

“Research & Practice” features educational research that is directly relevant to the work of classroom teachers. Here, I invited Christine Stanton to share her recent research on Indigenous histories and settler colonialism. She provides a strong rationale for studying this area, and shares Indigenous scholars’ recommendations for “unsettling” curriculum and pedagogy.

—Patricia G. Avery, “Research & Practice” Editor, University of Minnesota

# “Now You Can’t Just Do *Nothing*”: Unsettling the Settler Self within Social Studies Education

Christine Stanton

I am a settler, and I acknowledge that I teach, research, and live on lands that have been stolen from Indigenous<sup>1</sup> peoples. My first teaching job was in a town bordering a reservation, where Apsáalooke, Cheyenne, Oceti Šakowin, and Shoshone peoples—among others—have long-standing histories, and where the sovereign nations of the Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho are located today. Early in my career, I started meeting with reservation community members to learn how to better serve Indigenous students. During one conversation, I expressed frustration at my own ignorance and pointed out that an Indigenous teacher would be better qualified to create change. A Northern Arapaho leader responded, “Well, of course. But, now that you know about this, you can’t just do *nothing*.”

This mentor taught me that when it comes to confronting settler colonialism within our schools, curriculum, and lives, *all* teachers have agency—and responsibility. Like the majority of teachers in the United States, I am a white woman, and my past, present, and future have been, are, and will continue to be influenced by settler actions and identities. Confronting this reality, I can throw my hands up and say “But that happened so long ago, there is nothing I can do about it now,” or I can learn from/with Indigenous mentors and *do* something to change how I teach about Indigenous experiences.

When I began working on this piece, I wondered aloud to colleagues, “Do we really need to hear about settler colonialism from *another* white per-

son?” “Whitesplaining” often interrupts Indigenous perspectives that are already frequently silenced.<sup>2</sup> However, as Sarah Shear and Dan Krutka argue, and as demonstrated by the story shared above, one way settler colonialism manifests is through inaction, since it “creates spaces by which settlers can deny their own histories.”<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Margaret Kovach (Plains Cree and Saulteaux) explains that efforts by “non-Indigenous instructors [to] leave the Indigenous pedagogy to Indigenous people” merely perpetuate a “lack of understanding within majority culture [which] is indicative of an educational system that has responded to Indigenous experience with: (a) active suppression or (b) chronic apathy.”<sup>4</sup> All that said, educators and scholars need

to recognize that confrontation of settler colonialism can *sharpen* the focus on white experiences in a way that reinforces white privilege.

The primary goal of this article, therefore, is to encourage active confrontation of the settler colonialism that permeates social studies education in a way that encourages a centering of Indigenous experiences, instead of merely de-centering settler experiences. Two questions frame this work: (1) How should social studies educators confront atrocities and privileges that resulted from settler actions? and (2) What are ideas for action and change, as recommended by Indigenous scholars and colleagues? To address these questions, I synthesize research that describes how settler colonialism influences our histories, identities, schools, and classrooms and then share examples that show promise in terms of “unsettling” curriculum and pedagogy.

## Unsettling the Concept of Settler Colonialism

Fundamentally, colonialism is tied to notions of power, land, and control of resources. *Settler* colonialism extends



Joree Lafrance, Apsáalooke, in a traditional dress adorned with hundreds of imitation elk teeth, stands in front of a bar in Bozeman, Mont., reclaiming space that was once home to the Apsáalooke people.





Six-year-old Rilo Bear Crane, Apsálooke and Chippewa Cree, rides his skateboard at the skatepark in Billings, Mont. Rilo, who began skating at a very young age, is also a Crowstyle traditional dancer. In this photo, he is wearing the traditional Apsálooke male dancer's regalia.

