well known books about the Cherokee, The Education of Little Tree, by Forrest Carter, and Anpao: An American Indian Odyssey, by Jamake Highwater, were excluded because

both books are autobiographies rather than fiction (Carter, 1976). Anpao: An American Indian Odyssey, is by Jamake Highwater, who is a Cherokee Indian. Although this Newbery Honor Book is an excellent example of literature, it is considered by most sources to be nonfiction and therefore, was, excluded from the study. Other books, such as Sonia Bleeker's, The Cherokee Indians of the Mountains (Bleeker, 1952), was considered as nonfiction by most sources and hailed as an excellent factual work by many reviewers, but was considered to be a work of fiction by Cherokee and other Native American reviewers. Books that were intended to be nonfiction were considered so, and therefore, excluded from the study. In addition, myths, legends, and folklore were excluded from the study because they are also considered non-fiction. Books written for adults, although, often read by high school students, were excluded because the intended audience was adults not children. The remaining sample consisted of 31 books. Because this sample was manageable, the entire population of children's fiction about the Cherokee was used. McKinney (1995), states that a sample needs 28 books, if possible, in order to obtain a fair evaluation of the materials. A list of these books is found in Table I.

Table I

Books Selected for the Study

Banks, S. H. (1993). Remember My Name. New York: Scholastic.

Beebe, B. F. (1963). Chesnut Cub. New York: McKay.

Bell, C. (1955). John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cove: A Collection of Cherokee Myths and Legends. New York: Macmillan.

Booker, J. (1959). Trail to Oklahoma. Tennessee: Broadman Press.

Table I Con't

Books Selected for the Study

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- Capps, M. J. (1974). Yellow Leaf: Concordia.
- Carroll, R. (1960). Tough Enough's Indians. New York: Walck.
- Conley, R. (1991). Ned Christie's War. New York: Little.
- Dunn, M. H. (1971). Tenase Brave. Nashville, Tennessee: Aurora.
- Helzer, E. E. (1971). New Land. Philadelphia: Dorrance.
- Highwater, J. (1981). Moonsong Lullaby. New York: Lothrop.
- Hood, F. (1962). Something for the Medicine Man: Melmont.
- Hood, F. (1967). Pink Puppy. New York: Putnam.
- Jones, W. (1965). Talking Leaf. New York: Dial.
- Jones, W. (1968). Edge of Two Worlds. New York: Dial.
- Keith, H. (1957). Rifles of Watie. New York: Crowell.
- Kingsolver, B. (1988). Bean Trees. New York: Harper.
- Leppard, L. (1983). Mandie and the Cherokee Legend. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Bethany.
- Malakoff, A. (1982). Minkapee. Glendale, CA.: Great Western.
- Markley, S. (1992). Fledglings. New York: Bantam.
- Quimby, M. (1968). The Cougar. New York: Criterion Books.
- Quimby, M. (1970). White Crow: New York: Criterion Books.
- Rockwood, J. (1975). Long Man's Song. New York: Holt.
- Rockwood, J. (1976). To Spoil the Sun. New York: Holt.
- Rockwood, J. (1978). Groundhog's Horse. New York: Holt.

Table I Con't
Books Selected for the Study

- Roos, P. (1976). Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves. New York: Lothrop.
- Roth, S. L. (1988). Kanahena: A Cherokee Story. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Simon, C. M. (1942). Younger Brother: A Cherokee Indian Tale. New York: E.P. Dutton.
- Steele, W. (1964). Wayah of the Real People. New York: Holt.
- Steele, W. (1965). Trail Through Danger. New York: Holt.
- Steele, W. (1976). Man with the Silver Eyes. New York: Harcourt.
- Stewart, E. J. (1994). On the Long Trail Home. New York: Clarion Books.

Development of Codebook

Most content analyses in education have been aimed at answering questions directly related to the material analyzed (Borg, 1983). In content analysis, each study examines specific questions unique to that study. Krippendorff, (1980), states that each researcher must devise a codebook which will be logical and sensitive to the needs that the study dictates. While many codebooks were studied for relevance, a codebook was devised by the researcher for this study and was adapted from Mc Kinney (1995).

Makeup of Codebook

The first page of the codebook was for general information about the books being studied. The following information was included:

1. Name of the rater
2. Title of the book
3. Author
4. Publisher and date of publication
5. List of main characters
6. Age of main characters
7. Ethnicity of main characters
8. Education of main characters
9. List of minor characters
10. Age of minor characters
11. Ethnicity of minor characters
12. Education of minor characters
13. Theme of the book

The remaining pages of the codebook asked the following questions:

1. Are the characters portrayed as competent and able to solve their own problems, or was another person called upon to solve the problem?
Frequency and page numbers were listed.
2. Were women in the book portrayed with respect and viewed as equals in the book, or were they portrayed as servile and subservient to men?
Frequency and page numbers were listed.

Selection of Raters and Assignments

Five raters, in addition to the researcher, read and coded the books using the codebook previously described. Three raters were required to be Cherokee, and three were women. Three of the raters were men and three were white. Raters with experience in content analysis were preferred, but the primary consideration was willingness to complete the reading and coding of the books. Raters quit several times which required the recruitment of new raters.

The final group of raters consisted of the following makeup. One of the raters was a professor at a large southwestern university. Three of the raters were professors at a small southwestern university. The fifth rater was a doctoral student at a large southwestern university. The sixth rater was a graduate of a large southwestern university. Four of the raters had experience in content analysis and coding books. There were three Cherokees and three white raters. There were also three women and three men raters. They have been assigned to teams in which each team had both a woman and a Cherokee.

Raters were given instruction in the use of the codebook and rating procedures using the “Indicators of Stereotypes” (see Appendix B). Discussions were held and examples of indicators were given so that all raters understood the indicators and were able to recognize the stereotypes used to portray Native Americans. There was also instruction in some aspects of Cherokee life, such as parenting matters, that differ from

the white, middle class norm so that raters would be aware of misconceptions and recognize stereotypes as they related to the Cherokee.

Book Assignments

Books were assigned randomly to three groups of raters. Two raters read each book. See Table II for book assignments.

Table II
Book Assignments for Raters

Book Number and Title	Researcher	Rater 1	Rater 2	Rater 3	Rater 4	Rater 5
1. Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves	x		x			
2. Bean Trees		x			x	
3. Chestnut Cub		x			x	
4. The Cougar		x			x	
5. Edge of Two Worlds				x		x
6. Fledglings	x		x			
7. Groundhog's Horse				x		x
8. John Rattling Gourd of Big Cove	x		x			
9. Kanahena: A Cherokee Story		x			x	
10. Long Man's Song	x		x			
11. Man with the Silver Eyes	x		x			
12. Mandie and the Cherokee Legend	x		x			
13. Minkapee	x		x			
14. Moonsong Lullaby	x		x			
15. Ned Christie's War		x			x	

Table II Con't
Book Assignments for Raters

Book Number and Title	Researcher	Rater 1	Rater 2	Rater 3	Rater 4	Rater 5
16. New Land	x		x			
17. On the Long Trail Home		x			x	
18. Pink Puppy	x		x			
19. Remember My Name		x			x	
20. Rifles for Watie	x		x			
21. Something for the Medicine Man		x			x	
22. Talking Leaf	x		x			
23. Tenase Brave	x		x			
24. To Spoil the Sun				x		x
25. Tough Enough's Indians		x			x	
26. Trail Through Danger				x		x
27. Trail to Oklahoma		x			x	
28. Wayah of the Real People				x		x
29. White Crow		x			x	
30. Yellow Leaf				x		x
31. Younger Brother		x			x	

Inter-rater Agreement

According to Borg and Gall (1983), it is necessary to identify points of ambiguity and clarify them. Raters used guidelines to establish areas to examine in accordance with the codebook (Appendix A). Raters discussed any disagreements and clarified ambiguities in their findings. Because of the subjective nature of this study, 100%

agreement was not necessary. Each team had both a Cherokee and a woman on the team in order to control racial and gender bias. In instances where there was a disagreement, and consensus could not be reached, the team deferred to the Cherokee in matters relating to Native Americans and to the women in matters relating to gender.

Summary of Content Analysis Steps Used

The following steps were used in the development of this study:

1. Formulation of the research question
2. Selection of categories
3. Selection of the unit of analysis
4. Selection of the sample to be analyzed
5. Development of the codebook
6. Selection of raters
7. Assignment of books to raters.

Summary

Content analysis is the research technique used to complete this study. Raters were selected on the basis of race and gender to control for racial and gender bias in the study. Raters were trained the indicators of stereotypes and in the cultural differences between the Cherokee and dominant white, middle class. Books were selected and in this instance, the whole sample was selected because of the size of the sample. Books were randomly assigned to the groups.

FINDINGS

General

Chapter III examined the methodology used in this study. It was determined that content analysis was the appropriate research method to be used. The implications of this study were discussed. The selection of category, development of codebook, assignment of books, selection of raters, and an inter-rater agreement check were explained. The methodology of content analysis was used to try to determine how Cherokee women were portrayed in the books, and if Cherokees were portrayed as helpless or incompetent.

Findings are presented in the form of tables with indicators of frequency indicating the number of times the stereotypes indicating incompetence and indicators of derogatory acts toward Cherokee women are found in each book. Indicators are words, phrases or incidents that portray incompetence or acts derogatory to women found in each book. Frequency of indicators is the term used to indicate how many times each indicator is found in each book.

After the tables are presented, each book will be discussed individually including indicators for both incompetence and Cherokee women. The findings will then be analyzed over time and will be presented in both tables and discussion.

Values of Entire Sample

Books About Cherokees

Frequency of Indicators

The indicator, which appeared most often in the 31 books in this study, is that portraying incompetence. It appeared 543 times (see Table III). An example of incompetence occurs in Mandie and the Cherokee Legend when Morning Star, Mandie's full-blood Cherokee grandmother does not speak English, even though she has lived among whites for years. After Mandie, a quarter-blood girl, comes to visit for a few days, Morning Star miraculously begins speaking English (Leppard, 1983). All of Mandie's competence is attributed to her white blood. The book that had the most indicators of incompetence was Mandie and the Cherokee Legend, which had 304 (n=304) indicators, followed by Minkapee with 128 (n=128) indicators (Leppard, 1983; Malakoff, 1982). Sixteen books show no (n=0) examples of incompetence, which is more than one-half of the books studied.

