

1 Learning settler colonialism in my K-12 education: 2 A re-search counterstory

3 Isabella Zou

4 Austin, TX, USA

5 E-mail: isabellawzou@gmail.com

6 In this essay, I examine how settler colonialism operates in the dominant U.S. K-12 education system through an analysis of my own educational experiences in the Eanes School District in Austin, Texas. Grounded in the analytical frameworks of critical race theory and TribalCrit, the methodology of counterstory (telling marginalized stories in critique of dominant narratives), and my positionality as a second-generation Chinese-American settler, the paper examines how my K-12 education taught me the ideologies that underpin Indigenous dispossession and further settler colonialism's "logic of elimination." I re-search my experiences, from a kindergarten lesson on "Indian drums" to high school textbook readings, to trace how educational practices and curricula reinforce settler colonial ideologies and conscript students into settler society. In conclusion, I discuss decolonial teaching and how it gives students tools to recognize and challenge settler colonial ideologies.

16 Keywords: Settler colonialism, counterstory, K-12 education, Asian-American settler colonialism, Tribal-Crit, decoloniality

19 The week before Thanksgiving in 2005, I brought a peanut can to kindergarten for a lesson about "Indians." Under the watch of my mom and other parent helpers, we glued neon feathers all around the sides of the cans. We snapped on the plastic lids. Then, our teacher led us all in a music lesson.

23 "Let's! Play! In-dian drums!"

24 We banged on the top of the cans: *Boom-boom-boom-boom-boom! Boom-boom-boom-boom-boom!*

26 "LET'S PLAY LOUD!" *BOOM-BOOM-BOOM-BOOM-BOOM.*

27 "Let's play soft." *boom-boom-boom-boom-boom.*

28 "Let's play fast!" *Boomboomboomboomboom.*

29 "Let's play slow." *Boom. Boom. Boom. Boom. Boom.*

30 Years later, I came home from middle school to the dinner of 糙米,¹ 菜花,² and 红烧肉³ that my grandparents had prepared. My mom came to sit with us. We talked about school, about orchestra. My mom drummed on the table, and her eyes lit up. "欸? 就是你小时候唱的那首歌?"⁴ She sang: "Let's! Play!" I joined in – "In-dian

¹cāomǐ, *brown rice.*

²càihuā, *broccoli.*

³hóngshāoròu, *braised pork belly.*

⁴éi? jùshìníxiǎoshíhòuchàngdenàshǒugē? *oh, remember that song you learned as a kid?*

34 drums!” We banged on the wooden table together: *Boom-boom-boom-boom-boom.*
35 *Boom-boom-boom-boom-boom.* We laughed.

36 The “Indian drums” song was part of a program teaching me – and my Chinese
37 immigrant mom – to participate in settler colonialism. English scholar Patrick Wolfe
38 defined settler colonialism as a structure, an ongoing project, driven by a “logic
39 of elimination” that dissolves existing societies in order to create a new society,
40 “destroy[ing] to replace.” This makes the elimination of Indigenous nations an “orga-
41 nizing principle” of our American settler society that persists in the present, rather
42 than a one-time historical event (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). In *Playing Indian*, Philip J.
43 Deloria (Yankton Dakota) describes how false representations of Indigenous peoples
44 like the “Indian drum” activity teach not the “real,” but the “ideal,” a settler conception
45 of Indigenous peoples that justifies settlers’ continued subjugation and occupation of
46 the land, and their oppression of the peoples who stewarded it since time immemorial.
47 My kindergarten lesson is just one example of how the dominant K-12 education
48 system helps form and sustain “ideals” and ideologies that underpin the continued
49 existence of settler society, a continual creation that furthers the logic of elimination.

50 In this essay, I will trace the ways that my K-12 education taught me to participate
51 in settler colonialism. From a kindergarten song to a 5th grade field trip to Longhorn
52 Cavern State Park, from the set of *Little House* novels my parents bought me to a
53 high school English project, this essay will examine how I gained fluency not just in
54 offensive speech, imagery, and stereotypes – but in ideological methods of accepting,
55 participating in, and re-creating systems that perpetuate Indigenous dispossession and
56 white supremacy. Importantly, in this paper I focus on *knowledges* and *epistemologies*
57 advanced by curriculum, and not on the *material structures* of educational systems.
58 True decolonizing work requires the latter as well, but they are beyond the scope of
59 this particular paper.

60 First, I will discuss critical race theory and TribalCrit’s analyses of racism and
61 colonization as endemic to society, and I will ground my paper in two points: the
62 non-neutrality of knowledge-production, and the methodology of counter-story. After
63 discussing my positionality, I will spend the bulk of the essay tracing the contours
64 of my settler education, discussing how settler colonialism operates in classrooms
65 through my own experience and across other geographic and temporal settings. I will
66 finally discuss decolonial teaching and how it not only avoids conscripting students
67 into settler colonial ideologies, but also gives them tools to recognize and challenge
68 those ideologies.

69
70 *CRT and TribalCrit: Education is not neutral*

71 Critical race theory (CRT) began emerging in the 1970s and 80s as an analytical
72 and legal activist framework moving beyond critical legal studies (CLS), which ana-
73 lyzed class but lacked an engagement with race, and liberal race discourse, which left
74 racial inequity persisting even after the legal victories of the civil rights movement
75 (Crenshaw, 2002). It analyzes racism as structural, foundational in the bones of soci-
76 ety. One of CRT’s core tenets is that knowledge-production is not neutral, rejecting

77 (neo)liberalism's principle of neutrality. It asserts that research, education, law, and
78 the way we tell stories about our world shape and are shaped by white supremacy
79 (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Delgado & Stefancic, 2011; Cren-
80 shaw, 2011; Crenshaw et al., 2019). Bryan Brayboy (Lumbee) outlined TribalCrit in
81 response to CRT's omission of an analysis of settler colonialism (Brayboy, 2005).
82 While CRT analyzes racism as endemic to society, he asserts, TribalCrit takes as
83 its foundation that "colonization is endemic to society," meaning that "European
84 American thought, knowledge, and power structures dominate present-day society
85 in the United States" (p. 430). Throughout a history of governmental policies rooted
86 in imperialism and white supremacy, settlers have worked to eliminate Indigenous
87 societies to the point where, he says, dominant members of American society have
88 little awareness of the everyday experiences and lives of Indigenous peoples in the
89 present. Research, education, and other forms of knowledge production have all aided
90 this production of settler colonialism.

91 In his sixth tenet of TribalCrit, Brayboy describes how governmental policies
92 and educational policies have linked in the aim of assimilating Indigenous people.
93 Education (in particular, through boarding schools) has been weaponized as a tool of
94 elimination to break apart Indigenous families, destroy home languages (requiring the
95 use of English instead of their nations' languages), assert the dominance of Western
96 knowledge systems while destroying Indigenous ones, and assimilate Indigenous
97 children into settler society (Lomawaima, 1995, 1999; Adams, 1995; Trafzer et al.,
98 2006).

99 Education has not only been used as a weapon to target Indigenous people by
100 attempting to eliminate them under settler colonialism, but also as a tool to bring
101 settlers into the ideologies of settler colonialism and white supremacy (Sleeter, 2010;
102 Calderon, 2014). CRT contends that education is not neutral (Ladson-Billings &
103 Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Ladson-Billings (1998) argues that CRT sees the
104 official school curriculum as "designed to maintain a White supremacist master script"
105 (p. 18). A "master script" silences multiple perspectives and instead "legitimiz[es]
106 dominant, white, upper-class, male voicings as the 'standard' knowledge students
107 need to know" (Swartz, 1992, p. 341). Majoritarian stories, master narratives, or
108 standard stories are stories told about Indigenous peoples, people of color, and all
109 marginalized peoples, and also about the world, that represent and reify dominant
110 ideologies (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). My "Indian drum" lesson told a majoritarian
111 story about Indigenous peoples as monolithic and primitive, reifying settler colonial
112 ideologies.