further, given its goal to colonize spaces by eliminating Indigenous presence.<sup>5</sup> Given settler colonialism's reliance on white supremacy, slavery, genocide, and land theft, the term "settler" applies to peoples in the Americas who are not Indigenous and not descendants of slaves.<sup>6</sup> Importantly, the terms "settler" and "settler colonialism" have both historical roots (e.g., the initial theft and occupation of Indigenous lands) and modern implications (e.g., continued privileges and benefits, ongoing occu-

pation of Indigenous lands).<sup>7</sup>

Popular within social studies education is the "nation of immigrants framework," which undermines long-standing claims Indigenous peoples have to lands and privileges Eurocentric nationalistic origin myths.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, Indigenous silencing allows settlers to ignore our own "white guilt" and "white fragility". It is more comfortable—for settlers and their descendants—to read about massacres, land theft, and forced removal if such events are attributed to "the gov-

ernment," "the army," or "the policy," instead of being the result of decisions made by specific people, including our relatives. Elevating attention to the role of *white* immigration also allows beneficiaries of white privilege to downplay the continued influence of race within society (e.g., "My ancestors didn't come here until the mid-1900s, so they never benefitted from settler colonialism").

Unsettling the concept of settler colonialism is challenging, since such work requires attention to both the history of settler colonialism and the injustice that remains part of the legacy of settler colonialism in today's schools, communities, and policies.<sup>9</sup> Teachers can be resistant to change, despite our praise of life-long learning, and change is even more difficult if it affects us personally. Furthermore, many of us—non-Indigenous and Indigenous teachers alike—have had limited exposure to Indigenous histories and perspectives as students and teachers, so we may feel ill-equipped to teach about these experiences.

### Unsettling Ourselves

Learning about settler colonial actions of our ancestors, "founding fathers," and ourselves can result in denial, guilt, and/or false empathy—all of which serve as barriers to change.<sup>10</sup> Instead of passive responses, we can think about "unsettling" as an active learning process. For example, it is important to note that we *choose* to use certain terms (e.g., "Indigenous," "Native American," "Indian"), and given that agency, it is our responsibility to understand and articulate our choices, particularly to students.<sup>11</sup> As Cherokee scholar Jeff Corntassel explains, "How you situate yourself and your level of awareness about colonial occupations of Indigenous homelands brings new responsibilities to the forefront."<sup>12</sup> White scholar Paulette Regan elaborates, noting that critical self-location work can encourage non-Indigenous peoples to "unsettle ourselves to name and then transform the settler—the colonizer who lurks within—not just in words but by our actions."<sup>13</sup> Therefore, efforts

to “unsettle” our practice also provide modeling of life-long learning, historical thinking, anti-racist pedagogies, and civic engagement.

In my case, learning about my settler colonial history means coming to terms with difficult realities that affect my teaching and research. My ancestors emigrated from Europe during the late 1800s and early 1900s, settling in Nebraska and northern Montana, where my family continues to farm on the edge of the Piikani (Blackfeet) reservation. Despite my family’s proximity to Indigenous communities, my education was almost entirely devoid of Indigenous histories and perspectives. Like many teachers—non-Indigenous and Indigenous alike—learning about these perspectives after my own K-12 education made me angry: I felt I had been misled and miseducated. When I decided to become a teacher, I was eager to work in schools like those I had attended, as I believed I could both understand where students had been and what they had missed. I accepted a position in a reservation bordertown, where it did not take long for me to learn that unsettling settler colonialism is a complex and continuous challenge.

Confronting the legacy of settler colonialism in our lives and classrooms requires us to confront our own histories. However, unsettling our positionalities demands more than autobiographical reflection. We also need to *do something* with the knowledge we learn about ourselves by linking that knowledge to our roles as teachers and scholars.

For example, my history intersects with that of Indian boarding schools, which were used to separate Indigenous children from families, languages, and knowledges. In addition to serving as sites of cultural oppression and forced assimilation, these schools have been well documented as locations of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. While I am unable to undo centuries of oppression, I can, as a teacher, raise awareness of boarding school trauma. For example, I share an account from Brad Hall, a Piikani colleague whose great-

grandfather boarded a train bound for Carlisle Indian School in the same small Montana town where my grandmother attended school. I point out that since my grandmother was white, Euro-American, and Catholic, she was not removed from her family or home, while Piikani children were separated from their families because of race and culture. Sharing personal accounts, as contextualized within the broader history of settler colonialism, provides an opportunity to model self-location and to expand relevance and accuracy. Additionally, these histories support connections to contemporary issues, such as family separations at the U.S.-Mexico border, the recent Court of Appeals decision upholding the 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act, and the efforts of Indigenous nations to ensure educational sovereignty within schools both on and off reservations.