The indicator displaying derogatory references toward women appeared 110 (n=110) times (see Table IV) in the 31 books used in the study. There are forty-five (n=45) indicators in White Crow, which had the most, and Yellow Leaf, following with eleven (n=11) (Quimby, 1970; Capps, 1974). There are nine (n=9) books that have no (n=0) indicators of derogatory references to women.

Table III

Frequency of Indicators for Incompetence of Cherokees

	Incompetence
Banks, S. H. (1993). <u>Remember My Name</u>	0
Beebe, B. F. (1963). <u>Chesnut Cub</u>	3
Bell, C. (1955). <u>John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cove</u>	0
Booker, J. (1959). <u>Trail to Oklahoma</u>	0
Capps, M. J. (1974). <u>Yellow Leaf</u>	39
Carroll, R. (1960). <u>Tough Enough's Indians</u>	15
Conley, R. (1991). <u>Ned Christie's War</u>	0
Dunn, M. H. (1971). <u>Tenase Brave</u>	4
Helzer, E. E. (1971). <u>New Land</u>	0
Highwater, J. (1981). <u>Moonsong Lullaby</u>	0
Hood, F. (1962). <u>Something for the Medicine Man</u>	0
Hood, F. (1967). <u>Pink Puppy</u>	2
Jones, W. (1965). <u>Talking Leaf</u>	0
Jones, W. (1968). <u>Edge of Two Worlds</u>	34
Keith, H. (1957). <u>Rifles of Watie</u>	1
Kingsolver, B. (1988). <u>Bean Trees</u>	0
Leppard, L. (1983). <u>Mandie and the Cherokee Legend</u>	304
Malakoff, A. (1982). <u>Minkapee</u>	128
Markley, S. (1992). <u>Fledglings</u>	0

Table III Con't

Frequency of Indicators for Incompetence for Cherokees

	<u>Incompetence</u>
Quimby, M. (1968). <u>The Cougar</u>	64
Quimby, M. (1970). <u>White Crow</u>	0
Rockwood, J. (1975). <u>Long Man's Song</u>	0
Rockwood, J. (1976). <u>To Spoil the Sun</u>	0
Rockwood, J. (1978). <u>Groundhog's Horse</u>	6
Roos, P. (1976). <u>Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves</u>	0
Roth, S. L. (1988). <u>Kanahena: A Cherokee Story</u>	0
Simon, C. M. (1942). <u>Younger Brother: A Cherokee Indian Tale</u>	0
Steele, W. (1964). <u>Wayah of the Real People</u>	6
Steele, W. (1965). <u>Trail Through Danger</u>	12
Steele, W. (1976). <u>Man with the Silver Eyes</u>	14
Stewart, E. J. (1994). <u>On the Long Trail Home</u>	12

Table IV

Frequency of Indicators for Cherokee Women

	<u>Women</u>
Banks, S. H. (1993). <u>Remember My Name</u>	0
Beebe, B. F. (1963). <u>Chesnut Cub</u>	0
Bell, C. (1955). <u>John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cove</u>	2

Table IV Con't

Frequency of Indicators for Cherokee Women

	<u>Women</u>
Booker, J. (1959). <u>Trail to Oklahoma</u>	8
Capps, M. J. (1974). <u>Yellow Leaf</u>	11
Carroll, R. (1960). <u>Tough Enough's Indians</u>	6
Conley, R. (1991). <u>Ned Christie's War</u>	2
Dunn, M. H. (1971). <u>Tenase Brave</u>	3
Helzer, E. E. (1971). <u>New Land</u>	0
Highwater, J. (1981). <u>Moonsong Lullaby</u>	0
Hood, F. (1962). <u>Something for the Medicine Man</u>	0
Hood, F. (1967). <u>Pink Puppy</u>	3
Jones, W. (1965). <u>Talking Leaf</u>	2
Jones, W. (1968). <u>Edge of Two Worlds</u>	3
Keith, H. (1957). <u>Rifles of Watie</u>	1
Kingsolver, B. (1988). <u>Bean Trees</u>	0
Leppard, L. (1983). <u>Mandie and the Cherokee Legend</u>	4
Malakoff, A. (1982). <u>Minkapee</u>	8
Markley, S. (1992). <u>Fledglings</u>	3
Quimby, M. (1968). <u>The Cougar</u>	8
Quimby, M. (1970). <u>White Crow</u>	45
Rockwood, J. (1975). <u>Long Man's Song</u>	4
Rockwood, J. (1976). <u>To Spoil the Sun</u>	3

Table IV Con't

Frequency of Indicators for Cherokee Women

	<u>Women</u>
Rockwood, J. (1978). <u>Groundhog's Horse</u>	5
Roos, P. (1976). <u>Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves</u>	0
Roth, S. L. (1988). <u>Kanahena: A Cherokee Story</u>	0
Simon, C. M. (1942). <u>Younger Brother: A Cherokee Indian Tale</u>	9
Steele, W. (1964). <u>Wayah of the Real People</u>	1
Steele, W. (1965). <u>Trail Through Danger</u>	1
Steele, W. (1976). <u>Man with the Silver Eyes</u>	0
Stewart, E. J. (1994). <u>On the Long Trail Home</u>	7

Values in Individual BooksRemember My Name by Sara H. Banks (1993)

The characteristic of competence is portrayed throughout this book. There are no (n=0) indicators of incompetence. Annie and Righteous are very competent and successful in returning to their home in the face of great danger. They made their way with no money, avoided the patrols searching for them, and arrived at their destination safely.

There are no indicators (n=0) derogatory toward women. The story takes place as the family is taken on the Trail of Tears. Annie and Righteous are successful in solving the problems they encounter as they return to Annie's father and their homeland.

Chestnut Cub by B. E. Beebe (1963)

There are three (n=3) indicators of incompetence in the Chestnut Cub. The overall impression of the book is one of competence. The book is the story of a bear's life. The Cherokee create grass balds for grazing, saves bear cubs, and helps catch the cubnappers by getting their license plate number. Chief Bird is referred to as "red man" and is mentioned only briefly in the book.

There are no (n=0) derogatory references to women in the book. The only reference to women is that Chief Bird never married because he was in love with Sally. He met her again in old age and honored her.

Trail to Oklahoma by Jim Booker (1959)

This book has one (n=1) indicator of incompetence. During the roundup, Chief Standing Bear could not find his wife. The book was filled with stereotypes.

There are eight (n=8) references derogatory to women. The entire book showed women to be subservient to men. Young Deer's mother defers to his father in regard to a decision regarding parenting. (In Cherokee culture, the father has no real parenting role because the mother and her family take the responsibility of raising the children.) Chief Standing Bear tells his wife, "Woman, your tongue is too long," when she wants to take a squirrel as company for her son on the long journey. There are many references to "squaws" used in a disparaging manner. For example, "She is strong for a squaw," "come, little squaw (said to a boy to belittle him)," "then stop whimpering like a squaw," and "he has the arm of a woman." This book is full of stereotypes and treats women as completely subservient.

Rifles for Watie by Harold Keith (1957)

The characteristic of competence for Cherokees in this book permeates the work. Stand Watie and his confederate troops are portrayed as extremely competent, as well as the Cherokees on the Union side. Stand Watie and his troops win many victories and are feared and revered for their military prowess.

The only incidence of incompetence (n=1) comes from Joe Grayson, a mixed blood, when he makes the most disparaging remarks about the Cherokee full-bloods,

“Full-bloods,” Joe grunted scornfully. “They lazy. All they wanta do is live like old time Indians.”

The Cherokee women in the book are also competent (n=0) and are not portrayed as subservient to men. The women continue to keep the home in good shape while the men are at war and have food when many others do not. When it becomes necessary for them to leave Tahlequah because of the war, they pack their belongings and move on their own.

The protagonist is not Cherokee. This Newbery award book is about a white Kansas boy’s growth as a soldier during the Civil War; however, the Cherokees are portrayed prominently in the book.

Sequoyah: Young Cherokee Guide by Dorthea Snow (1960)

The characteristic of competence is not strongly suggested in this work. Cherokees in this book are not portrayed as competent. There are references to “one must be all Indian” and “Cherokees liked white man’s apple better” (Snow, 1960). Cherokees are portrayed as incompetent (n=14) both in text (n=9) and in illustrations (n=5).

There are five (n=5) instances of the book being degrading to women with three references to “squaw work.” There is also a reference that “squaws could not do the work of a man,” (Snow, 1960).

To Spoil the Sun by Joyce Rockwood (1976)

This book generally depicts the Cherokee as competent. There are no references to incompetence (n=0) in this work. The story deals with the devastating effect of smallpox on the early post-Colombian Cherokee.

In this book, there are three references (n=3) degrading to women. The references are made to appropriate behavior for woman and about subjugation of women. There is reference made to “sitting on her bare feet as a woman should” (Rockwood, 1976).

Groundhog’s Horse by Joyce Rockwood (1978)

This book generally portrays the characters as competent. There are six (n=6) instances of incompetence demonstrated in this book. The book is about war parties and warriors, so the entire book does portray the characters as warlike. Groundhog planned and successfully executed a raid on Rabbit Town and dealt with conflicts along the way. A description of the Creeks portrayed them as “painted and terrible”. There is a description of the warriors fasting to build power.

There are several references to women and their roles in the book. The raters identified five (n=5) as being degrading to women. There are references to women’s roles that are stereotyped. Pokeberry gives Groundhog cornmeal mush to make him feel better.