113 In their Indigenous studies curriculum guide "Teaching Critically about Lewis and
114 Clark," educators Alison Schmitke, Leilani Sabzalian (Alutiiq), and Jeff Edmundson
115 explain the ways settler dynamics and constructions are traditionally taught through
116 the American K-12 education system. They argue that lessons tend to frame settler
117 colonialism as a neutral-to-positive exploration of new lands and expansion of the
118 American nation, rather than an uneven and eliminatory process of destroying and
119 replacing existing Indigenous societies. When settlers enter Indigenous homelands

120 with the intent of making those homelands their new home, they need to not only
121 make a new dynamic with the existing populations, but make new narratives to justify
122 that dynamic – including describing this new civilization as superior, removing any
123 mention of harm, freezing Indigenous populations in the past, and portraying them
124 as savage and ontologically lower than civilized settlers (Schmitke et al., 2020).
125 Education serves as a vehicle for the construction and teaching of these narratives.

126 Far from being neutral, education remains a vital part of sustaining the process of
127 destroying Indigenous knowledge systems, replacing them with European knowledge
128 systems that are positioned as superior, and crafting narratives that strive to underpin
129 and stabilize the invading settler state.

130

131 *Storytelling & counterstory methodology*

132 Another core contention of both CRT and TribalCrit, as well as Black feminist
133 theory and ethnic studies traditions, is that storytelling and personal narrative is a
134 valuable source of knowledge (Brayboy, 2005; Christian, 1987; Delgado & Stefancic,
135 2011; Archibald et al., 2019). In outlining TribalCrit, Brayboy (2005) asserts a key
136 tenet: “Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore,
137 real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.” Black feminist literary scholar
138 Barbara Christian wrote in 1987, “People of color have always theorized” – oftentimes
139 in narrative forms that have not been deemed legitimate sources of knowledge by the
140 Western academy (p. 52).

141 Within a critical race theory context, this paper is rooted in the critical race method-
142 ology of counterstory, which Solórzano and Yosso (2002) define as the practice
143 of telling marginalized stories, calling it a “tool for exposing, analyzing, and chal-
144 lenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege” (32). Counterstory challenges
145 dominant narratives and counters hegemonic frameworks: it is bound up in a critique
146 of dominant ideology (e.g. liberalism, whiteness, color blindness, settler colonial-
147 ism) and an objective of social justice (Martinez, 2020). Delgado (1989) theorized
148 counterstorytelling as helping the oppressed heal while challenging the oppressors.

149 Counterstory can be one way to conduct research without replicating colonial
150 violence onto Indigenous peoples. In her seminal work on Indigenous research,
151 Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou, Māori) problematizes a history
152 of Western “research” that exerts ontological superiority over Indigenous peoples
153 and extracts knowledge from them in the service of incorporating them into white
154 Western settler systems, institutions, and epistemologies (Smith, 1999). Drawing from
155 her work, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017) hyphenates the word into “re-search” to highlight
156 how “research” is not an innocent or neutral pursuit of knowledge, but an active and
157 constantly contended process that can uphold systems like coloniality or work to
158 decolonize knowledge-production. Counterstory as re-search can produce knowledge
159 in a way that works against coloniality.

160 Thus, in this paper, I use counterstory as a re-search methodology. I reject an
161 identitarian liberal multicultural politics that may limit me to investigating my Asian-
162 American experiences to critique anti-Asian racism. Instead, I re-search my own

163 experiences to unmask ways that coloniality structures the dominant education system
 164 and conscripts settlers (including settlers of color) into the settler society on Turtle
 165 Island.

166
 167 *Where I come from*

168 Twenty-four generations ago, my patrilineal ancestors moved from 江西⁵ province
 169 to the neighboring 湖南⁶ province. For twenty-one generations, they stewarded land
 170 in 益阳,⁷ in the north-center of 湖南 province. Up until my grandpa's generation,
 171 they were farmers who specialized in working with 鸬鹚⁸ to catch fish in the river.
 172 My grandparents moved from 益阳 to 常德,⁹ a day's journey by river and foot, where
 173 my dad was born. My aunts and relatives continue to steward land in both 益阳 and
 174 常德 to this day.

175 My mom comes from farmers outside 上海¹⁰ and in 辽宁.¹¹ Since genealogy is
 176 traditionally recorded patrilineally in China, I know less about her side: I seek to
 177 know more. My parents immigrated from China to America in 1992. They moved to
 178 Alabama, then Florida, then Texas.

179 When I was born, I “inherit[ed] the power to represent or enact settler colonial-
 180 ism” (Morgensen, 2011, p. 20). What's more, as Saranillio's (2013) work on Asian-
 181 American settler colonialism argues, in moving to a settler colonial state, migrants
 182 can use their political agency to either “bolster” or resist a colonial system begun by
 183 white settlers. This paper excavates how my settler education set me up to bolster the
 184 system. Taking up J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (Kānaka Maoli)'s concept of “enduring In-
 185 digeneity” – Indigeneity endures, since Indigenous peoples continually “exist, resist,
 186 and persist,” and settler colonialism must continually “endure” Indigeneity (Kauanui,
 187 2016) – as well as Smith (2012)'s conception of Indigeneity as a praxis of building
 188 relationship with land, people, and creation and disinvesting from nationhood, I work
 189 to recover my own relationship with the idea of Indigeneity, while striving to relate
 190 with the enduring Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island and participate in their struggle
 191 for sovereignty.

192 The land that I grew up on in Austin, Texas is the ancestral lands of many Indigenous
 193 peoples, including the Jumanos, Coahuiltecan, Tonkawa, 努姆讷讷 (Comanche), and
 194 Ndé Kónitsǵáí Gokíyaa (Lipan Apache) peoples. Today, the Jumanos nation now has
 195 more than 300 people registered and is trying to register for federal tribal recognition;
 196 the Tonkawa nation has more than 700 enrolled members; the 努姆讷讷 nation has
 197 about 17,000 enrolled members and projects such as language revitalization efforts;

⁵jiāngxī, *Jiangxi*.

⁶húnán, *Hunan*.

⁷yiyáng, *Yiyang*.

⁸lúci, *cormorant*.

⁹chángdé, *Changde*.

¹⁰shànghǎi, *Shanghai*.

¹¹liáoníng, *Liaoning*.

198 and the Ndé Kónitsą́aí Gokíyaa (Lipan Apache) nation has about 4,500 enrolled
199 members and many ongoing projects, including creating protective infrastructure
200 around a sacred burial grounds in what is colonially known as Presidio, Texas, a
201 project just completed in the spring of 2024 (“Jumanos”, 2004; Olvedo, 2016; *About*
202 *Accomplishments*; Rosenthal, 2024). The land I grew up on is not mine, and as I learn
203 about where and whom I come from, I hope to build better relationships with it and
204 those who have stewarded it long before I arrived.

205
206 *My education as a case study*

207 I went through a public school system that had extensive resources. The Eanes
208 Independent School District was established in 1958 and now spans six elementary
209 schools, two middle schools, and a high school (*History*). Westlake High School was
210 established in 1969 by white people avoiding integration after *Brown v. Board of*
211 *Education* (Spong, 2005). In the 2022–23 school year, out of 2,825 students, 63.2%
212 were white and 0.8% were Black, in a state where 25.6% of students were white and
213 12.8% were Black (2022–23). 0.1% were reported as “American Indian,” a label that
214 itself exemplifies the settler gaze on Indigenous peoples. According to Niche, the
215 district spends an average of \$24,109 per student, as opposed to a national average of
216 \$12,239. Growing up, Westlake was known as one of the best public schools in the
217 area – and the richest, and whitest. 99% of graduating seniors go directly to a four-year
218 college. Considering this, my education makes me a case study for how a materially
219 well-resourced education teaches ideologies that uphold settler colonialism.

220
221 **Learning settler colonialism**



Decorating “Indian headbands” in kindergarten at Forest Trail Elementary School. 2005.

222 In this photo, I’m five years old, and we’re having another Thanksgiving week
223 lesson about “Indians.” We’ve decorated headbands with brightly colored paints and
224 neon feathers. Our parents are there as volunteers to help coordinate the activities (my
225 mom took this photo, and in the corner one of my classmates clings to a parent). This
226 means the activities have the support of our closest, most trusted authority figures.
227 We’ve also decorated sugar cookies with sprinkles, which we’re snacking on as we put

228 on our finished headbands. It's a normal, everyday activity of learning about settler
229 colonialism.