### Unsettling Social Studies Education

Since time immemorial, Indigenous children have learned about their histories, identities, and knowledges through rigorous, place-conscious, contextualized education. Efforts to force assimilation of Indigenous children into settler colonial society negatively impacted—and continue to negatively impact—the cultural, social, economic, and physical wellbeing of Indigenous communities while perpetuating false social studies knowledges.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, confronting settler colonialism within social studies classrooms is important in terms of both accuracy and justice.

Within K-12 history education, Indigenous experiences are often marginalized, excluded, or misrepresented. Settler colonialism is foundational to Western economics, as it privileges private land ownership, cultivation, and an expectation for humans to control the environment. Government education typically focuses on official state and federal policies and experiences, rarely giving attention to tribal governments or informal leadership structures. Other social studies disciplines infrequently

present topics such as cartography through an Indigenous lens. In order to unsettle social studies, teachers need to be active participants in the transformation of their curriculum and pedagogy, instead of simply adding “relevant” content to mainstream (i.e., Eurocentric) curriculum or using basic “responsive” practices.<sup>15</sup>

**Curriculum.** Curriculum remains the driving force in many social studies classrooms. Studies demonstrate the tendency for textbooks, standards, films, and other resources to exclude or misrepresent Indigenous experiences.<sup>16</sup> Social studies curriculum typically confines Indigenous experiences and perspectives to the pre-1891 past, represents Indigenous peoples and governments as primitive and dependent, and suggests that Indigenous worldviews inherently conflict with social and economic progress. Resources often focus on interactions with settlers (e.g., “Westward Expansion”), instead of representing Indigenous peoples as having parallel and independent histories, sovereign governments, and uniquely valuable worldviews. Another central quality of curriculum is to suggest settler colonialism—and related topics like genocide, forced relocation, and intergenerational poverty—is/was a matter of “destiny”. For example, textbooks often present Indigenous nations as “doomed,” instead of noting the intentional efforts of settlers to remove Indigenous peoples—and their perceived “damage-centered” knowledge systems—from Indigenous spaces.<sup>17</sup> Curricular representations also perpetuate a misleading view of “peacemaking” and trade. For instance, Indigenous leaders (e.g., Pocahontas, Chief Joseph) are often described as peacemakers, despite the reality that their lives were filled with violence and resistance (e.g., Pocahontas was a victim of European human trafficking, Chief Joseph did not stop fighting after his “surrender”).<sup>18</sup>

Unsettling social studies curriculum can seem daunting. Publishers determine

the content of textbooks, and state and national organizations develop standards and frameworks, so it can seem like we have limited agency when it comes to what we teach. Fortunately, there are examples of ways to confront settler colonialism within curriculum, even at the earliest grades. For example, in a recent issue of *Social Studies and the Young Learner*, the Turtle Island Social Studies Collective provided ideas for a unit about Indigenous women “changemakers” as a way to move beyond popular and often misrepresented figures within books and films.<sup>19</sup> Throughout this unit, children learn about complex civic concepts (e.g., sovereignty) that are central to understanding settler colonialism. The unit focuses on both historical and contemporary Indigenous women, so students can begin learning about the ongoing challenges surrounding Indigenous self-determination and settler colonialism. Additionally, the unit’s focus on

“changemakers” provides a springboard for teachers and students to recognize and engage in action.

**Instruction.** Unlike the extensive research investigating settler colonialism within social studies curriculum, scholarship on settler colonialism and social studies instruction is much more limited. Broadly, teachers often claim to support the theory of culturally responsive pedagogy, although they express a lack of confidence in terms of practice.<sup>20</sup> As a result, many teachers rely on popular resources, such as teachers’ editions of textbooks, which rarely encourage critical thinking about settler colonialism.<sup>21</sup>