Trail Through Danger by William O. Steele (1965)

There are twelve (n=12) characteristics of lack of competence in this work. Indians are referred to as “greasy varmits” and “savages.” The book is not about Cherokees but about trespassers on Cherokee land. After the poachers kill many deer that are on Cherokee land, the Cherokee take the deer and the skins, as well as guns and horses, belonging to the poachers. Even though there are negative references in the book, the story defends the actions of the Cherokee, “Never in a hundred years would Mr. Gibbs admit the skins weren’t his, or that he’d done wrong to come on Injun land. He’d always claim the Cherokees stole his skins for no reason,” (Steele, 1965).

There is one (n=1) reference that is degrading to women. “They [the women] seemed in a peaceful mood, and Lefe hoped to goodness they would stay that way,” (Steele, 1965).

Edge of Two Worlds by Weyman Jones (1968)

Although there are thirty-four (n=34) instances of incompetence found in this book, the work generally portrays the protagonist as competent. The book is a work of historical fiction that tells of Sequoyah’s trip across Texas after coming to Oklahoma on the Trail of Tears. Even though Sequoyah (George Gist) is Indian, he saves a child lost on the prairie. He also invents the Cherokee syllabary. The child has many misconceptions about Indians that are dispelled during the course of the story. Comanche torture is described as well as the reference to “grunt words” and the use of hand and smoke signals. There is also the statement that “he didn’t seem like an Indian,” (Jones, 1968). The issue of competence is again addressed when Sequoyah “didn’t seem

Indian” and acted “just like a white man would,” (Jones, 1968). Reference is also made to “what whiskey does to Indians” and the way “Cherokees see things,” (Jones, 1968).

There were three (n=3) references to women that were degrading including a reference to “squaw work,” (Jones, 1968).

Yellow Leaf by M. J. Capps (1974)

There are thirty-nine (n=39) references to incompetence by the Natives in this book. The references began with “looked like a heathen,” “looked like a savage,” and “I’d as soon have a rattlesnake [as an Indian] in my house,” (Capps, 1974). Illustrations are also biased. There are examples of competence. Cagle is “ashamed of being white because of the horrible way they treat the Indians,” (Capps, 1974). There is also a reference to ownership in the statement by an Indian “... who can buy or sell the earth?” (Capps, 1974).

In addition to the references to incompetence, there are eleven (n=11) references that are degrading to women such as “filthy redskin squaw” and “wise about men,” (Capps, 1974). There is also a reference that there is “no reasoning with them [women]” (Capps, 1974). *Grazing Fawn* shows authority by coming up to a stranger. Women and children do not eat until the men are finished to show respect for the braves. *Laughing Eyes* built her teepee and would never allow her husband to. Men considered it beneath them to notice the teepees. The only problem with this example is that the Cherokee did not live in teepees.

White Crow by Myrtle Quimby (1970)

There are no (n=0) references to incompetence in this book. The protagonist is portrayed as very competent, although, she made a bad decision on whom to marry and suffered for her choice. She accepted responsibility for her choices and carried on with her life.

There are forty-five (n=45) indicators for women. Indian women were referred to as squaws but it was used as a term rather than in a derogatory manner, according to the raters. It should be noted that “squaw” is generally considered a derogatory appellation. It should be noted here that the terms “squaw,” “brave,” and “papoose” are white terms and not a part of Native culture. In addition, the white teacher tells the girls that the white men coming into the territory have “no respect for women, especially Indian girls” (Quimby 1970) to show that she was superior to the Indian girls.

Ned Christie's War by Robert L. Conley (1991)

The characteristic of competence permeates this book. Ned Christie is portrayed as extremely competent. He is active in politics until he is falsely accused of murder. He is still able to care for himself. He speaks English and Cherokee fluently. He became and folk hero to his people and remains so. There are no (n=0) examples of incompetence.

There are two (n=2) instances of women portrayed as subservient or in a derogatory manner. Maletha is portrayed as subservient to her husband and wondered how she could “make a decent living without a husband” (Conley, 1991). Gatey is shown as competent and shown a great deal of respect by her husband, Ned Christie. Gatey also leads her husband and son to safety after they have been shot.

The Bean Trees by Barbara Kingsolver (1988)

Throughout the book, Missy is seen as a very capable, independent girl. There are no (n=0) instances of incompetence shown by the characters. There are several strong women in this book, each of who were portrayed as a strong, smart, independent woman. The mother raised a child on her own, Mattie owned a store and helped refugees, Lou Ann raised an infant child on her own, and Missy, the main character, leaves her home looking for a better life and matures rapidly when a child is left in her care.

There are no instances (n=0) of women portrayed in a derogatory manner. The women in this book are portrayed with respect. Missy takes on the responsibility of someone else's child and raises it as if it were her own.

Kanahena: A Cherokee Story by Susan Roth (1988)

This picture book shows the bully being outsmarted by a wiser person and indicates a general competence. There are no (n=0) indicators of incompetence.

There are no (n=0) indicators of derogatory references to women. The main characters are women.

The Cougar by Myrtle Quimby (1968)

There are sixty-four (n=64) indicators of incompetence in this book. The protagonist, Jerry, is a thirteen year old, half Cherokee, and half white boy. Jerry runs away from home because his parents want him to go to school with white children who ridicule him. He is treated badly at the store. The mother is better educated than her husband and the whites, who are her neighbors. Another major character is John Stink, an Indian who never learns to speak in complete sentences, indicating his incompetence.

There are eight (n=8) indicators of derogatory references made about women in this book. The mother is subservient to her husband's decisions, which lead to Jerry's running away from home. The mother allows Jerry to go to school with people she considers ignorant and uneducated because her white husband insisted. In Cherokee culture, the mother and her family would make those decisions. Her father wants the children to come back to Tahlequah to go to school so that they can receive a much better education. In Cherokee culture, the children would have acceded to the grandfather's wishes, however, the white father may have overridden this plan.

On the Long Trail Home by Elisabeth J. Stewart (1994)

There are twelve (n=12) indicators of incompetence in this book. The book is about a child who is taken on the Trail of Tears and escapes to find her way back home to her father, who had escaped before the forced march. While the Trail of Tears does refer to incompetence, the protagonist, Meli, exhibits great competence when she and her brother escape their captors and return to her homeland. She killed rabbits for food and when she was separated from her brother, they made their way alone.

There are seven (n=7) indicators of derogatory references about women. Tahli shares his fish because Meli is at first unable to get her own food. A woman is told, "to shut up" by her husband (Stewart, 1994).

Tough Enough's Indians by Ruth and Latrobe Carroll (1960)

There are fifteen (n=15) indicators of incompetence in this book. References are made to "Injuns" throughout the book. There are also references to "braves" and "scalping." Tough Enough is a dog. The title of the book is degrading as it indicates

incompetence by the implications that the dog possesses the Indians. The story is about Tough Enough's children playing Indian with all the stereotypes they learned in school. While in the woods, they get caught up in a forest fire and end up at a real "injun's" house. The Cherokee family take them in and care for them until they are reunited with their parents. At first the children are afraid of "real Injuns," but finally come to understand that "Injuns - why they're just folks," (Carroll and Carroll, 1960). There is also a reference to language, "these Injuns, they talk like a teacher woman, not like us Tatums a-tall," (Carroll and Carroll, 1960). (The Tatums speak in an uneducated and ignorant manner.) The Cherokee family is seen as competent, kind and generous.

There are six (n=6) derogatory references to women in this book. Primarily the references are toward "squaws" and "squaw's work."

Tenase Brave by Marion Herndon Dunn (1971)

There are four (n=4) references to incompetence in this book. Primarily, the indicators are problem-solving mechanisms. Little Doe can't figure out what is wrong with the clay mixture. However, the overall premise of the book is how the Cherokee shows competence, how to solve the problems of getting home when lost, how to make peace with the Creeks, and how to save sister's life from the buffalo.

There are three (n=3) references derogatory to women. Gentle Dove is too weak to help father, "girls chatter worse than jay birds," (Dunn, 1971) and Little Doe is ridiculed because she does not know about clay.

The Talking Leaf by Weyman Jones (1965)

There are no indicators of incompetence (n=0) in this book. The characters are seen as competent. Tillahaw meets with the council to decide if the tribe is to go to Arkansas or stay and fight the whites. Atsee must decide on how to deal with his father's death, and whether to learn the alphabet so he can read Cherokee. The characters are portrayed as competent.

There are two (n=2) indicators derogatory to women. Mother needs to be protected while father is on a hunt. Tillahaw, in referring to a white man walking in the woods, says, "He walks through the woods like a tribe of women," (Jones, 1965).

Moonsong Lullaby by Jamake Highwater (1981)

There are no (n=0) references to competence in this book. This picture book deals with the ways of the Cherokee and prayer to the moon and animals.

There are no (n=0) references derogatory to women in this book. There are no references to women.

Wayah of the Real People by William Steele (1964)

The characteristic of competence was demonstrated in most of the book with few (n=6) instances of incompetence shown. Incompetence was demonstrated four (n=4) times in the text and twice (n=2) in the illustrations. References to "evil spirits" and "bad spirits" controlling the behavior of the Native peoples are the most indicative examples of incompetence. There is also a reference to "going on the warpath," (Steele, 1964).

There is one (n=1) instance of women being degraded in the book. There is a reference to women being "womanish" used in a disparaging manner.

The Man with the Silver Eyes by William O. Steele (1976)

There are fourteen (n=14) references that indicate incompetence in the book. There are references to “heathens” and “savages.” Talatu is sent by his grandfather to live with a white man for a year. The white man, Shinn, is the boy’s father but Talatu doesn’t know that, nor does Shinn tell him. Shinn is a stranger to the boy. A neighbor of Shinn’s asks Talatu if it is true that the Cherokee eat the boiled flesh of their white captors, and, he responds yes, because whites believe what they want to. The book does portray Talatu as competent. He solves his problems and in the end tries to save Shinn.

There are no (n=0) references derogatory to women in the book. There are few references to women in this book. Talatu’s mother and new husband are mentioned because he wishes to live with his mother, but are not characters in the book.