230 Deloria's (1998) concept of the "ideal" – "a collection of mental images, stereo-
231 types, and imaginings based only loosely on those material people Americans have
232 called Indians" – forms the material with which settlers construct ideas of the "Native"
233 and put them to use in defining the settler nation (p. 20). Our Thanksgiving week
234 activity was a lesson in the "ideal" (an idea of primitive people in the past wearing
235 feathers), not the "real" (what kind of spiritual and political purposes did a headdress
236 traditionally play for Lakota peoples, for example, and what do they play now?). In
237 turn, it allowed us to assume a position as civilized, present producers of knowledge.

238 Deloria traces how Indigenous peoples have been constructed as exterior to
239 colonists, or interior to the nation, depending on what has aided settler colonial-
240 ism. In 18th-century America, they were constructed as "exterior" so that the new
241 settlers could self-define against "Indians" as British colonizers. But later, as these set-
242 tlers opposed themselves to England and British identity, they constructed Indigenous
243 peoples as "interior" to America. This allowed them to buttress their self-definition as
244 American against the British, as well as gain access to aboriginal belonging (p. 21).
245 As they did so, Americans constructed Indigenous peoples as "savage" – an idea the
246 settlers could then position themselves against to self-define as civilized. This created
247 competing desires: an "urge to idealize and desire Indians and a need to despise and
248 dispossess them" (p. 4).

249 These narratives, as well as the aforementioned described by Schmitke et al. (2020)
250 – Manifest Destiny as a positive expansion, Western superiority over Indigenous
251 societies, erasure of harm, freezing the Indigenous peoples in the past, portraying In-
252 digenous peoples as ontologically lower than civilized settlers – resonated throughout
253 my education.

254 *Settler colonialism in my education*

255 In third grade, we played Oregon Trail, a popular video game set up on the school's
256 desktop computers. The player embodies a family of white settlers traveling in a
257 covered wagon from Independence, Missouri to Oregon's Willamette Valley in 1848.
258 Along the way, you trade, buy goods, cross rivers, and avoid natural disasters. You
259 can "hire an Indian to help" at a river crossing. Otherwise, Indians are considered a
260 threat.
261

262 At the end of the school year, we completed the 3rd grade capstone activity: we
263 built our own covered wagons with red kids' wagons, hula hoops, and canvas cloth,
264 dressed up as Westward-bound settlers, and paraded through the entire school. All
265 the other grade levels came out of their classrooms to sit along the hallways and clap.
266 In music class, we learned the song "Go West." The opening goes: "Go west, young
267 man. Go west, young woman. Go west and seize the day!" (Emerson & Jacobson,
268 n.d.). The song was stuck in my head for years.

269 These activities taught me about the journey of American settlers westward through
270 the lens of a survival adventure. The settlers were constructed as heroes who faced

271 life-or-death risks to make better lives for themselves in the new land of the West,
272 which was unoccupied and ripe for the taking. On the other hand, Indigenous people
273 were constructed as already interior to the new nation but savage, and existed either
274 to harm civilized people or to help the settlers safely cross the rivers they mystically
275 knew so well. The video game and activities taught me Manifest Destiny as a positive
276 ideology, where people were doing their duty as Americans to expand the frontier
277 and claim new land, make a better life for themselves, and improve the nation. We
278 embodied that as we marched the hallways of the school; we were individual heroes
279 who would “seize the day” triumphantly, at no consequence to others.

280 We also learned ideologies that freeze Indigenous peoples in the past and erase
281 their presence. On our 5th grade trip to Longhorn Cavern State Park, we read signs
282 that described the geological history of the place, but entirely neglected to mention
283 the existence of Nʉmʉnʉnʉ (Comanche) and other Indigenous peoples in relation to
284 the caves. “Some of the earliest visitors were the area’s prehistoric peoples, who
285 used parts of the cave for shelter,” the pamphlet today reads. “Anglo settlers found
286 the cavern in the mid-1800s and began mining bat guano” (*Inks*). The language of
287 “visitors” implies that the land was not claimed or truly occupied by anyone prior
288 to Anglo settlement, and the word “prehistoric” places Indigenous peoples before
289 well before civilized time. As we looked at the beautiful, glistening natural caves
290 now, it felt like Earth was back to its pristine, human-free, prehistoric state – just
291 like the settlers must have found it. In reality, Nʉmʉnʉnʉ people were still resisting
292 Anglo settlement of the area throughout the 1800s. After the annexation of Texas into
293 statehood in 1845, there was material federal support for the ongoing state efforts
294 to subdue the Nʉmʉnʉnʉ nation. Settlers made and broke treaties with them, and
295 ultimately waged war until 1875 (Hämäläinen, 2008).

296 Besides geography and history, I was taught settler colonial ideas through literature
297 as well. In kindergarten, we sat on the carpet in front of my teacher’s rocking chair
298 as she read to us *Little House In the Woods*, by *Laura Ingalls Wilder*. I loved it –
299 I continued reading the next book in the series: *Little House on the Prairie*. I was
300 entranced by the process of boiling maple and pouring it on snow to make maple
301 candy. I felt Laura’s fear when two “naked, wild men” approached the house and
302 entered, making “harsh sounds” and smelling terrible – Laura hides as they eat Ma’s
303 cornbread and take Pa’s furs (Wilder, 1935, pp. 134–141). I breathed a big sigh of
304 relief when they left. I devoured the rest of the series, and read all the books again
305 several times throughout my childhood.

306 I had no idea that it was illegal for Laura’s family to be there, on the Osage
307 Diminished Reserve, which had been established and already drastically reduced
308 in size by several rounds of treaties – and that the family’s presence represented a
309 continual, messy push westward by white settlers who were breaking those treaties.
310 As Kaye (2000) writes, the little house had been constructed on Osage land, using
311 their lumber, without permission. The Osages would “quite naturally see Pa’s trapping
312 as another economic raid on their way of life as well as an affront to the ceremonial
313 relationship between the Osages and their animal kin” (p. 133).

314 Kaye writes that the danger isn't just in the explicitly harmful language in the
315 book, but in the superficial sympathy that Laura and Pa express for them. Pa explicitly
316 rejects the common statement (popularized by war general Richard Pratt) that the
317 "only good Indian is a dead Indian," instead citing "one good Indian" who prevented
318 others from attacking – a statement that can soothe the reader's consciousness while
319 masking a deeper layer of ideological work (p. 126). Overall Laura's family is cast
320 as making the most of an unfortunate, but inevitable situation, even as they illegally
321 squat on Osage land.

322 In her blog analyzing North American Indigenous peoples in children's literature,
323 Nambé Pueblo scholar Debbie Reese identifies many more "ideal" representations in
324 the Little House series – a "very old Indian" who tells Pa, "Heap big snow come," and
325 holds up fingers to say it will last for "many moons"; a passage where Pa tells Laura
326 childhood stories of pretending to "stalk[] the wild animals and the Indians; and more.
327 These present the stereotypes of a nameless and tribeless "wise Indian" who speaks
328 in broken English to help the white settler, and equate Indigenous peoples with "wild
329 animals" to be hunted for play by their ontological superior. Reese writes that the
330 book series' "status and place of nostalgia in the minds of so many Americans" makes
331 these representations particularly insidious. As I read these books I loved so much,
332 inhabiting a settler point of view, I absorbed narratives that constructed Indigenous
333 peoples as inferior to the settler, sometimes a threat, sometimes a help, always *other*.

334 *State curriculum*

335 Arching over the individual instances that I experienced, the state curriculum
336 standards themselves facilitate the erasure and ontological lowering of Indigenous
337 peoples. The Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS) are Texas' curriculum
338 standards, set by the Texas Education Agency. Although they do not dictate the precise
339 methods of individual teachers, they set the expectations for the course content:
340 textbooks are written to match the standards, and passing the state's standardized tests
341 requires these skills.

342 In the TEKS for 7th grade Texas History, across the historical events and issues
343 that students are expected to know from 1519 (the first Spanish settlement) to the
344 present day, there are only two content standards that explicitly reference Indigenous
345 peoples: "compar[ing] the cultures of American Indians in Texas prior to European
346 colonization," and identifying "the effects of westward expansion on American Indi-
347 ans" (*Chapter 113B*, 2019, pp. 7, 9). This relegates Indigenous peoples to the past
348 and makes their significance relative to, and prior to, contact with Europeans. It
349 erases their experiences throughout ongoing processes of settlement, centering settler
350 perspectives. The second and only other time they are mentioned, westward expansion
351 is framed as a neutral process that had "effects" on Indigenous peoples as passive
352 recipients, rather than a motivated process that inherently necessitated eliminating
353 them. There is no mention of Indigenous nations or communities in contemporary
354 times, contributing to the "freezing" of them in the past and their continued elimi-
355 nation. Amid 56 named European and American colonizers in the standards, only
356

357 three Indigenous Americans are named: Quannah Parker (N̄m̄m̄n̄n̄), Chief Bowles
358 (CWY),¹² and Amado Peña Jr. (Yoeme).