Instead of relying on textbook-driven and teacher-centered pedagogy, Indigenous leaders recommend community-centered instruction that encourages intergenerational teaching and learning, engages students in cooperative and experiential problem solving, and focuses on transmission of knowledge through oral histories and

story. Specifically, researchers Teresa McCarty and Tiffany Lee (Diné/Lakota) encourage pedagogy that is “culturally sustaining and revitalizing” through efforts to reinvigorate endangered languages, histories, and knowledges.<sup>22</sup> Alutiiq scholar Leilani Sabzalian’s *Framework for Anticolonial Education*, which focuses on place, presence, perspectives, political sovereignty, power, and partnerships, encourages teachers to draw upon community partnerships and collaborative, student-led inquiry.<sup>23</sup> Teachers have successfully enacted “storywork,” place-conscious education, land-centered literacies, PhotoVoice, elder interviewing, and oral history methods to connect youth with counternarratives and Indigenous knowledge carriers.<sup>24</sup> For example, students can apply Sabzalian’s framework to engage with photography from Matika Wilbur (“Project 562”) and Adam Sings in the Timber (“Indigenizing Colonized Spaces,” see below).<sup>25</sup>

## Indigenizing Colonized Spaces

Adam Sings in the Timber (Apsáalooke) explains that his project, “Indigenizing Colonized Spaces,” is a series of portraits of Native women wearing traditional and modern regalia in urban settings “to illustrate that wherever people go, they are on Indigenous land.” (See the photo on p. 283). The project is intended to honor and empower Indigenous women, who are disproportionately affected by violence and human trafficking.

These photos draw attention to the reality that academic journals and research have typically been settler colonial spaces. Fortunately, Indigenous scholars, artists, and activists are framing, claiming, and Indigenizing such spaces through Indigenous research methods, storywork, and visual counternarratives.

There are multiple starting points to critically engage students with visual counternarratives. For example, teachers can emphasize that the traditional attire in these photos is called “regalia” (not “costumes”), guide students in investigation of policies addressing Indigenous visibility/representation (e.g., many graduation ceremonies prohibit Indigenous regalia, schools across the nation inappropriately use Indian mascots), and/or highlight problems with “dressing up” like an Indigenous person (see the “We’re a Culture, Not a Costume” campaign for ideas). Sabzalian’s *Framework* can guide deeper thinking (e.g., “How does this photo change how you view this *place*?”; “What does this work say about Indigenous *presence*?”; “What questions do you have about *political sovereignty* because of these photos?”; “Although most Native peoples regularly wear clothes like jeans and t-shirts, how does wearing regalia in these moments and spaces elevate Indigenous visibility and *power*?”).

Adam’s next project will include action portraits of Indigenous children. For more information about Adam’s work, visit [singsinthetimber.com](http://singsinthetimber.com) or follow him on Facebook or Instagram.

Table 1. Selected Resources for Teachers, Teacher Educators, and Researchers.