Pink Puppy by Flora Hood (1967)

This book is based on the incompetence of the Cherokee. While there are just two (n=2) direct references to incompetence, the entire premise of the book is that the Cherokee are not competent to handle their own affairs. Cindy Standingbear is grieving after her mother dies. Grandmother Standingbear tells her not to cry because that is the Cherokee way. The white schoolteacher comes to the home and tells her to cry because that is the “right way,” without regard of the beliefs of the family. The children go to the fair where “all the Indian children get to ride free for the day,” (Hood, 1967). Cindy stays home from school because she has an imaginary pink puppy and the children call her goofy. The teacher comes to speak with her father about her absences and threatens to report him to the Indian agency, because he cannot decide when she needs to stay

home. She then talks the family into living with the grandmother. (The paternal grandmother has taken the baby home with her. In Cherokee life, the maternal grandmother would have the baby, not the paternal grandmother.)

There is one (n=1) derogatory reference to women. The teacher did not agree with the grandmother telling her granddaughter not to cry. The white teacher is portrayed as the strong, competent character. The grandmother is portrayed as the only choice to keep and raise the children for the father because he is not competent to do so.

John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cove by Corydon Bell (1955)

There are no (n=0) indications of incompetence in this book. The book is a fictionalized account of Cherokee legends and myths. The characteristic of competence does not apply.

There are four (n=4) references derogatory to women. Three references are stereotypes of traditional roles for women. In two (n=2), women are treated equally with men. The overall experience is that women are treated equally without derogatory references.

Something for the Medicine Man by Flora Mae Hood (1962)

There are no (n=0) incidences of incompetence in this book. This is a picture book of a girl who has the dilemma of finding something valuable for Bird Partridge, an elderly, bedridden man. Since her family has little money, she must find something as a gift. She finds a solution on her own.

There are no (n=0) incidences of derogatory references to women. Ada is charged with finding a gift, and she does so. Ada is shown in a positive manner.

The Fledglings by Sandra Markley (1992)

There are no (n=0) references that refer to incompetence. Kate, the protagonist, must find a grandfather that she did not know existed until her mother's death. She solves the problem of getting money to buy a bus ticket to the town he lives in, then tracks him into the woods, and subsequently saves him after he has been shot. She has to solve a variety of problems such as saving a fledgling eagle, raising it, and teaching it to fly. She and her grandfather take on poachers and have a variety of problems to solve in order to stay alive, as well as stop the poaching of birds of prey. Kate and her grandfather solve them all and forge a strong relationship.

There are three (n=3) references that could be derogatory to women. In dealing with the loss of her mother, no one gives her responsibility, and is unsure if she can handle it. When she first meets her grandfather, he tells her, "Do as you please, girl," (Markley, 1992). In contrast, to Kate's competence, her aunt, her mother's sister, and thus a white woman is shown to be incompetent and useless as a mother. Her children are completely out of control and she shifts them off on others saying, "They're too much for me today girl," (Markley, 1992).

Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves by Peter and Connie Roos (1976)

There are no (n=0) instances of incompetence in this book. Ahyoka shows competence by trading her bracelet for a book, finding her father after he leaves the home, and coming up with the idea of creating symbols for sounds. Sequoyah exhibits competence by inventing the Cherokee syllabary.

There are no (n=0) instances of women being treated in a derogatory manner. Utiya is portrayed in a positive manner by divorcing Sequoyah because he no longer provided for the family. Ahyoka was a strong character in the book.

Minkapee by Anne F. Malakaff (1982)

There are one hundred twenty-eight (n=128) references to incompetence or negative stereotypes depicting Indians as savages in this book. However, the premise is that the stereotypes held by the settlers were wrong. Minkapee, a Cherokee chief, takes a white boy from his family for three moons to teach the boy the way of the Cherokee, and to help negotiate a lasting peace between the two peoples. Minkapee hopes by learning the ways of the Cherokee, the boy will convince his father, a militia leader, to contract a lasting peace. Minkapee was successful in his plan, and therefore, was shown to be competent and the white settlers wrong in their perceptions of the Cherokee as “savages.”

There are eight (n=8) derogatory references to women in this book. These references are to women as “squaws.”

New Land by Eunice Elmore Helzer (1971)

There are no (n=0) references to incompetence in this book. Peter shows competence by teaching Linda how to fish. The Cherokee in this book have a minor role and are portrayed as white. There is no mention of their culture or ethnicity. Portraying the Cherokee as having white values could be construed as incompetence by depicting the Cherokee culture not as good as the white culture. The raters, however, did not view this as incompetence.

There are no (n=0) references derogatory toward women. There are no portrayals of Native women in this book.

Younger Brother by Charlie Mae Simon (1942)

There are no (n=0) references to incompetence in this book. Many incidents exhibit competence. Sungi saves the townhouse from fire, becomes a man, and leads the tribe against the Creek to recover their stolen horses. His father returns from the West, where he has learned to read Cherokee, and teaches first Sungi, then the rest of the tribe to read.

There are no (n=0) indicators that portray women in a derogatory manner. Women are portrayed in traditional roles and are secondary to the story line; however, they are treated as competent and with respect.

Mandie and the Cherokee Legend by Lois Gladys Leppard (1983)

There are three hundred four (n=304) incidents indicative of incompetence in this book. The majority of these are illustrated that the full bloods have never learned to speak anything but broken English, even though whites have been intermarried in the family for three generations. Even the full-blood Cherokee girl, Sallie, who has been to school, and speaks English fluently, is treated as not quite right. “Don’t you catch the Injun accent? No matter how much eddication they git, you kin always hear that kind of lisp they have,” (Leppard, 1983) is a reflection of incompetence. Mandie, the protagonist, is one-fourth Cherokee, but it is made clear on the first page, that “she didn’t even look like an Indian with her long blonde hair and bright, blue eyes,” (Leppard, 1983).

When a young Indian boy sees Mandie for the first time "...his eyes lit up when he saw the blond-haired girl," (Leppard, 1983). "She is the most beautiful girl I have ever seen," (Leppard, 1983) he was thinking as she came nearer. "And blue eyes! How beautiful!" (Leppard, 1983) as an indication that white is preferred to Indian.

Mandie's aunt, Morning Star, has never attempted to speak English until Mandie came to visit. She then starts learning to speak English so that she can say "love" to Mandie. Mandie solves every problem and is credited by the author and the tribe with finding the gold, even though Sallie Sweetwater and her friend Joe helped her discover the gold. There are many references to "papooses" and "squaws" in this book.

Tsa'ni, Mandie's full blood cousin, wishes to have nothing to do with whites and is referred to throughout the book as a "bad Cherokee" for not being friends with whites. He sets a trap for Mandie because if she were really an Indian, she would find her way home. The fallacy with this plan is that Sallie Sweetwater, a full blood, is with her when she is lost in the woods, but cannot find her way home either. He constantly gets into trouble from which Mandie has to rescue him. In the end Mandie's kindness and forgiveness wins him over and he to, becomes one of the fan club. After Mandie is awarded the gold by a vote of the tribe, she vows to use it to build a hospital for the tribe since they obviously are not wise enough to build their own hospital. A twelve-year-old, mostly white girl has to do it for them.

Perhaps the most direct indicator of incompetence is the passage that reads, "In his Indian fashion, Uncle Ned tried to make the white people feel welcome. "Wash! Eat!" he told them, pointing to a wash pan on a shelf. A clean towel was hanging on a nail beside it. A bucketful of fresh drinking water was also nearby with a gourd dipper

hanging on a nail over it. Ned was a full-blooded Indian, but he knew how the white people lived,” (Leppard, 1983).

The obvious message is that Indians are not clean and they do not drink fresh water. In addition, Mandie has to make sure that everyone understands her meaning, because they are much less competent than she.

Indian Charley hid the gold in the cave for his people, before he died trying to escape from the removal. Mandie also lectures the reader on the removal. It was a bad thing, but let’s forget about it because it happened a long time ago and has nothing to do with us now.

There are four (n=4) references derogatory to women. Morning Star cannot speak English until influenced by the blond-haired girl. On the positive side, Mandie always saves the day, and is portrayed in the most competent and respectful manner as is her white mother in opposition to everyone else in the book.

Long Man’s Song by Joyce Rockwood (1975)

There are no (n=0) indicators of incompetence in this book. The references to competence are: when Soaring Hawk must decide what is making Redbird sick, when he found Scratcher in the woods doing something he wasn’t supposed to be doing, when Soaring Hawk must find a way to fight Scratcher, when Chestnut Bird must decide to follow her true love or to do what her family expects her to do, and when Corn Tassel offers her daughter a way out of her dilemma.

There are four (n=4) indicators of subservience or derogatory references about women. Redbird is reminded of the fact that she must have daughters to carry on the lineage. Soaring Hawk is afraid to be seen pounding corn because its women’s work and

his reference that women are supposed to do all the cooking. Chestnut Bread is supposed to do what her family thinks she should do and honor her uncle even if what he is doing is wrong. She decided to do what is right at the expense of losing her family.

Portrayals Over Time from 1952 – 1994

The portrayals of the indicators of incompetence over time from 1942 to 1994 are shown by date and for incompetence in Table V. There are no (n=0) portrayals indicative of incompetence in the decade of the 1940's. There was only one book found from this era. Younger Brother had no indicators of incompetence (Simon, 1942). Published in 1942, this was the oldest book. By contrast, the most recent book, On the Long Trail Home, published in 1994, had twelve (n=12) indicators of incompetence (Stewart, 1994).

Three books in the sample were written in the 1950's. Of these books, only one has an indicator of incompetence, which was found in Rifles for Watie (Keith, 1957). However, the overall tone of the book was very positive toward the Cherokee.

There are eight books written in the 1960's. Something for the Medicine Man (1962), and Talking Leaf (1965), had no (n=0) indicators of incompetence (Hood, 1962; Jones, 1965). Edge of Two Worlds and Cougar, both written in 1968, had the most indicators, thirty-four (n=34), and sixty-four (n=64) respectively (Jones, 1968; Quimby, 1968). Tough Enough's Indians had fifteen (n=15), Trail through Danger had twelve (n=12), Wayah of the Real People had six (n=6), and Chestnut Cub had three (n=3) (Carroll, 1960; Steele, 1965; Steele, 1964; Beebe, 1963). Pink Puppy had two no (n=2) direct indicators of incompetence (Hood, 1967). However, the entire premise of this

book, is that the Cherokee are incompetent and must have a white person tell them the “right” things to do, even how to express their grief, and that the Cherokee way is wrong.