359 In my 8th grade U.S. history classroom, my teacher drilled into us that Jamestown
360 was founded in 1607. “Jamestown!” she yelled. “1607!” we yelled back. At various
361 times while teaching, she would suddenly stop and yell, “Jamestown!” “1607!” we
362 yelled back. The date was ingrained into us as the beginning of U.S. history. The
363 first date that the 8th grade U.S. History standards require students to learn is “1607,
364 founding of Jamestown” (p. 14), and the first “major era” students are required to
365 learn is “colonization” (p. 13). This completely erases the histories of Indigenous
366 peoples since time immemorial. When discussing this first major era, the standards ask
367 students to identify the “causes of” and “reasons for” colonization, but not the violent
368 processes towards Indigenous peoples that it inherently entailed. In the one and only
369 explicit mention of Indigenous peoples, students are asked to “analyze the reasons
370 for the removal and resettlement of Cherokee Indians during the Jacksonian era” –
371 another exercise requiring students to identify with the settlers and their motivations
372 rather than with Indigenous people (pp. 14–15). Not a single Indigenous person is
373 named in these standards.

374 Texas is not alone in this. A 2015 sociological study conducted by researchers
375 at Pennsylvania State University found that across the nation, 87 percent of social
376 studies standards involving Indigenous peoples are about their pre-1900 history,
377 demonstrating how the education system confines teaching about Indigenous people
378 to the far past. 27 states did not name a single individual Indigenous person in their
379 history standards (Shear, 2015).

380 Infamously, every year for decades in California, all fourth graders in the state
381 have spent weeks making a model of a colonial mission complex out of sugar cubes,
382 popsicle sticks, or store-bought kits. The practice only just started being explicitly
383 discouraged by the Californian Board of Education in 2016 in their new history
384 curriculum standards (Graff, 2017). “Building missions from sugar cubes or popsicle
385 sticks does not help students understand the period and is offensive to many,” the
386 new standards read (*History Social Science*). But the practice still continues at some
387 schools, fueled by nostalgia, tradition, or lack of resources for teachers to develop
388 alternatives (Imbler, 2019). For decades, this project taught Californian students about
389 the beautiful architecture of missions without mentioning the violence they facilitated
390 against Indigenous populations. It taught students to inhabit the perspectives of settler
391 colonizers, and gave the impression of the missions as an idyllic sanctuary for the
392 Anglos and Natives who lived there together in harmony. Gutfreund (2010) writes
393 that, rather than saying anything about actual history, this idealized image of Spanish
394 colonialism was a “conscious creation by Anglos”(p. 163). The image was crafted
395 starting from paintings of missions by William Keith and Edward Deakin in the 1870s,

¹²The standards use their Anglicized names: their names in N̄m̄m̄ Tekwap̄ and CWY are Kwana and Di'wali respectively.

396 and continuing with the 1920 film *The Mark of Zorro*, which was shot among the ruins
 397 of Mission San Juan Capistrano, reinvigorating public nostalgia for the crumbling
 398 structures (Imbler, 2019). Bringing students into these images not only teaches them
 399 incorrect history, but also reduces their ability to handle complexity in the world and
 400 in their community.

401 402 **Supporting ideologies**

403 I learned settler colonial ideologies not only through teachings of settler conceptions
 404 of “the Native,” but also through supporting, co-constituting, and intertwined white
 405 supremacist ideologies. I will briefly sketch out two of these – Eurocentrism and
 406 militarism – and describe how they taught me to devalue knowledge systems that are
 407 not European, and to construct the non-Western “other” as expendable, ultimately
 408 supporting coloniality.

409 410 *Eurocentrism*

411 Throughout my education, I, a Chinese-American, was taught to see the world
 412 through the eyes of the white West. Eurocentrism, the ontological privileging of
 413 Western knowledge and knowledge systems, is a driver and an ongoing process of
 414 colonization (Brayboy, 2005). Colonization privileges European thought systems over
 415 other thought systems, asserting their “moral and intellectual superiority” (p. 432).

416 W. E. B DuBois uses the term “double consciousness” to describe Black people’s
 417 experience of “always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others.” Throughout
 418 my life, I was seeing myself through my own eyes, and through the eyes of a dominant
 419 white order, and chafing in the friction of these perceptions. Everyone knew the Great
 420 Famine in Ireland; no one knew the Great Famine in China that almost killed my
 421 grandparents. Eurocentrism created fragmentation in me (between forms and layers of
 422 my knowledge, between my embodied experiences and the institutionally described
 423 world) and helped me participate in the subjugation of other knowledge systems,
 424 including my own.

425 At the end of my Pre-AP World Geography class in 9th grade, we did a project
 426 where we picked a book from a list and wrote a book report analyzing it according to
 427 geographical terms. I didn’t see anything on the short list that called to me, so I went
 428 to the long list of approved books on our library’s website. I saw a book with three
 429 Chinese women on the cover: *Wild Swans*, by Jung Chang.

430 As I read, I felt something click. It was my first time learning anything about
 431 Chinese history in school. It contextualized so many of the tidbits of stories I’d heard
 432 from my parents and grandparents over the years: mom repeating “万岁毛主席”¹³ at
 433 the store, 姥姥¹⁴ having her braids cut off and high heels cut off in the streets because
 434 they were too Western, 爷爷’s¹⁵ siblings dying of starvation during the hard years.

¹³wànsuì máozhǔxí, long live Chairman Mao.

¹⁴lǎolao, grandma.

¹⁵yéye, grandpa.

435 Through the book, I learned about the Cultural Revolution, and I learned about the
436 Great Famine in China from 1959–1961, when there were many millions of deaths.
437 Seeing some of my home knowledge contextualized in the world of institutional
438 knowledge, which had been constructed as “legitimate” knowledge, I felt a new
439 congruency – a feeling that cast the lifelong omission into sharp relief. My only time
440 to encounter any Chinese history formally again was a brief mention in the AP World
441 History textbook the next year.

442 I learned that there was one world region that mattered. Even within the AP
443 curriculum, there was AP European History and AP US History, but no AP East
444 Asian History or AP Latin American History – everything that wasn’t European or
445 American was lumped under AP World History. I started to realize that there wasn’t a
446 real pedagogical reason we didn’t have a class called AP Chinese History. This subtly
447 taught me that Europe was the center of world power and of life experiences worth
448 studying.

449 Throughout my years playing Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninoff, Mozart, and Bach in
450 orchestra, I learned that all great music is written in the West by white men. We
451 also learned that math and science are neutral and objective, and that the center
452 of scientific development and progress has always been Europe (no matter that the
453 Greek foundations of European mathematics are actually based on Black Egyptian
454 civilization; the Pythagorean Theorem was used in ancient Babylon and proved in
455 China at least 1300 and 500 years respectively before it was proved in Greece; and so
456 forth) (Diop, 1991; Joseph, 1997).

457 These omissions and emphases ingrained Eurocentrism in me, and cumulated
458 towards my internal development of an ontologically disdainful gaze towards non-
459 European knowledge systems (that, for example, value the land and the nonhuman
460 beings). Teaching that the world’s advancements were created, developed and honed
461 by white people reinforced the idea that Western civilization has always been the
462 most progressed, and as a result was justified in its violent conquests and in imposing
463 its “civilized” ideas in America and in other “primitive” areas of the world. At the
464 same time, it created fragmentation in me – it distanced me from possible sources of
465 knowledge I had, from my family’s and Chinese-American community’s stories to
466 the artwork in my house that wasn’t Western and the books at the local library that
467 weren’t “classics.”

468 *Militarism*

469 I was taught to accept and sympathize with American imperialism and America’s
470 colonial projects abroad, including its continued, violent occupation of Puerto Rico,
471 Guam and other territories. I was trained to construct the “other” as inferior, yet a
472 threat, a construction that supports the superiority and longevity of US state power.