<p><b>Background</b></p>	<p><b>Books:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• James Wilson, <i>The Earth Shall Weep: A History of Native America</i> (Jackson, Tenn.: Grove Press, 2000).</li> <li>• Leilani Sabzalian, <i>Indigenous Children's Survivance in Public Schools</i> (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2019).</li> <li>• Walter Hixon, <i>American Settler Colonialism: A History</i> (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave, 2013).</li> </ul> <p><b>Articles:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amanda Morris, "What is Settler-Colonialism?" <i>Teaching Tolerance</i> (January 22, 2019), <a href="http://www.tolerance.org/magazine/what-is-settlercolonialism">www.tolerance.org/magazine/what-is-settlercolonialism</a></li> <li>• Sarah Shear and Dan Krutka, "Confronting Settler Colonialism: Theoretical and Methodological Questions about Social Studies Research," <i>Theory and Research in Social Education</i> 47, no. 1 (2019): 33.</li> </ul> <p><b>Web-Based Materials:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Matika Wilbur and Adrienne Keene, "All My Relations" Podcast, <a href="https://www.allmyrelationspodcast.com/">https://www.allmyrelationspodcast.com/</a></li> <li>• National Congress of the American Indians, "Tribal Nations and the United States: An Introduction," <a href="http://www.ncai.org/about-tribes">www.ncai.org/about-tribes</a></li> <li>• NCSS Position Statement, "Toward Responsibility: Social Studies Education that Respects and Affirms Indigenous Peoples and Nations," <a href="http://www.socialstudies.org/positions/indigenous-peoples-and-nations">www.socialstudies.org/positions/indigenous-peoples-and-nations</a></li> </ul>
<p><b>Indigenous Perspectives, Worldviews, and Education</b></p>	<p><b>Books:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• JoAnn Archibald, <i>Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit</i> (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).</li> <li>• Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Eve Tuck, and K. Wayne Yang, eds., <i>Indigenous and Decolonizing Studies in Education: Mapping the Long View</i> (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2019)</li> <li>• Sandy Grande, <i>Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought</i>, 10th anniversary edition (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015)</li> <li>• Shawn Wilson, <i>Research is Ceremony</i> (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood, 2008)</li> <li>• Vine Deloria, Jr. and Daniel Wildcat, <i>Power and Place: Indian Education in America</i> (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 2001).</li> </ul> <p><b>Articles:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bryan Brayboy, "Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education," <i>The Urban Review</i> 37, no. 5 (2005): 425-446.</li> <li>• Jeremy Garcia and Valerie Shirley, "Performing Decolonization: Lessons Learned from Indigenous Youth, Teachers and Leaders' Engagement with Critical Indigenous Pedagogy," <i>Journal of Curriculum Theorizing</i> 28, no. 2 (2012).</li> <li>• Teresa McCarty and Tiffany Lee, "Critical Culturally Sustaining/Revitalizing Pedagogy and Indigenous Education Sovereignty," <i>Harvard Educational Review</i> 84, no. 1 (2014): 101-1.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Social Studies Teaching and Teacher Education</b></p>	<p><b>Books and Book Chapters:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson, eds., <i>Rethinking Columbus</i> (Rethinking Schools, 1998).</li> <li>• Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, <i>An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States for Young People</i> (adapted by Jean Mendoza and Debbie Reese) (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 2019), 12-13.</li> <li>• Sarah Shear, Christina Tschida, Elizabeth Bellows, Lisa Buchanan, and Elizabeth Saylor, eds. <i>(Re)Imagining Elementary Social Studies: A Controversial Issues Reader</i> (Charlotte, N.C.: Information Age, 2018): 153-176.</li> </ul> <p><b>Articles:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leilani Sabzalian, "The Tensions between Indigenous Sovereignty and Multicultural Citizenship Education: Toward an Anticolonial Approach to Civic Education," <i>Theory and Research in Social Education</i> 47, no. 3 (2019): 311-346.</li> <li>• Leilani Sabzalian, Rina Miyamoto-Sundahl, and Robin Fong, "The Time is Now: Taking Initiative for Indigenous Studies in Elementary Curriculum," <i>The Oregon Journal of the Social Studies</i> 7, no. 1 (2019): 6-19.</li> <li>• Sarah Shear, Leilani Sabzalian, and Lisa Brown Buchanan, "Affirming Indigenous Sovereignty: A Civics Inquiry," <i>Social Studies and the Young Learner</i> 31, no. 1 (2019): 12-18.</li> <li>• Turtle Island Social Studies Collective, "Beyond Pocahontas: Learning from Indigenous Women Changemakers," <i>Social Studies and the Young Learner</i> 31, no. 3 (2019): 7-13.</li> </ul> <p><b>Web-Based Materials:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• American Indians in Children's Literature, <a href="https://americanindiansinchildrensliterature.blogspot.com/">https://americanindiansinchildrensliterature.blogspot.com/</a></li> <li>• Montana's Indian Education for All, <a href="http://opi.mt.gov/Educators/Teaching-Learning/Indian-Education">http://opi.mt.gov/Educators/Teaching-Learning/Indian-Education</a></li> <li>• National Museum of the American Indian, <a href="https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360">https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360</a></li> <li>• NYC Stands with Standing Rock Collective, #Standing Rock Syllabus, <a href="https://nycstandswithstandingrock.wordpress.com/standingrocksyllabus/">https://nycstandswithstandingrock.wordpress.com/standingrocksyllabus/</a></li> <li>• PBS, "Circle of Stories," <a href="http://www.pbs.org/circleofstories/index.html">www.pbs.org/circleofstories/index.html</a></li> <li>• Reclaiming Native Truth Project, <a href="https://www.firstnations.org/knowledge-center/?search=&amp;post-type=&amp;pub-categories=reclaiming-native-truth">https://www.firstnations.org/knowledge-center/?search=&amp;post-type=&amp;pub-categories=reclaiming-native-truth</a></li> <li>• Washington's Since Time Immemorial, <a href="http://www.indian-ed.org/">www.indian-ed.org/</a></li> </ul>