There are nine books written during the 1970’s used in this study. Five of these books, White Crow, New Land, Long Man’s Song, Ahyoka of the Talking Leaves, and To Spoil the Sun had no (n=0) indicators of incompetence (Quimby, 1970; Helzer, 1971; Rockwood, 1975; Joyce, 1975; Roos, 1976; Rockwood, 1976). Yellow Leaf had the largest number with thirty-nine (n=39) (Capps, 1974). Man with the Silver Eyes had fourteen (n=14) indicators of incompetence (Steele, 1976). Groundhog’s Horse had six (n=6) indicators of incompetence (Rockwood, 1978). Tenase Brave had four (n=4) indicators of incompetence (Dunn, 1971).

There are five books from the 1980’s used in this study. Three of the books, Moonsong, Bean Trees, and Kanahena: A Cherokee Story had no (n=0) indicators of incompetence (Highwater, 1981; Kingsolver, 1988; Roth, 1988). The other two books in this decade had the highest number of indicators of incompetence. Minkapee had the second highest number of indicators of incompetence in this study and in this decade (Malakoff, 1982). It should be noted, however, that the theme of the book was to show these indicators of incompetence were not, in fact, true. Even though this book had a high number of indicators, the premise of the book was to prove them false and based upon a lack of understanding. Mandie and the Cherokee Legend had the highest number of indicators of incompetence in the decade and in the study, with three hundred four (n=304) indicators (Leppard, 1983). This book is an example of how to use as many stereotypes about Native Americans as possible, as often as possible, in one book.

The decade of the 1990's through 1994 had four books included in the study. Three of these books, Ned Christie's War, The Fledglings, and Remember My Name had no (n=0) indicators of incompetence (Conley, 1991; Markley, 1992; Banks, 1993). The most recent book, On the Long Trail Home, had twelve no (n=12) indicators of incompetence (Stewart, 1994).

The decade of the 1980's had the two books with the highest number of indicators of incompetence, and the decade of the 1940's had no (n=0) indicators of incompetence. The book with the highest number of indicators, Mandie and the Cherokee Legend, was written over forty years after Younger Brother, which had no (n=0) indicators (Leppard, 1983; Simon, 1942). The most recent book, On the Long Trail Home, had more indicators (n=12) than did the earliest book written (Stewart, 1994). There is no evidence in this study that stereotypes have improved over time, but, in fact, may have become more pronounced, especially in the decade of the 1980's.

Table V

Books with Indicators of Incompetence for Cherokees over Time

	Incompetence
(1942). <u>Younger Brother: A Cherokee Indian Tale</u>	0
(1955). <u>John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cove</u>	0
(1957). <u>Rifles of Watie</u>	1
(1959). <u>Trail to Oklahoma</u>	0

Table V Con't

Books with Indicators of Incompetence of Cherokees over Time

	Incompetence
(1960). <u>Tough Enough's Indians</u>	15
(1962). <u>Something for the Medicine Man</u>	0
(1963). <u>Chesnut Cub</u>	3
(1964). <u>Wayah of the Real People</u>	6
(1965). <u>Trail Through Danger</u>	12
(1965). <u>Talking Leaf</u>	0
(1967). <u>Pink Puppy</u>	2
(1968). <u>Edge of Two Worlds</u>	34
(1968). <u>The Cougar</u>	64
(1970). <u>White Crow</u>	0
(1971). <u>Tenase Brave</u>	4
(1971). <u>New Land</u>	0
(1974). <u>Yellow Leaf</u>	39
(1975). <u>Long Man's Song</u>	0
(1976). <u>Man with the Silver Eyes</u>	14
(1976). <u>Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves</u>	0
(1976). <u>To Spoil the Sun</u>	0
(1978). <u>Groundhog's Horse</u>	6
(1981). <u>Moonsong Lullaby</u>	0
(1982). <u>Minkapee</u>	128

Table V Con't

Books with Indicators of Incompetence of Cherokees over Time

	Incompetence
(1983). <u>Mandie and the Cherokee Legend</u>	304
(1988). <u>Bean Trees</u>	0
(1988). <u>Kanahena: A Cherokee Story</u>	0
(1991). <u>Ned Christie's War</u>	0
(1992). <u>Fledglings</u>	0
(1993). Remember My Name	0
(1994). <u>On the Long Trail Home</u>	12

Indicators of Portrayal of Cherokee Women Over Time

The portrayals of the indicators for women over time, from 1942 to 1994, are shown by date and for women, in Table VI. There were 110 (n=110) indicators for women.

There are no (n=0) portrayals indicative of women in the decade of the 1940's. There was only one book found from this era. Younger Brother had no (n=0) derogatory indicators toward women (Simon, 1942). This was the oldest book, published in 1942. By contrast, the most recent book, On the Long Trail Home, published in 1994, had seven (n=7) indicators for women (Stewart, 1994).

There are three books in the sample written in the 1950's. Of these books, all three have indicators for women. Rifle for Watie had one (n=1) (Keith, 1958), however, the overall tone of the book was very positive toward women, and John Rattling Gourd

had two (n=2) indicators toward women (Bell, 1955). Trail to Oklahoma had eight (n=8) indicators toward women (Booker, 1959).

There are eight books written in the 1960's. Something for the Medicine Man (1962), and Chestnut Cub (1963), had no (n=0) indicators for women (Hood, 1962; Beebe, 1963). Trail Through Danger, Wayah of the Real People, and Pink Puppy each had one (n=1) indicator for women (Steele, 1965; Steele, 1964; Hood, 1967). In Pink Puppy, there were indicators of incompetence, although direct indicators were few, the over all tone of the book was that women were subservient to men (Hood, 1967). Talking Leaf had two (n=2) indicators for women (Jones, 1965). Edge of Two Worlds had three (n=3) indicators for women (Jones, 1968). Tough Enough's Indians had six (n=6), and Cougar had eight (n=8) (Carroll, 1960; Quimby, 1968).

There are nine books written during the 1970's used in this study. Two of these books, Ahyoka of the Talking Leaves and Man with the Silver Eyes had no (n=0) indicators for women (Roos, 1976; Steele, 1976). White Crow had the largest number with forty-five (n=45) (Quimby, 1970). Yellow Leaf had eleven (n=11) indicators for women (Capps, 1974). Groundhog's Horse had five (n=5) indicators concerning women (Rockwood, 1978). Long Man's Song had four (n=4) indicators for women (Rockwood, 1975). Tenase Brave and To Spoil the Sun had three (n=3) indicators for women (Dunn, 1971; Rockwood, 1976). New Land had no (n=0) references to Cherokee women (Helzer, 1971).

There are five books from the 1980's used in this study. Three of the books, Moonsong, Bean Trees, and Kanahena: A Cherokee Story had no (n=0) indicators derogatory to women (Highwater, 1981; Kingsolver, 1988; Roth, 1988). The other two

books, in this decade, had the highest number of indicators derogatory to women.

Minkapee had the highest number of indicators derogatory to women in this decade with eight (n=8) (Malakoff, 1982). Mandie and the Cherokee Legend had the second highest number of indicators derogatory to women in the decade, with four (n=4) (Leppard, 1983).

The decade of the 1990's through 1994 had four books included in this study. One of these books, Remember My Name had no (n=0) indicators of for women (Banks, 1993). Ned Christie's War had two (n=2) indicators derogatory to women, and The Fledglings had three (n=3) indicators derogatory to women (Conley, 1991; Markley, 1992). The most recent book, On the Long Trail Home (1994), had the highest incidence in this decade with seven (n=7) indicators derogatory toward women (Stewart, 1994).

The decade of the 1970's had the book with the highest number of indicators derogatory toward women, and the decade of the 1940's had no (n=0) indicators. The book with the highest number of indicators, White Crow, was written over thirty years after Younger Brother, which had no (n=0) indicators (Quimby, 1970; Simon, 1942). The most recent book, On the Long Trail Home, had more indicators (n=7) than did the earliest book written (Stewart, 1994). There was no evidence in this study that stereotypes have improved over time, but, in fact, may have become more pronounced, especially in the decade of the 1970's. The number of indicators, with one exception, remained fairly steady over time. The indicators for women are not as pronounced as those for incompetence. The book with the highest number of indicators toward women was one-sixth (1/6) the highest number for incompetence.