473 Smith (2012) argues that war, anchored by what Edward Said theorizes as “Orientalist”
474 constructions of “the other” as simultaneously inferior and threat and therefore
475 in need of elimination, is one pillar of white supremacy at play with settler colonial-
476 ism. Byrd (2011) argues that this Orientalist view was cast in the production of the
477

478 “Indian” since the inception of the US settler colonial project, and is extended and
479 projected onto other nations in its imperialist projects to this day. War, underpinned
480 by ontologically lowering constructions of the “other,” is constitutive of the US settler
481 state – and my education taught it in a way that justified it.

482 In my AP English Language course in junior year, we did a semester-long project
483 called the “Vietnam Project.” We studied a book called *The Things They Carried*,
484 by Tim O’Brien. At the same time, we were each assigned an American veteran of
485 the Vietnam War who died in combat. We researched them, finding out as much as
486 possible about their lives before the war, how they performed in the war, how they
487 died, and so on. We tracked down and interviewed family members, former platoon
488 members, and anyone we could find. We took this information and created video
489 tributes to them. Through this project, we inhabited the suffering of American soldiers
490 and understood it as the principal cost of the Vietnam War. The reading and the project
491 were exercises in feeling out and internalizing the humanity of another American and
492 witnessing the impact of a historic event on American individuals. We weren’t asked
493 to empathize with the Vietnamese civilians and soldiers who suffered at the hands
494 of the American military. We learned little about the historic context of the war or
495 how larger American political decisions and attitudes about Communism created the
496 conditions of war and worsened them.

497 Another pedagogical tool that taught militarism and justified American colonialism
498 was our textbook. The widely-used US history textbook that I read was called *The*
499 *American Pageant* – the publisher of the book, Cengage, told CBS News in 2020 that
500 more than five million students learn from it each year (Luibrand, 2020). Loewen
501 (2007) analyzed 18 US history textbooks as “works of history and ideology” (p. 31).
502 Textbooks, and required textbook readings, dominate history classrooms more so than
503 any other subject – making history class comprised of facts to be learned, bestowed
504 by a god-like textbook narrator, rather than an opportunity to develop critical thinking
505 and inquiry skills. (In no other field, Loewen points out, do college professors assume
506 that students were mistaught in high school.) In AP US History, I consumed my
507 required readings as facts, answered my multiple choice questions and never thought
508 to question the material on which I was being tested next Friday, two periods after my
509 physics exam.

510 Chapter 39 of *The American Pageant*, “The Stormy Sixties,” provides a very
511 abbreviated survey of US foreign policy. It describes Laos as a “jungle kingdom” that
512 the Eisenhower administration had “drenched . . . with dollars” but “failed to cleanse
513 . . . of an aggressive communist element.” Laos, the textbook said, was “festering
514 dangerously” after the end of French colonization (Bailey et al., 2015, p. 920). This
515 creates an image of Laos and Southeast Asia as an uncivilized backwater, a dangerous
516 breeding ground for the poisonous ideology of communism – which then supposedly
517 justified the US’s war in Vietnam.

518 The chapter paints the US as heroes “pumping dollars” into and giving “handouts”
519 to other countries. However, it laments that “American handouts had little positive im-
520 pact on Latin America’s immense social problems” (p. 921), framing it as inevitable:

521 despite the hero's best efforts, the countries' inherent problems persisted. It does not
522 discuss the US' direct role in creating political instability and social problems by
523 interrupting democratic processes, staging coups and installing right-wing political
524 leaders whose policies favored US business interests in places like Guatemala, Bo-
525 livia, Cuba, Chile, and Nicaragua. Instead the textbook's description seems to warrant
526 and justify continued US militarism in Latin America.

527 As I went through history classes in high school, I came away with the belief
528 that the US had never lost a war. I felt a sense of security knowing that our nation
529 was the strongest nation on Earth, and that our efforts domestically and abroad were
530 always moving along a teleology of progress and civilization – *even if* they sometimes
531 required violence. This trained my own Orientalist gaze denigrating non-Western
532 nations and those that fall outside the front edge of this teleology, including the
533 “primitive” peoples of America's “past,” as inferior.

534
535 **Conclusion: What does decolonial teaching and learning look like?**

536 Only in college, by stumbling into ethnic studies, did I begin to see the ideologies
537 that I'd been taught. But the vast majority do not have access or support to study
538 ethnic studies materials, nor should higher educational institutions be the first and
539 primary site of critical study.

540 Since 2015, Washington state law has required all public K-12 schools to teach
541 the tribally developed *Since Time Immemorial: Tribal Sovereignty in Washington*
542 *State* curriculum – or an alternative tribally-developed curriculum (*Elementary Cur-*
543 *riculum*). As an example, the first lesson plan in the “Honoring the Salmon” lesson
544 track for elementary schools, meant for kindergarten to 3rd graders, starts off with an
545 activity:

546 “Raise your hand if you:

547 Have seen salmon in rivers and/or streams

548 Have eaten salmon

549 Like salmon

550 Have read books about salmon

551 Have been fishing for salmon

552 Have read books about salmon or learned about salmon in school” (*Honoring*
553 *Salmon*, p. 2).

554 Then students read the story “Salmon Boy,” a Traditional Story told by Haida and
555 shísháhlh nations and other nations across the Pacific Northwest about a boy who
556 disrespects the salmon and in turn is transformed into a salmon and taken in by the
557 Salmon People. Students discuss what they learn (“What did Salmon Boy learn from
558 the salmon people? What can we learn from the salmon people?”). This lesson has
559 students connect their existing knowledge of and interaction with salmon with that of
560 Indigenous peoples' enduring knowledge, stories, traditions, and relationships with
561 salmon. This helps build a more healthy and intentional relationship with a material
562 aspect of students' lives, from the basis of Indigenous knowledge.

563 Argentinian theorist Walter D. Mignolo describes decoloniality as an epistemo-
564 logical project whose goal is for colonized peoples globally to “delink in order to
565 re-exist” – to first delink from Western structures of knowledge and relations in order
566 to then re-establish existence on their own terms (Mignolo, 2017). As Brah (2022)
567 writes, decoloniality “enables us to prioritize and foreground regimes of knowledge
568 that have been sidelined, ignored, forgotten, repressed, even discredited by the forces
569 of modernity, colonialism, imperialism, and racial capitalism” (p. 15). Decolonial
570 education can be understood as foregrounding Indigenous and other marginalized
571 modes of knowledge, and in an American context, works towards material decolon-
572 ization. As Sleeter (2010) puts it, we must “critically examine that knowledge
573 [traditional school curricula] and its relationship to power, recentring knowledge
574 “in the intellectual histories of indigenous peoples”. Just as settler colonialism and
575 white supremacy are intertwined, so must decolonial education be with anti-racist
576 education. Anti-racist education challenges white supremacy through both curriculum
577 and pedagogy and avoids conscripting students into white supremacist ideologies
578 *while* teaching them to recognize and challenge existing ideologies. Together, the
579 goal is to provide students the agency to act from the power of their own knowledge –
580 to value their own embodied and cultural knowledge, to gain tools to work through
581 the sea of ideologies given to them by textbooks, classes, news media, and other sites
582 of socialization, to see their relatives instead of “the other,” and work towards right
583 relations and a just future.

584 Even as we challenge dominant epistemologies and majoritarian stories that support
585 ideologies of settler colonialism and white supremacy, Tuck and Yang (2012) vitally
586 remind us that “decolonization is not a metaphor.” The goal of decolonization in
587 America is land back: “the repatriation of Indigenous land and life” (p. 21). Decolonial
588 education work must be a part of that, not a substitute that enlightens settlers while
589 preserving settler futurity and Indigenous dispossession. How decolonial education
590 can explicitly contribute to material decolonization, and what decolonial work against
591 and outside the formal classroom looks like, are subjects for much further study and
592 action beyond the limits of this paper.

593 In the meantime, teachers can and are already working towards change, starting
594 in their own classrooms. I will discuss examples in Connecticut and Texas – places
595 where I’ve lived, gone to school, and reported – but there are countless more examples
596 across the nation.