## Conclusion

Social studies education could be—and should be—leading the way in terms of unsettling curriculum and instruction. However, research suggests that by and large the field has reinforced settler colonialism. Fortunately, promising practices demonstrate the potential for social studies education to unsettle what and how students learn. At the heart of these practices is a commitment to respectfully learning from and listening to Indigenous scholars, educators, and leaders. However, we should be aware of the tendency for these mentors to be overworked and underappreciated. For example, former social studies teacher and instructional coach Marty Conrad (Choctaw/Creek) once asked me, “Why is it I’m only popular during Native American Heritage Month?” This question illustrates the importance of developing sustained partnerships and of identifying ways to compensate and recognize mentors for their expertise and time. If schools do not have formal partnerships with Indigenous mentors, we can (1) encourage development of such partnerships; (2) seek informal mentoring by contacting tribal leadership, reservation schools, or scholars; (3) join the National Indian Education Association and attend its annual conference; (4) review the theoretical and practical work of Indigenous scholars and teachers; and (5) draw upon quality resources to counter settler colonial curricular materials and advance culturally revitalizing pedagogy (see the Table on page 287).

Unsettling social studies education is important for *all* teachers and students, since all schools in the United States operate on Indigenous lands. It is our responsibility to learn and teach about the histories and continued connections Indigenous peoples have to the physical, social, economic, and cultural spaces that were forcibly taken by settlers. A starting point for this work is to provide land acknowledgements in your classrooms. Ask your students to

learn about the Indigenous peoples who have connections to the spaces where they learn, live, and play. However, as the Indigenous Education Network explains, it is important to ensure land acknowledgements are not superficial and that, instead, they connect to deep learning about settler colonialism and to action within a contemporary context.<sup>26</sup> Debbie Reese (Nambe Pueblo) suggests pairing land acknowledgements with “a task” for learners, and on her blog she offers multiple specific ideas for action.<sup>27</sup> Native Land Digital also offers several guiding questions and recommendations for accurate pronunciation of Nation names.<sup>28</sup> Sabzalian recommends having students “investigate and write their own land acknowledgements.”<sup>29</sup>

We must also recognize that forces beyond our immediate control/agency perpetuate inaccurate understandings of history and educational inequities. Sabzalian emphasizes “quieter ways” schools reinforce settler colonialism, through teachers’ disregard for Indigenous perspectives, commodification and objectification of Indigenous cultures, and/or erasure of Indigenous peoples through policy.<sup>30</sup> To advance broader “unsettling,” we can participate in standards revision teams; advocate to update curricular resources, replace Columbus Day with Indigenous Peoples’ Day, and change offensive school mascots; encourage Indigenous leadership within policymaking; and adopt trauma-informed and restorative justice practices.

Despite our efforts, fully unsettling our schools may never be possible. As Shear and Krutka ask, “How can we live and work without reconstituting settler colonialism? Or, will settler colonialism always be with us, yanking at our ankles, continuously tripping us?”<sup>31</sup> Central to unsettling social studies education is the recognition of our own potential to “trip,” as well as our individual agency. For many of us, that recognition includes owning our settler histories, privileges, feelings of guilt or denial, lack of knowl-

edge and experience, and/or influence within the broader systems. Then, it is up to us to do something.<sup>32</sup>