Table VI

Books with Indicators for Cherokee Women over Time

	Cherokee Women
(1942). <u>Younger Brother: A Cherokee Indian Tale</u>	0
(1955). <u>John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cove</u>	2
(1957). <u>Rifles of Watie</u>	1
(1959). <u>Trail to Oklahoma</u>	8
(1960). <u>Tough Enough's Indians</u>	6
(1962). <u>Something for the Medicine Man</u>	0
(1963). <u>Chesnut Cub</u>	0
(1964). <u>Wayah of the Real People</u>	1
(1965). <u>Trail Through Danger</u>	1
(1965). <u>Talking Leaf</u>	2
(1967). <u>Pink Puppy</u>	1
(1968). <u>Edge of Two Worlds</u>	3
(1968). <u>The Cougar</u>	8
(1970). <u>White Crow</u>	45
(1971). <u>Tenase Brave</u>	3
(1971). <u>New Land</u>	0
(1974). <u>Yellow Leaf</u>	11
(1975). <u>Long Man's Song</u>	4
(1976). <u>Man with the Silver Eyes</u>	0
(1976). <u>Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves</u>	0

Table VI Con't

Books with Indicators for Cherokee Women over Time

	Cherokee Women
(1976). <u>To Spoil the Sun</u>	3
(1978). <u>Groundhog's Horse</u>	5
(1981). <u>Moonsong Lullaby</u>	0
(1982). <u>Minkapee</u>	8
(1983). <u>Mandie and the Cherokee Legend</u>	4
(1988). <u>Bean Trees</u>	0
(1988). <u>Kanahena: A Cherokee Story</u>	0
(1991). <u>Ned Christie's War</u>	2
(1992). <u>Fledglings</u>	3
(1993). <u>Remember My Name</u>	0
(1994). <u>On the Long Trail Home</u>	7

The totals of indicators of both incompetence and women can be found in Table VII. The books with the most indicators were from the 1980's, Mandie and the Cherokee Legend (n=308) and Minkapee (n=136) (Leppard, 1983; Malakoff, 1982). There were eight books with no (n=0) indicators pertaining to either incompetence or women. These books were Remember My Name, Kanahena: A Cherokee Story, New Land, Bean Trees, Moonsong, Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves, Something for the Medicine Man, and Younger Brother (Banks, 1993; Roth, 1988; Helzer, 1971; Kingsolver, 1988; Highwater, 1981; Roos, 1976; Hood, 1962; Simon, 1942). There were four books with two (n=2)

indicators. These books are Talking Leaf, John Rattling Gourd, Rifles for Watie, and Ned Christie's War (Jones, 1965; Bell, 1955; Keith, 1957; Conley, 1991). There are four books that have three (n=3) combined indicators. These books are Pink Puppy, Chestnut Cub, Fledglings, and To Spoil the Sun (Hood, 1967; Beebe, 1963; Markley, 1992; Rockwood, 1976). Long Man's Song had four (n=4) indicators (Rockwood, 1975; Joyce, 1975). Wayah of the Real People and Tenase Brave had seven (n=7) total indicators each (Steele, 1964; Dunn, 1971). Trail to Oklahoma had eight (n=8) total indicators (Booker, 1959). Groundhog's Horse had eleven (n=11) indicators, which consisted of six (n=6) for incompetence and five (n=5) for women (Rockwood, 1978). Trail through Danger had thirteen (n=13) indicators (Steele, 1965). Twelve (n=12) of which were for incompetence and one (n=1) for women. Man with the Silver Eyes had fourteen (n=14) total indicators, all of which were for incompetence (Steele, 1976). On the Long Trail Home, had nineteen (n=19) indicators (Stewart, 1994). Tough Enough's Indians had twenty-one (n=21) indicators (Carroll, 1960). Edge of Two Worlds had thirty-seven (n=37) indicators (Jones, 1968). White Crow had forty-five (n=45) indicators, all of which were for the category of women (Quimby, 1970). Yellow Leaf had fifty (n=50) indicators (Capps, 1974). Cougar had a total of seventy-two (n=72) indicators, sixty-four (n=64) of which were for incompetence (Quimby, 1968).

Table VII

Totals of Indicators for Incompetence and Cherokee Women

	Incompetence	Women	Total
(1983). <u>Mandie and the Cherokee Legend</u>	304	4	308
(1982). <u>Minkapee</u>	128	8	136
(1968). <u>The Cougar</u>	64	8	8
(1974). <u>Yellow Leaf</u>	39	11	50
(1970). <u>White Crow</u>	0	45	45
(1968). <u>Edge of Two Worlds</u>	34	3	37
(1960). <u>Tough Enough's Indians</u>	15	6	21
(1994). <u>On the Long Trail Home</u>	12	7	19
(1976). <u>Man with the Silver Eyes</u>	14	0	14
(1965). <u>Trail Through Danger</u>	12	1	13
(1978). <u>Groundhog's Horse</u>	6	5	11
(1959). <u>Trail to Oklahoma</u>	0	8	8
(1964). <u>Wayah of the Real People</u>	6	1	7
(1971). <u>Tenase Brave</u>	4	3	7
(1975). <u>Long Man's Song</u>	0	4	4
(1967). <u>Pink Puppy</u>	2	1	3
(1963). <u>Chestnut Cub</u>	3	0	3
(1976). <u>To Spoil the Sun</u>	0	3	3
(1992). <u>Fledglings</u>	0	3	3

Table VII Con't

Totals of Indicators for Incompetence and Cherokee Women

	Incompetence	Women	Total
(1955). <u>John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cove</u>	0	2	2
(1957). <u>Rifles of Watie</u>	1	1	2
(1991). <u>Ned Christie's War</u>	0	2	2
(1965). <u>Talking Leaf</u>	0	2	2
(1971). <u>New Land</u>	0	0	0
(1976). <u>Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves</u>	0	0	0
(1981). <u>Moonsong Lullaby</u>	0	0	0
(1962). <u>Something for the Medicine Man</u>	0	0	0
(1988). <u>Bean Trees</u>	0	0	0
(1988). <u>Kanahena: A Cherokee Story</u>	0	0	0
(1993). <u>Remember My Name</u>	0	0	0
(1942). <u>Younger Brother: A Cherokee Indian Tale</u>	0	0	0

When looking at the overall effects of the books over time, the number of incidents per book should be considered. Table VIII looks at the average number of incidents for incompetence per book. The decade of the 1940's had no (n=0) indicators of incompetence. The decade of the 1950's had .33 (n=.33) indicators per book. The decade of the 1960's had 15.1 (n=15.1) indicators per book. The 1970's had seven (n=7) indicators per book. The decade of the 1980's had 86.4 (n=86.4) indicators per book, and the decade of the 1990's had three (n=3) indicators per book.

Table VIII

Average Number of Incidences per Book for Incompetence of Cherokees

Decade	Incompetence	Average incident per book
1940 (1 book)	0	0
1950 (3 books)	1	.33
1960 (9 books)	136	15.1
1970 (9 books)	63	7
1980 (5 books)	432	86.7
1990 (4 books)	12	3

When looking at the overall effects of the books over time, the number of incidents per book should be considered. Table IX looks at the average number of incidents for women per book. The decade of the 1940's had no ($n=0$) indicators for women. The decade of the 1950's had 3.7 ($n=3.7$) indicators per book. The decade of the 1960's had 2.5 ($n=2.5$) indicators per book. The 1970's had 8.2 ($n=8.2$) indicators per book. The decade of the 1980's had 2.4 ($n=2.4$) indicators per book, and the decade of the 1990's had 2.5 ($n=2.5$) indicators per book.

Table IX

Average Number of Incidences per Book for Cherokee Women

Decade	Cherokee Women	Average incident per book
1940 (1 book)	0	0
1950 (3 books)	11	3.7
1960 (9 books)	22	2.5
1970 (9 books)	71	8.2
1980 (5 books)	12	2.4
1990 (4 books)	10	2.5

Total incidences of both incompetence and women are found in Table X. There were no ($n=0$) incidences of either in the decade of the 1940's, with no ($n=0$) average incidences per book. The 1950's had a total number of incidences of twelve ($n=12$), with an average number of four ($n=4$) incidences per book. The decade of the 1960's had a total number of 158 ($n=158$) incidences, with an average number of 17.5 ($n=17.5$) incidences.

The decade of the 1970's had a total number of 134 ($n=134$) incidences, with an average number of 15 ($n=15$) per book. The decade of the 1980's was 444 ($n=444$) with an average number of 88.8 ($n=88.8$) incidences. The decade of the 1990's had a total number of incidences of 22 ($n=22$) with an average number of 5.5 ($n=5.5$) incidences per book.

Table X
Average Number of Incidences per Book for both Incompetence
and Women

Decade	Incompetence	Cherokee Women	Total	Average incident per book
1940 (1 book)	0	0	0	0
1950 (3 books)	1	11	12	4
1960 (9 books)	136	22	158	17.5
1970 (9 books)	63	71	134	15
1980 (5 books)	432	12	444	88.8
1990 (4 books)	12	10	22	5.5

Summary

The Chapter IV findings determined how the Cherokee and women were portrayed in Children's fiction about the Cherokee, and how these portrayals changed over time. Looking at the indicators of incompetence, Mandie and the Cherokee Legend had the most incidences of incompetence with three hundred four (n=304) (Leppard, 1983). There were sixteen books with no (n=0) indicators of incompetence found. Looking at the indicators for women, the book with the most indicators was White Crow with forty-five (n=45) (Quimby, 1970). There were nine books with no (n=0) indicators.

When looking at the books over time, the decade of the 1980's had the most incidences of incompetence with 86.4 (n=86.4) incidences per book, and the decade of the 1960's second with 15.1 (n=15.1) per book. The decade of the 1970's had seven

($n=7$), the decade of the 1990's had three ($n=3$), the decade of the 1950's had .33 ($n=.33$), and the decade of the 1940's had none ($n=0$).

When looking at the books over time, the decade of the 1970's had the most incidences for women with 8.2 ($n=8.2$) incidences per book, and the decade of the 1950's second with 3.7 ($n=3.7$) per book. The decades of the 1960's and the 1990's had 2.5 ($n=2.5$) each, the decade of the 1980's had 2.4 ($n=2.4$), and the decade of the 1940's had none ($n=0$).

When looking at the books over time, the decade of the 1980's had the most total incidences of incompetence and women, with 88.8 ($n=88.8$) incidences per book, and the decade of the 1960's second with 17.5 ($n=17.5$) per book. The decade of the 1970's had 15 ($n=15$), the decade of the 1990's had 5.5 ($n=5.5$), the decade of the 1950's had .4 ($n=.4$), and the decade of the 1940's had none ($n=0$).

Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

Summary

The purpose of this study was to determine how the Cherokee was portrayed in children's fiction books in relation to competence, women, and how these portrayals have changed over time.

The purpose, methods, and procedures of this study are based on the assumptions that the books total effect on the child's self image be considered (Lee, 1995, Agnes, 1947, and Jackson 1944).

The entire sample of children's books from 1942 to 1994, that were able to be located, were used in the sample. Two books were excluded because the author was unable locate the books. Only fiction books were considered in the study. Six raters were used in the study with two raters for each book, one male and one female, one Cherokee and one white, using a codebook developed by the researcher. When two raters read a book, they met to determine inter-rater reliability.