597 In Connecticut, Nataliya Braginsky’s African and Latinx studies class researched
598 the significance of local sites in Black, Indigenous, and Latinx history – like a
599 local park where Frederick Douglass spoke to Black soldiers preparing for the Civil
600 War, and the popular hiking area now known as Sleeping Giant that has roots in
601 a Quinnipiac Traditional Story – and created a virtual walking tour representing a
602 “Black, Indigenous, and Latinx Peoples’ History of New Haven” (*A Black*). One
603 student who researched the park, Fair Haven’s Criscuolo Park, told his teacher, “I go
604 there all the time to play basketball, and I get shivers now, knowing that Frederick
605 Douglass was there” (Zou, 2020).

606 Through the Anti-Racist Teaching and Learning Collective (an educational organiz-
607 ing collective where I have worked), hundreds of teachers in Connecticut are gathering
608 to develop anti-racist curriculum and pedagogical strategies, attend webinars on topics
609 like teaching Asian-American studies and teaching Indigenous studies, brainstorm
610 and troubleshoot pedagogical ideas through Communities of Practice, and support
611 each other in implementing these practices. Teachers are thinking through how to
612 teach ballet in a way that affirms all bodies, jazz technique in a way that highlights the
613 political implications of improvisation, and agriculture in a way that respects plants
614 as beings and not just as objects of human consumption (*Stories*).

615 Through the “Teaching about Race and Racism Across the Disciplines” seminar at
616 the Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute, teachers have developed curricular projects
617 including reworking an AP US History course to center Indigenous peoples’ histories,
618 presents, and future possibilities; creating literature lessons about Afro-Futurism;
619 reteaching an international relations course from colonized people’s perspective;
620 writing a unit on histories of segregation and law in New Haven; and developing
621 an art unit focusing on Confederate monuments to think about art making and art
622 reception (*Teaching*).

623 In Texas, where critical education is being actively legislated against, Luke Am-
624 phlett begins his AP US History course with a painting by Titus Kaphar depicting a
625 painting of Thomas Jefferson being peeled back to reveal Sally Hemmings, one of the
626 people he enslaved and the mother of six children he fathered – and discusses with
627 his students why it is that they know Jefferson but not Hemmings. He and elementary
628 school teacher Alejandra Lopez founded PODER, the social justice caucus of the San
629 Antonio teachers’ union, to hold monthly teacher-led trainings and resource-sharing
630 on critical pedagogies (Zou, 2021). An Austin area teachers’ network Educators
631 in Solidarity connects anti-racist educators and holds a yearly conference for the
632 exchange of ideas on topics like reimagining discipline and incorporating rest in the
633 classroom (*Fall ’22 UnConference*).

634 Critical education can happen outside the formal classroom too. ISTEAM (In-
635 digenous STEAM), based in Chicago and Seattle, is a collaborative that runs a free
636 summer camp for Indigenous youth and provides open-access learning activities
637 online for families to do together, focused on building relationships with plants,
638 water, food, and birds. For example, one activity, called “Walking Land: Making Plant
639 Relatives,” asks participants to go on a walk together, notice their “plant relatives,”
640 document observations, and discuss questions like: “What role does this plant play in
641 this place? What is our role in this place? How are these roles related? How do we
642 know?” (*Walking Land*). These activities center and develop Indigenous knowledge
643 systems, and operate outside the formal institution of the school.

644 All these practices can help teach students to grapple with the complexity and
645 conflict they see all around them, training them not to constantly consent to the
646 violence being enacted on and around them.

647 **Coda**

648 Caribbean feminist scholar M. Jaqui Alexander formulates colonization not only as
649

650 exploitative and violent practices that shape a political reality, but also deep internal
 651 processes of fragmentation (Alexander, 2012). It is linked to “divisions among mind,
 652 body, spirit; between sacred and secular, male and female, heterosexual and homo-
 653 sexual; in class divisions; and in divisions between the erotic. The endless division of
 654 colonization causes “material and psychic” fragmentation and dismemberment. Be-
 655 cause of this, she writes, the work of decolonization has to address our “deep yearning
 656 for wholeness” and belonging (p. 281). In my time learning settler colonialism and
 657 white supremacy in the US education system, I felt fragmented, distanced from my
 658 body, distanced from my knowledges, distanced from real knowledge about the land
 659 that I’m on.

660 At the time of writing this, I have spent the past year living in China for the
 661 first time, learning in ways that are “de-linked” from American institutions and
 662 epistemologies: slowly building deeper relationships with my language, land, rituals,
 663 ancestors, histories, and creation stories. I have been physically moving on and with
 664 the land that my family stewarded for many generations, following my aunts in burning
 665 joss paper at the bottom of my ancestors’ graves, studying Chinese cosmologies
 666 (including origin stories and ways with time) with a friend who teaches Chinese
 667 literature. As I learn more and more about the places, stories, and people that I
 668 come from, lands where I have “creation stories, not colonization stories” (Tuck &
 669 Yang, 2012, p. 6) about how I came to be there, I feel my own investment in finding
 670 belonging within the current US settler state lessening. Knowing more about where I
 671 come from and feeling hints of “wholeness” is making it fundamentally clear to me
 672 how a basis of dispossession and elimination is a deeply unstable way to be in a place
 673 and to relate with land- and people-relatives. Decolonial and anti-racist education has
 674 the power to help us practice right relations with “humans and all creation” (Smith,
 675 2012), including pursuing land back for Indigenous peoples and journeying towards
 676 wholeness in ourselves.

677 References

- 678 2022–23 Texas Academic Performance Report (TAPR) for Westlake High School, Eanes ISD. (2023). Texas
 679 Education Agency.
- 680 *A Black, Indigenous, and Latinx Peoples’ History of New Haven*. (n.d.). Google My Maps. <https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=10PXHhQAxkuGfyk3z7IhTkB9-6ETuLvOq>. Accessed 7 May 2024.
- 681 *About us*. (2024). Comanche Nation. <https://comanchenation.com/our-nation/about-us>.
- 682 *Accomplishments*. (n.d.). Comanche Language & Cultural Preservation. Retrieved July 11, 2024, from
 683 <http://www.comanchelanguage.org/our-work.html>.
- 684 Adams, D.W. (1995). *Education for extinction*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- 685 Alexander, M.J. (2012). Remembering This Bridge Called My Back, Remembering Ourselves. In *Feminist*
 686 *Solidarity at the Crossroads*, Routledge, pp. 72-82.
- 687 Archibald, J.Q.Q., Lee-Morgan, J.B.J., & De Santolo, J. (Eds.). (2019). *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous*
 688 *Storywork as Methodology*. Zed Books.
- 689 Bailey, T.A., et al. (2015). *The Stormy Sixties*. American Pageant, 16th ed.
- 690 Baldwin, J. (2008). A talk to teachers. *Teachers College Record: The Voice of Scholarship in Education*,
 691 *110*(14), 17-20. doi: 10.1177/016146810811001405.