## Notes

1. Many Indigenous scholars encourage the use of specific, ancestral nation names (e.g., Apsáalooke) over names given (often as a means to reinforce stereotypes or misunderstandings) by settlers (e.g., Crow). The terms “Native,” “Native American,” “American Indian,” “Indigenous,” and “First Nations” are also used in various contexts by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. In this article, I use Nation names when referring to specific peoples and “Indigenous” when describing broader contexts. For more information about terminology within social studies, see Sarah Shear and Christine Stanton, “Indigenous,” in *Key Words in Social Studies*, eds. Mark Helmsing, Dan Krutka, and Annie Whitlock (New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang, 2018), 3–16.
2. Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, and Jeff Corntassel, “Unsettling Settler Colonialism: The Discourse and Politics of Settlers, and Solidarity with Indigenous Nations,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 3, no. 2 (2014): 9.
3. Sarah Shear and Dan Krutka, “Confronting Settler Colonialism: Theoretical and Methodological Questions about Social Studies Research,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 47, no. 1 (2019): 33.
4. Margaret Kovach, “Treaties, Truths, and Transgressive Pedagogies: Re-Imagining Indigenous Presence in the Classroom,” *Socialist Studies* 9, no. 1 (2013): 113, 117.
5. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, “Unbecoming Claims: Pedagogies of Refusal in Qualitative Research,” *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, no. 6 (2014): 811–818.
6. Leilani Sabzalian, *Indigenous Children’s Survivance in Public Schools* (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2019), xvii; Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States for Young People* (adapted by Jean Mendoza and Debbie Reese) (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 2019), 12–13.
7. Snelgrove, Dhamoon, and Corntassel, 5.
8. Dunbar-Ortiz, 4–11.
9. Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press, 2014), 11.
10. Frances Rains, “To Greet the Dawn with Open Eyes: American Indians, White Privilege, and the Power of Residual Guilt in Social Studies,” in *Critical Race Theory Perspectives on Social Studies: The Profession, Policies, and Curriculum*, ed. Gloria Ladson-Billings (Greenwich, Conn.: Information Age, 2003), 199–227; Regan, 11; Sabzalian, xviii.
11. See endnote 1 for more information on the topic of naming.
12. Snelgrove, Dhamoon, and Corntassel, 4.
13. Regan, 11.
14. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, “Educating Native Americans,” in James Banks and Cherry McGee Banks, eds., *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* (2nd edition) (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 2004), 441–461; Sabzalian, *Indigenous Children’s Survivance in Public Schools*.
15. Django Paris, “Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy: A Needed Change in Stance, Terminology, and Practice,” *Educational Researcher* 41, no. 3 (2012):

- 93–97; James Banks, *An Introduction to Multicultural Education*, 5th ed. (Boston, Mass.: Pearson Education, 2014).
16. Christine Stanton, “The Curricular Indian Agent: Discursive Colonization and Indigenous (dys) Agency in U.S. History Textbooks,” *Curriculum Inquiry* 44, no. 5 (2014): 649–676; Dolores Calderon, “Uncovering Settler Grammars in Curriculum,” *Educational Studies* 50, no. 4 (2014): 313–338; James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1995); Jeremy Stoddard, Alan Marcus, and David Hicks, “The Burden of Historical Representation: The Case of/for Indigenous Film,” *The History Teacher* 48, no. 1 (2014): 9–36; Peter Seixas, “Popular Film and Young People’s Understanding of the History of Native-White Relations,” in *Celluloid Blackboard: Teaching History with Film*, ed. Alan Marcus (Charlotte, N.C.: Information Age Publishing, 2007), 99–120; Rains, 199–227; Sarah Shear, Ryan Knowles, Gregory Soden, and Antonio Castro, “Manifesting Destiny: Re/presentations of Indigenous Peoples in K-12 U.S. History Standards,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 43, no. 1 (2015): 68–101; Tony Sanchez, “The Depiction of Native Americans in Recent (1991–2004) Secondary American History Textbooks: How Far Have We Come?” *Equity and Excellence in Education* 40, no. 4 (2007): 311–320; Wayne Journell, “An Incomplete History: Representation of American Indians in State Social Studies Standards,” *Journal of American Indian Education* 48, no. 2 (2009): 18–32.
  17. Eve Tuck, “Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities,” *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 3 (2009): 409–427.
  18. Christine Stanton, “Hearing the Story: Critical Indigenous Curriculum Inquiry and Primary Source Representation in Social Studies Education,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 40, no. 4 (2012): 339–370; Turtle Island Social Studies Collective, “Beyond Pocahontas: Learning from Indigenous Women Changemakers,” *Social Studies and the Young Learner* 31, no. 3 (2019): 7–13.
  19. Turtle Island Social Studies Collective, 7–13.
  20. Paris, 93–97.
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