The books with the highest number of indicators of incompetence were Mandie and the Cherokee Legend and Minkapee, both of which were written in the 1980's (Leppard, 1983; Malakoff, 1982). More than fifty percent of the books in the sample had no indicators of incompetence. The book with the highest number of indicators for women was White Crow, written in the 1970's (Quimby, 1970). Nine books had no

indicators for women. In looking at the indicators over time, the decade of the 1980's had the highest number of indicators per book. The 1940's had the least number of indicators with none for either women or incompetence.

Discussion

The major findings in this study dealt with the issues of the Cherokee portrayed as incompetent, with Cherokee women being portrayed in a derogatory or subservient manner and how these stereotypes changed over time. The major findings indicated that there were no clear patterns involving the portrayal of the stereotypes of either incompetence or derogatory references toward Cherokee women. They appeared to be somewhat random.

The first question that this study addressed was that of Cherokees being portrayed as incompetent. Were the characters in the book portrayed as incompetent and dependent on others to solve problems for them? Sixteen of the thirty-one books studied, more than fifty percent of the books had no (n=0) indicators of incompetence. Another six of the books had fewer than ten (n=10) indicators of incompetence. Two books had twelve indicators (n=12) and one each had fourteen (n=14) and fifteen (n=15). One had thirty-four (n=34), another had thirty-nine (n=39), and one had sixty-four (n=64) indicators.

One book, Minkapee, had one hundred twenty-eight indicators (n=128), but the premise of the book was to dispel the stereotypes, thus negating the indicators (Malakoff, 1982). In this book, each indicator of incompetence was immediately dispelled giving the reader an appreciation of the Cherokee as being competent and the stereotypes as being incorrect.

The book with the most indicators, Mandie and the Cherokee Legend, had three hundred four indicators (n=304) (Leppard, 1983). This book used stereotypes in every facet of the book. The book was published in 1983, which is a fairly recent publication date. Originally it was published by a small, independent publisher and was not widely circulated. This book has recently been published by Scholastic Book Clubs, which is going to increase its circulation to young readers. This book is the most offensive of all the books read by the raters. If, as Klein (1985) states, children's literature is a form of mass socialization, children with such ready access to this book are going to be socialized with a plethora of stereotypes about Cherokees and Native Americans.

The second most offensive book didn't have a lot of particular indicators (n=8), but the entire premise of the book, Pink Puppy, is that Cherokee people are not competent to deal with grief, their traditions are wrong, and white people must save the children in order to teach them the "right" way to grieve and raise their children (Hood 1967). Much of the problem in this book comes from the author either not knowing or not caring about Cherokee culture. The author portrayed Cindy as believing that people singing meant that they were supposed to be happy and she didn't understand why people were being happy because her mother had just died. A Cherokee child who is school age would have been to a great many wakes and would not have even questioned the singing. Death, in Cherokee culture, is treated as a necessary part of life. Children are not shielded from death as often is the case in white culture. The incident is a putting a white interpretation on a particularly Cherokee event. The author's interpretation is designed to show that the Cherokee do not know how to live their lives in a proper manner.

White Crow (Quimby, 1970) had the most indicators for women, but none (n=0) for incompetence. While there were no direct indicators of incompetence in this book, the issue was addressed. Willma's uncle is concerned with yet another treaty being broken and more lands (the Cherokee Outlet) being opened to white settlement (which happened). He states:

If the whites get a foothold in this land it will be the same with us as it was in the southern states. They will want to take it all over, and the Indian will be pushed out again, into the desert, into the ocean. ... maybe we have adopted some of their ways, but thank God we've not yet deluded ourselves into thinking we are the chosen people because of the color of our skin! We do not feel that we are the guardians of truth and righteousness, and that we are privileged to take anything we want because we are a superior race (24).

The second question addressed pertained to the treatment of Cherokee women. Were the women treated in a subservient or derogatory manner? There were nine books with no (n=0) indicators for women. Twenty of the books had fewer than ten (n=10) indicators for women. One of the remaining books had (n=11) indicators for women and the other, White Crow, had forty-five (n=45) indicators (Quimby, 1970).

White Crow had the largest numbers of indicators for women. An interesting aspect of this author's writing is that while she had a lot of indicators for women in White Crow (Quimby, 1970), she had no indicators for incompetence. In fact, when she addressed the issue of incompetence in the book, the position was derogatory to the white establishment. In contrast, in her book, Cougar (1968), there are sixty-four (n=64) indicators for incompetence and only eight (n=8) for women. Even within the works of a

single author is no continuity or pattern emerging. The same appears to be true for Hood. Her book, Pink Puppy, was extremely stereotypical, but her book Something for the Medicine Man had no indicators of any kind. However, over all it appears that both Rockwood and Steele are the most consistent authors and have few indicators of either incompetence for Cherokee women in their books in general. It should be noted that Steele had few women of any kind in his books.

The third question to be addressed is how have the trends changed over time. The issue of incompetence actually increased over time until 1983, when it began to wane until 1994. Then it began to rise with the publication of the last book in the study. With the exception of one book, White Crow, the indicators for women remained consistent over time (Quimby, 1970). If that book is removed from the study, incidents for women remain fewer than four (n=4) per book read. The decade of the 1940's had no (n=0) indicators for either category and the 1950's had very few.

Conclusions

The data in this study was rather surprising. Overall, there were fewer indicators for both incompetence and women than expected by the researcher or the raters. It was expected that the older books would have greater number of indicators of both incompetence and women than more recent books. This also proved to be untrue. The decade with the fewest number of indicators was the 1940's, with the 1950's second. After a peak in the 1980's, the decade of the 1990's started out with no (n=0) indicators for either category until the most recent book studied. While there were specific exceptions, the books as a whole treat the Cherokee as competent people.

There were some inaccuracies in the treatment of children and the role of women in the family, some of which were addressed in this study and some that were not. Mothers and the mother's family have the role in raising children. The father takes that parental role for his sister's children. This is a topic that could be addressed more definitively in another study.

There was also indications in many of the books that the husband "ruled the roost" so to speak, and was controlling and authoritarian. Marriages among the Cherokee were more egalitarian than not. Sequoyah's wife divorced him without hesitation when he failed to assume his role as a husband (Roos, 1976).

The concept of a man being "king of his castle" is a European concept. As is the concept of royalty which was mentioned in some of the books. There was no concept of royalty in the Cherokee culture. There were also some inaccuracies in the books that were not addressed in this study; specifically, the Cherokee never lived in teepees.

Women were treated rather well in all the books except two. Trail to Oklahoma did not have many indicators as to Cherokee women in the book, but the premise of the book indicated that women were subservient (Quimby, 1970).

The incidence of the indicators for incompetence and Cherokee women were dependent on the author. There was not a serious pattern over time although incompetence appeared to peak in the 1980's and women in the 1970's. It appears that indicators for both of these forms of stereotypes were beginning to rise in the last half of the 1990's. Even among some authors, there is not a pattern of stereotypes regarding either incompetence or women as evidenced by Quimby's and Hood's work.

The length of the book had no bearing on the number or kinds of indicators present for either incompetence or Cherokee women. Some of the books with the highest number of indicators were the shortest books as some with the most indicators were the longest books. Some of the longest books had few or no indicators such as Keith's (1958) Rifles for Watie and Kingsolver's (1988) The Bean Trees.

There were some problems using content analysis with two of the books, in that, while the incidents were not read with regard to some of the indicators, the premise of the books were either incompetence or derogatory to women without the actual indicators being present. The other major problem with content analysis was that raters were difficult to locate, to keep and to motivate to finish the study.

The results of this study overall, was that the books were positive in their portrayals of both Cherokee and the treatment of Cherokee women.

Recommendations

This study raises some questions that could be the basis of future research. The focus of this study was the Cherokee, whether they were portrayed as incompetent, subservient women, and how it changed over time. Further studies about the Cherokee might include:

1. Is the Cherokee portrayed as the drunken Indian, and does this stereotype change over time from 1942 to 1995?
2. Is the Cherokee culture and religion portrayed as superstitions or pagan as opposed to white culture and religions as being good, and does this stereotype change over time from 1942 to 1995?

3. Are there incidents in the book that would damage a Cherokee child's self image, and how has it changed over time from 1942 to 1995?
4. What is the social position of the Cherokee characters in the book as compared with the white characters, and has it changed over time from 1942 to 1995?
5. What is the educational level of the Cherokee characters, do the characters value education, and has it changed over time from 1942 to 1995?
6. Are the portrayals of the Cherokee accurate concerning dress and housing?

Further research could be conducted into other tribes and using Native Americans in children's literature as a whole.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Indicators of Stereotypes

1. Check the illustrations.

- Look for stereotypes. a stereotype is an over simplified generalization about a particular group, race or sex, which generally carries derogatory implications (Stedman, 1982; Byler, 1973; Slapin, 1992).
- Look for tokenism. If there are non-white characters, are they just like the white faces but tinted? Do all minority faces look stereotypically alike or are they depicted as genuine individuals (Slapin, 1992)?
- Look at the lifestyles. Are minority characters and their setting depicted in such a way that they contrast unfavorably with an unstated nor of white middle class suburbia? If the story does attempt to depict another culture, does it go beyond oversimplifications of reality and offer genuine insights into another lifestyle (Slapin, 1992)?
- Are Native cultures presented as separate form each other, with each culture, language, religion, dress, unique (Slapin, 1992) or are they members of the "feather bonnet" tribe (Stedman, 1982; Byler, 1973)? Avoid generalizations such as "Indian lived in tipis" (Byler, 1973).
- Are Natives depicted as objects to be counted, children playing "Indian" or animals dressed as Indians (Slapin, 1992; Byler, 1973)?
- Are Native people portrayed as savages, primitive or simple tribal people, now extinct or are they portrayed as human beings, members of highly defined and complex societies (Slapin, 1992; Stedman, 1982)?

2. Check the story line.

- Relationships. Do the whites in the story have the power and make decisions. Do they "save" non-white characters? Do non-white people function in essentially subservient roles (Slapin, 1992).
- Standard for success. What does it take for a character to succeed? To gain acceptance, do non-white characters have to exhibit superior qualities--excel in

sports, get A's? In friendships between white and non-white children, is it the non-white child that does most of the understanding and forgiving? Are the minority people portrayed as childlike and helpless. Do whites know what is "good for them (Slapin, 1992)." Does it take "white" standards for minorities to get ahead?