- 693 Bawden, M. (2019). Civic Nation BrandVoice: The Missing And Murdered Indigenous Women's Epi-
694 demic. *Forbes*. Retrieved from [https://www.forbes.com/sites/civcnation/2019/12/06/the-missing-and-](https://www.forbes.com/sites/civcnation/2019/12/06/the-missing-and-murdered-indigenous-womens-epidemic/)
695 [murdered-indigenous-womens-epidemic/](https://www.forbes.com/sites/civcnation/2019/12/06/the-missing-and-murdered-indigenous-womens-epidemic/).
- 696 Brayboy, B.M.J. (2005). Toward a tribal critical race theory in education. *The Urban Review*, 37(5),
697 425-446. doi: 10.1007/s11256-005-0011-5.
- 698 Calderon, D. (2014). Uncovering settler grammars in curriculum. *Educational Studies*, 50(4), 313-338.
699 *Chapter 113B: Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills for Social Studies*. (2019). Texas Education Agency.
700 Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills. Retrieved from [https://tea.texas.gov/about-tea/laws-and-](https://tea.texas.gov/about-tea/laws-and-rules/sboe-rules-tac/sboe-tac-currently-in-effect/ch113b.pdf)
701 [rules/sboe-rules-tac/sboe-tac-currently-in-effect/ch113b.pdf](https://tea.texas.gov/about-tea/laws-and-rules/sboe-rules-tac/sboe-tac-currently-in-effect/ch113b.pdf).
- 702 Christian, B. (1987). The race for theory. *Cultural Critique*, (6), 51-63.
- 703 Crenshaw, K.W., et al. (1995). Introduction. In K.W. Crenshaw (Ed.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key*
704 *Writings That Formed the Movement*, The New Press.
- 705 Crenshaw, K.W. (2002). The first decade: Critical reflections, or 'A foot in the closing door'. In Valdes,
706 F., Culp, J.M., & Harris, A.P. (Eds.), *Crossroads, Directions, and a New Critical Race Theory*, The
707 Regents of the University of California UCLA Law Review, Vol. 49, pp. 9-32.
- 708 Crenshaw, K.W. (2011). Twenty years of critical race theory: Looking back to move forward. *Connecticut*
709 *Law Review*, 43(5), 103.
- 710 Crenshaw, K., HoSang, D.M., Lipsitz, G., & Charles, L. (2019). Introduction. In *Seeing Race Again*.
711 University of California Press.
- 712 *Data on Poverty in the United States*. (2022). Center for American Progress. [https://www.americanpr](https://www.americanprogress.org/data-view/poverty-data/)
713 [ogress.org/data-view/poverty-data/](https://www.americanprogress.org/data-view/poverty-data/).
- 714 Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for oppositionists and others: A plea for narrative. *Michigan Law Review*,
715 87(8), 2411-2441.
- 716 Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2011). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York University Press.
- 717 Deloria, P.J. (1998). *Playing Indian*. Yale University Press.
- 718 Diop, C.A. (1991). *Civilization or barbarism: An authentic anthropology*. Lawrence Hill Books.
- 719 Du Bois, W.E.B. (1897). Strivings of the Negro People. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from [https://www.](https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1897/08/strivings-of-the-negro-people/305446/)
720 [theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1897/08/strivings-of-the-negro-people/305446/](https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1897/08/strivings-of-the-negro-people/305446/).
- 721 *Fall '22 Unconference*. (n.d.). Educators in Solidarity. Retrieved from [https://www.educatorsinsolidarity.](https://www.educatorsinsolidarity.com/fall-22-un)
722 [com/fall-22-un](https://www.educatorsinsolidarity.com/fall-22-un).
- 723 *Elementary Curriculum | OSPI*. (n.d.). OSPI. Retrieved from [https://www.k12.wa.us/student-success/re](https://www.k12.wa.us/student-success/resources-subject-area/time-immemorial-tribal-sovereignty-washington-state/elementary-curriculum)
724 [sources-subject-area/time-immemorial-tribal-sovereignty-washington-state/elementary-curriculum](https://www.k12.wa.us/student-success/resources-subject-area/time-immemorial-tribal-sovereignty-washington-state/elementary-curriculum).
- 725 Emerson, R., & Jacobson, J. (n.d.). *Go West* [Song]. On *Go West! A Musical Celebration*. Hal Leonard
726 Corporation. Available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=avdLmVRQv1U&ab_channel=Laura](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=avdLmVRQv1U&ab_channel=LauraShearon)
727 [Shearon](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=avdLmVRQv1U&ab_channel=LauraShearon).
- 728 *Explore Eanes independent school district*. (n.d.). Niche. [https://www.niche.com/k12/d/eanes-independent-](https://www.niche.com/k12/d/eanes-independent-school-district-tx/)
729 [school-district-tx/](https://www.niche.com/k12/d/eanes-independent-school-district-tx/).
- 730 Ferlazzo, L. (2020). 'Classrooms are political.' *Education Week*. Retrieved from [https://www.edweek.](https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/opinion-classrooms-are-political/2020/10)
731 [org/teaching-learning/opinion-classrooms-are-political/2020/10](https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/opinion-classrooms-are-political/2020/10).
- 732 Ferlazzo, L. (2020, October 14). 'Keeping Politics Out of the Classroom Is Like Keeping the Water Out of
733 *Rain*.' *Education Week*. Retrieved from [https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/opinion-keeping-
734 \[politics-out-of-the-classroom-is-like-keeping-the-water-out-of-rain/2020/10\]\(https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/opinion-keeping-politics-out-of-the-classroom-is-like-keeping-the-water-out-of-rain/2020/10\).](https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/opinion-keeping-politics-out-of-the-classroom-is-like-keeping-the-water-out-of-rain/2020/10)
- 735 Freire, P. (2017). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Penguin Books.
- 736 Freire, P. (1985). Reading the World and Reading the Word: An Interview with Paulo Freire. *Language*
737 *Arts*, 62(1), 7. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41405241>.
- 738 *Governor Ron DeSantis Signs Legislation to Protect Floridians from Discrimination and Woke Indoctrina-*
739 *tion*. (2022). Office of Florida Governor Ron DeSantis. [https://www.flgov.com/2022/04/22/governor-](https://www.flgov.com/2022/04/22/governor-ron-desantis-signs-legislation-to-protect-floridians-from-discrimination-and-woke-indoctrination/)
740 [ron-desantis-signs-legislation-to-protect-floridians-from-discrimination-and-woke-indoctrination/](https://www.flgov.com/2022/04/22/governor-ron-desantis-signs-legislation-to-protect-floridians-from-discrimination-and-woke-indoctrination/).
- 741 Graff, A. (2017). The next generation of California public school students will skip the 'mission project.'
742 *SFGATE*. Retrieved from [https://www.sfgate.com/news/article/California-public-schools-mission-](https://www.sfgate.com/news/article/California-public-schools-mission-project-model-11953722.php)
743 [project-model-11953722.php](https://www.sfgate.com/news/article/California-public-schools-mission-project-model-11953722.php).
- 744 Gutfreund, Z. (2010). Standing up to sugar cubes: The contest over ethnic identity in California's fourth-
745 grade mission curriculum. *Southern California Quarterly*, 92(2), 161-197. doi: 10.2307/41172518.