- Are women shown as subservient to men? Do they do all the work while the men are shown lolling around? Are women shown and integral to the society (Slapin, 1992)?
 - Viewpoint (perspective). How are "problems" presented, conceived, and presented in the story? Are minority people themselves considered to be the problem, i.e., drunken, savage or threatening? Do solutions depend on the benevolence of white people (Slapin, 1992)?
 - Do the Native people use language that is understandable or use guttural utterances or broken English (Slapin, 1992)? Do they talk like Tonto (Stedman, 1982)? Is vocabulary demeaning (Stedman, 1982)?
 - Are comic interludes built upon firewater or stupidity (Stedman, 1982)?
 - Are Indians portrayed as an extinct species (Stedman, 1982)?
 - Are Natives either noble or savage, not human? Is Native humanness recognized (Stedman, 1982)?
 - Is the tone patronizing (Stedman, 1982)?
3. Consider the effects of the book on the child's self-image and self-esteem? Are norms established which limit the child's aspirations and self-concepts? what does it do to non-white children to be constantly bombarded with images of white as beautiful, clean, virtuous, etc. and non-white as evil, dirty and menacing, etc. (Slapin, 1992)?
 4. Are missionaries and their works shown as correct in opposition to Native beliefs (Children, 1977)?

Appendix B**Code Book****Rater** _____**Title** _____**Author** _____**Publication Date** _____ **Publisher** _____**Theme** _____

Main Characters **Age** **Ethnic Group** **Education****Minor Characters** **Age** **Ethnic Group** **Education**

Rater _____

Title _____

Competence

Are the characters portrayed as competent, able to make decisions, and solve problems by themselves or is someone else called upon or takes it upon him/herself to solve the problem?

Character Page # Incident

Rater _____

Title _____

Women

Are women treated with respect, fairly and as equal partners or are they subservient, docile and dominated by men?

Character Page # Incident

Rater _____

Title _____

Core Values

What do you think is the core value portrayed in the book?

Rate the overall quality of the book

Poor					Excellent
1	2	3	4	5	

Appendix C

Annotated Bibliography

Books Used in the Study

Banks, S. H. (1993). Remember My Name. New York: Scholastic.

Annie Rising Fawn, half Cherokee, is eleven when she leaves her mountain home to live with her uncle, a wealthy Cherokee land and slave owner. Righteous, a child slave, and Annie embark on a dangerous journey back to the mountains, hoping their remote location will provide a haven from what is now known as the Indian Removal of 1838.

Beebe, B. F. (1963). Chestnut Cub. New York: McKay.

The story of a bear 's life. The Cherokee create grass balds for grazing, saves bear cubs and help catch cubnappers by getting their license number.

Bell, C. (1955). John Rattling-Gourd of Big Cove: A Collection of Cherokee Myths and Legends. New York: Macmillan.

Fictionalized accounts of some Cherokee myths and legends.

Booker, J. (1959). Trail to Oklahoma. Tennessee: Broadman Press.

Story of Young Deer's journey to Oklahoma on the Trail of Tears. There is death and hunger. Eventually, they arrive in Oklahoma but the numbers are fewer.

Capps, M. J. (1974). Yellow Leaf. Concordia.

Yellow Leaf wanders away from her family on the Trail of Tears. Cagle, a trapper, finds her and sees to her care. They form a close bond. The book tells of Yellow Leaf's experiences throughout her life.

Carroll, R. (1960). Tough Enough's Indians. New York: Walck.

White children are playing cowboy and Indian when they are caught in a forest fire and must seek safety in the home of "real Indians" who save them and "talk just like teachers".

Conley, R. (1991). Ned Christie's War. New York: Little.

Cherokee statesman Ned Christie goes to the capitol Tahlequah to fight Indian sovereignty, but instead is wanted for the murder of a U. S. Marshall. The story of his struggle to defend himself.

Dunn, M. H. (1971). Tenase Brave. Nashville, Tennessee: Aurora.

Brother must perform an act of bravery to get his name. He makes several attempts and fears he will never earn his name. The harder he tries, the more mistakes he makes.

Helzer, E. E. (1971). New Land. Philadelphia: Dorrance.

The story of the hardships of early settlers in Oklahoma. Cherokees have only a minor role.

Highwater, J. (1981). Moonsong Lullaby. New York: Lothrop.

A picture book that deals with the ways of the Cherokee and prayer to the moon and animals.

Hood, F. (1962). Something for the Medicine Man: Melmont.

Ada has the dilemma of finding something valuable for Bird Partridge, an elderly, bedridden man. Since her family has little money, she must find something as a gift.

Hood, F. (1967). Pink Puppy. New York: Putnam.

Cindy Standingbear's mother died. The story tells of her grief and how she tries to cope. The white teacher tells Cindy the right way to handle her grief.

Jones, W. (1965). Talking Leaf. New York: Dial.

Tillahaw meets with the council to decide if the tribe is to go to Arkansas or stay and fight the whites. Atsee must decide on how to deal with his father's death and whether to learn to read Cherokee.

Jones, W. (1968). Edge of Two Worlds. New York: Dial.

A work of historical fiction that tells of Sequoyah's trip across Texas. He saves a child lost on the prairie and dispels many of the child's misconceptions about Indians.

Keith, H. (1957). Rifles of Watie. New York: Crowell.

Jefferson Davis Bussey is sixteen when he leaves his Kansas farm to join Union forces in the Civil War. He must face the dread Cherokee forces of Stand Watie Cherokee general and falls in love with Lucy a Cherokee girl.

Kingsolver, B. (1988). Bean Trees. New York: Harper.

Taylor Greer, a poor, young woman, flees her home. While passing through Oklahoma, she becomes responsible for a two-year-old Cherokee girl. The two continue west where they build a family with people they meet. Strong portrayals of strong women.

Leppard, L. (1983). Mandie and the Cherokee Legend.

Minneapolis, Minnesota: Bethany.

There is Cherokee gold hidden in the area. Mandie hopes to find it. She and her cousins find adventure in the process.

Malakoff, A. (1982). Minkapee. Glendale, CA.: Great Western.

A great Cherokee chief take a white boy to live with his people for three months to foster understanding between their people. The boy learns to appreciate the different way of life.

Markley, S. (1992). Fledglings. New York: Bantam.

After her mother is killed, Kate goes to find her Cherokee grandfather whom she has never met. At first he is unwelcoming, but they bond because of the plight of an injured eagle.

Quimby, M. (1968). The Cougar. New York: Criterion Books.

Jerry, 13, half Cherokee, half white, runs away from home to avoid going to school with white children who ridicule him. He finds adventure along the way.

Quimby, M. (1970). White Crow. New York: Criterion Books.

The story of a half Cherokee girl dealing with the divided loyalties that her heritage demands. Are the whites all bad or all good?

Rockwood, J. (1975). Long Man's Song. New York: Holt.

Soaring Hawk is learning to become a medicine man. He must learn to make a diagnosis and cure his sister Redbird.

Rockwood, J. (1976). To Spoil the Sun. New York: Holt.

The story of “invisible fire”, smallpox, as it strike a Cherokee village.

Rockwood, J. (1978). Groundhog's Horse. New York: Holt.

Groundhog’s horse is stolen by the Creeks, enemy of the Cherokee.

Groundhog plans a raid to recover his horse.

Roos, P. (1976). Ahyoka and the Talking Leaves. New York: Lothrop.

A fictional biography of Sequoyah's daughter, Ahyoka, who helps her father with his quest. She helps her father develop the Cherokee syllabary.

Roth, S. L. (1988). Kanahena: A Cherokee Story. New York: St. Martin's Press.

An old woman was making Kanahena, a cornmeal dish and the oldest old Cherokee food, and it reminded her of a story. It's an old story during the time animals could talk.

Simon, C. M. (1942). Younger Brother: A Cherokee Indian Tale. New York:

E. P. Dutton.

A Cherokee Indian boy who was called Younger Brother by playmates because he lacked the skill, strength, and courage to take on the duties of a brave. He performs a great service to the tribe and is entitled to wear the eagle feather.

Steele, W. (1964). Wayah of the Real People. New York: Holt.

Wayah leaves his home to go to Bafferton Hall at William and Mary. His hope was to become a leader of his people.

Steele, W. (1965). Trail Through Danger. New York: Holt.

There are trespassers on Cherokee land. After the poachers kill many deer, the Cherokee take the deer and the skins, as well as guns and horses, belonging to the poachers.

Steele, W. (1976). Man with the Silver Eyes. New York: Harcourt.

Talatu doesn't like going to live for a year with a strange white man, but must do as his grandfather bids.

Stewart, E. J. (1994). On the Long Trail Home. New York: Clarion Books.

Meli, a young Cherokee girl escapes from the white soldiers who are forcing her captive people on the enforced removal. She and her brother escape and try to make their way back home.

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VITA

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Doctor of Education

Thesis: THE PORTRAYAL OF THE CHEROKEE IN CHILDREN'S FICTION
BOOKS

Major Field: Curriculum and Instruction

Biographical:

Education: Received Bachelor of Science degree in Education from Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in May 1970. Received Master of Education degree in Education from Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in July 1992. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education degree with a major in Curriculum and Instruction at Oklahoma State University, May, 2001.

Experience: Employed with the Department of Human Services as a social worker from 1970-1989; Butner Public Schools, Cromwell, Oklahoma, from 1989-1992; employed with Oklahoma State University from 1992-1993; Stillwater Public Schools from 1993-1994; Oklahoma State University from 1994-1996; East Central University from January 1998 to the present.

Professional Memberships: Oklahoma Reading Association, International Reading Association, Oklahoma Library Association, Southwest Educational Research Association, Children's Literature Association, American Library Association, Phi Delta Kappa, Kappa Delta Pi, and Phi Kappa Phi.