- 746 Hackman, R. (2021). Femicides in the US: The silent epidemic few dare to name. *The Guardian*. Retrieved
747 from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/sep/26/femicide-us-silent-epidemic>.
- 748 Hämäläinen, P. (2008). *The Comanche Empire*. Yale University Press.
- 749 History. (n.d.). Eanes ISD. Retrieved July 10, 2024, from <https://www.eanesisd.net/district/history>.
- 750 *History Social Science Framework for California Public Schools Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve*.
751 (2016). California State Board of Education. <https://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/hs/cf/documents/hssfwhchap>
752 [ter7.pdf](https://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/hs/cf/documents/hssfwhchap/ter7.pdf).
- 753 Imbler, S. (2019). Is the end coming for a problematic California grade school tradition? *Atlas Obscura*.
754 Retrieved from <http://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/california-mission-models>.
- 755 *Inks Lake State Park and Longhorn Cavern State Park Interpretive Guide*. (2021). *Texas State Parks*.
756 Retrieved from https://tpwd.texas.gov/publications/pwdpubs/media/pwd_br_p4507_0015u.pdf.
- 757 Jumanos face battle in quest for official tribal status. (2004, September 12). *MyPlainview*. [https://www.](https://www.myplainview.com/news/article/Jumanos-face-battle-in-quest-for-official-tribal-8914981.php)
758 [myplainview.com/news/article/Jumanos-face-battle-in-quest-for-official-tribal-8914981.php](https://www.myplainview.com/news/article/Jumanos-face-battle-in-quest-for-official-tribal-8914981.php).
- 759 Kauanui, J.K. (2016). 'A structure, not an event': Settler colonialism and enduring indigeneity. *Lateral*,
760 5(1). doi: 10.25158/L5.1.7.
- 761 Kaye, F.W. (2000). Little Squatter on the Osage Diminished Reserve: Reading Laura Ingalls Wilder's
762 *Kansas Indians*. *Great Plains Quarterly*, 20(2), 123-140.
- 763 Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education?
764 *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 7-24. doi: 10.1080/095183998236863.
- 765 Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W.F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College*
766 *Record*, 97(1), 47-68.
- 767 Lee, K. (2020). Native women are vanishing across the U.S.: Inside an aunt's desperate search for
768 her niece. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from [https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2020-01-](https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2020-01-31/murdered-missing-native-american-women)
769 [31/murdered-missing-native-american-women](https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2020-01-31/murdered-missing-native-american-women).
- 770 Loewen, J.W. (2007). *Lies my teacher told me: Everything your American history textbook got wrong*.
771 Touchstone.
- 772 Lomawaima, K.T. (1995). *They called it prairie light: The story of Chilocco Indian School*. University of
773 Nebraska Press.
- 774 Lomawaima, K.T. (1999). *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American*
775 *Education*. Teachers College Press.
- 776 Luibrand, S., et al. (2020). Map in widely used U.S. history textbook refers to enslaved Africans as 'immig-
777 grants,' CBS News analysis finds. *CBS News*. Retrieved from [https://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-american-pageant-map-in-widely-used-us-history-textbook-refers-to-enslaved-africans-as-immigrants)
778 [american-pageant-map-in-widely-used-us-history-textbook-refers-to-enslaved-africans-as-immigra](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-american-pageant-map-in-widely-used-us-history-textbook-refers-to-enslaved-africans-as-immigrants)
779 [nts](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-american-pageant-map-in-widely-used-us-history-textbook-refers-to-enslaved-africans-as-immigrants).
- 780 Martinez, A.Y.C. (2020). The rhetoric and writing of critical race theory. *National Council of Teachers of*
781 *English*.
- 782 Meehan, K., & Friedman, J. (2023). Banned in the USA: State laws supercharge book suppression
783 in schools. *PEN America*. Retrieved from [https://pen.org/report/banned-in-the-usa-state-laws-](https://pen.org/report/banned-in-the-usa-state-laws-supercharge-book-suppression-in-schools/)
784 [supercharge-book-suppression-in-schools/](https://pen.org/report/banned-in-the-usa-state-laws-supercharge-book-suppression-in-schools/).
- 785 Miranda, D.A. (2012). *Bad Indians: A tribal memoir*. Heyday.
- 786 Morgensen, S.L. (2011). *Spaces between us: Queer settler colonialism and indigenous decolonization*.
787 University of Minnesota Press.
- 788 Murray, A.D. (2012). *Countering the master narrative: The development of the alternative black curriculum*
789 *in social studies, 1890-1940*. Retrieved from <https://drum.lib.umd.edu/handle/1903/12652>.
- 790 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2017). Decolonising research methodology must include undoing its dirty history.
791 *Journal of Public Administration*, 52(Special Issue 1), 186-188.
- 792 Olveda, E. (2016, November 16). Jumano Indians; Finding Their Roots & Looking Towards the Future.
793 *Concho Valley*.
- 794 Pratt, R.H. (1973). The advantages of mingling Indians with whites. In F.P. Prucha (Ed.), *Americanizing*
795 *the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880-1900*, Harvard University Press,
796 pp. 260-271.
- 797 Reese, D. (2015). Stereotypes in Wilder's *The Long Winter*. *American Indians in Children's Litera-*

- 798 *ture*. Retrieved from [https://americanindiansinchildrensliterature.blogspot.com/2015/02/stereotypes-](https://americanindiansinchildrensliterature.blogspot.com/2015/02/stereotypes-in-wilders-long-winter.html)
799 [in-wilders-long-winter.html](https://americanindiansinchildrensliterature.blogspot.com/2015/02/stereotypes-in-wilders-long-winter.html).
- 800 Rosenthal, A. (2024, April 23). In Presidio, the effort to preserve an Indigenous cemetery is finally complete.
801 *Texas Standard*. [https://www.texasstandard.org/stories/presidio-west-texas-indigenous-cemetery-lipan-](https://www.texasstandard.org/stories/presidio-west-texas-indigenous-cemetery-lipan-apache-cemetery-barrio-lipanes/)
802 [apache-cemetery-barrio-lipanes/](https://www.texasstandard.org/stories/presidio-west-texas-indigenous-cemetery-lipan-apache-cemetery-barrio-lipanes/).
- 803 Saranillio, D.I. (2013). Why Asian settler colonialism matters: A thought piece on critiques, debates, and
804 Indigenous difference. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3(3-4), 280-294.
- 805 Schmitke, A., et al. (2020). *Teaching critically about Lewis and Clark: Challenging dominant narratives in*
806 *K-12 curriculum*. Teachers College Press.
- 807 Shear, S.B., et al. (2015). Manifesting destiny: Re/presentations of Indigenous peoples in K-12 U.S. history
808 standards. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 43(1), 68-101. doi: 10.1080/00933104.2014.
809 999849.
- 810 Sleeter, C.E. (2012). Confronting the marginalization of culturally responsive pedagogy. *Urban Education*,
811 47(3), 562-584.
- 812 Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books.
- 813 Solórzano, D.G., & Yosso, T.J. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical
814 framework for education research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 23-44. doi: 10.1177/1077800402238084.
- 815 Spong, J. (2005). Embarrassment of riches. *Texas Monthly*. Retrieved from [https://www.texasmonthly.](https://www.texasmonthly.com/articles/embarrassment-of-riches/)
816 [com/articles/embarrassment-of-riches/](https://www.texasmonthly.com/articles/embarrassment-of-riches/).
- 817 *Stories*. (n.d.). Anti-Racist Teaching and Learning Collective. <https://antiracistteaching.org/stories>.
- 818 Swartz, E. (1992). Emancipatory narratives: Rewriting the master script in the school curriculum. *The*
819 *Journal of Negro Education*, 61(3), 341. doi: 10.2307/2295252.
- 820 Trafzer, C.E., Keller, J.A., & Sisque, L. (Eds.). (2006). *Boarding school blues: Revisiting American*
821 *Indian educational experiences*. University of Nebraska Press.
- 822 *Tonkawa Tribe of Oklahoma*. (n.d.). Tonkawa Tribe of Oklahoma. Retrieved July 10, 2024, from [https://](https://tonkawatribe.com/)
823 tonkawatribe.com/.
- 824 Tuck, E., & Yang, K.W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education*
825 *& Society*, 1(1), 1-40.
- 826 Walker, T. (2023). 'Education is political': Neutrality in the classroom shortchanges students. *NEA*. Re-
827 [trieved from https://www.nea.org/advocating-for-change/new-from-nea/education-political-neutrality-](https://www.nea.org/advocating-for-change/new-from-nea/education-political-neutrality-classroom-shortchanges-students)
828 [classroom-shortchanges-students](https://www.nea.org/advocating-for-change/new-from-nea/education-political-neutrality-classroom-shortchanges-students).
- 829 *Walking Land: Making Plant Relatives*. (n.d.). Indigenous STEAM. [https://indigenousteam.org/wp-](https://indigenousteam.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/plant-making-plant-relatives.pdf)
830 [content/uploads/2020/11/plant-making-plant-relatives.pdf](https://indigenousteam.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/plant-making-plant-relatives.pdf).
- 831 *Honoring salmon: A teacher's guide K-3, Lesson 1*. (n.d.). Washington Office of Superintendent of
832 Public Instruction. Retrieved July 10, 2024, from [https://www.k12.wa.us/sites/default/files/public/](https://www.k12.wa.us/sites/default/files/public/indianed/tribal-sovereignty/primary/PrimaryPEHonoringSalmonK-3Lesson1.pdf)
833 [indianed/tribal-sovereignty/primary/PrimaryPEHonoringSalmonK-3Lesson1.pdf](https://www.k12.wa.us/sites/default/files/public/indianed/tribal-sovereignty/primary/PrimaryPEHonoringSalmonK-3Lesson1.pdf).
- 834 Wilder, L.I. (1935). *Little house on the prairie*. Harper & Brothers.
- 835 Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4),
836 387-409. doi: 10.1080/14623520601056240.
- 837 *Teaching about race and racism across the disciplines*. (2019). Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute.
838 Retrieved from <https://teachersinstitute.yale.edu/curriculum/units/2019/2/19.02.intro.x.html>.
- 839 Zou, I. (2020). Dismantle racism? Start in the classroom, teachers say. *CT Mirror*. Retrieved from
840 <http://ctmirror.org/2020/07/27/dismantle-racism-start-in-the-classroom-ct-teachers-say/>.
- 841 Zou, I. (2021). 'I wanted to teach differently than I had been taught': How some Texas educators practice
842 anti-racist teaching. *The Texas Tribune*. Retrieved from [https://www.texastribune.org/2021/08/24/texas-](https://www.texastribune.org/2021/08/24/texas-schools-critical-race-theory-teaching/)
843 [schools-critical-race-theory-teaching/](https://www.texastribune.org/2021/08/24/texas-schools-critical-race-theory-teaching/).