2012

Stereotypes of Contemporary Native American Indian Characters in Recent Popular Media

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Media

A Thesis Presented

by

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Submitted to the Graduate School of the

University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

May 2012

Department of Anthropology

Sociocultural Anthropology

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DEDICATION

To my wonderful fiancé Max,

as well as my incredibly supportive parents,

friends and entire family.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

STEREOTYPES OF CONTEMPORARY NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN
CHARACTERS IN RECENT POPULAR MEDIA

MAY 2012

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This thesis examines the ongoing trends in depictions of Native American Indians in popular mainstream media from the last two decades. Stereotypes in general and in relation to Native American Indians are discussed, and a pattern of stereotype reactions to colonists' perceived strains is identified. An analysis of popular television shows, movies, and books with contemporary Native characters will demonstrate new trends which we might consider transformed or emerging stereotypes of Native people in non-Native media. These trends will not only be shown to have emerged from more general national and regional stereotypes of Native identity, but will also demonstrate a continuation of the historical willingness of colonists to rely on more virulent Native stereotypes in cases where they perceive some Native threat. Particular attention will be paid to the denial of Indian identity in the southeast and northeast through comedy and mockery and, on the other hand, the exaggeration of Indian identity in the western United States through shape-shifting, paranormal encounters, mystery, and more conventional Native interests. At the end of the thesis, some possible methods for grappling with these problematic portrayals will be discussed.

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CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO STEREOTYPES

A. Opening

This thesis seeks to uncover stereotypes of contemporary Native American Indian people in the United States through the examination of contemporary popular films, television shows, and novels from approximately the last twenty years. Instead of being mere "fluff" – or in spite of it – popular media is where many non-Native people receive information about contemporary Native peoples, from childhood into adulthood (Mihesuah 1996:13). The attitudes about contemporary Native characters in popular media also provide valuable insight into regional and national attitudes about Native American Indians today.

Have depictions of contemporary Native people changed over the last several decades, and if they have, in what ways? Are depictions of these Native characters uniform across the United States, or are there different features for Native characters in different regions? This thesis seeks to provide answers to these questions, as well as some explanation for the trends that emerge from contemporary popular media.

In order to make sense of the trends surrounding depictions of contemporary Native characters in popular media, it is necessary to understand the importance and the detrimental effects of stereotypes in general, and in particular how stereotypes have historically been used against Native peoples in the United States.

B. Defining Stereotypes

Before we can begin to discuss the harm of specific stereotypes, we must confront the issue of defining what stereotypes are and why they are a topic of concern. For a social ill that receives a fair amount of attention, it remains the case that a cohesive and precise definition for "stereotype" is needed – one that is specific enough to convey what we as anthropologists believe the word to denote, yet generalizable enough to apply across a broad range of cultural interactions (King 2009; McCabe 2006; Churchill et al. 1978; Mihesuah 1996; Meek 2006). Though not an exhaustive exploration of the topic, it is my intention that this thesis provide to readers a clear definition to characterize the phenomena of stereotyping before discussing particular stereotypes.

Stereotypes have been described and defined in a variety of ways in anthropological and media literature – as "arrested, fixated" or "inert images" (Bhabha 1994:75, King 2009:216), as "racial myths" (Gorham 1999), and as "a partial and inadequate way of viewing the world" (Lippmann 1922). Yet each of these definitions and descriptions might be challenged. The images stereotypes offer cannot be inert, because neither stereotypes nor the cultures that create and perpetuate them are static. "Nor are the stereotypes consistent: they vary over time…" (Mihesuah 1996:13). Some stereotypes involve ethnic or racial groups, but other stereotypes speak to issues of ageism, homophobia, misogyny, or religious intolerance, so making the definition explicitly racial leaves out what are widely recognized as "stereotypes" of groups that are not viewed by others or by their own membership as racial or ethnic. Lippmann hints that necessary to the definition of "stereotype" might be the possession of inaccurate beliefs, but inaccuracy alone is too broad to categorize the group interactions that seem to

be necessary for stereotyping to occur. Ashmore and Del Boca (1981) create a more comprehensive definition, defining stereotype as "one group's generalized and widely accepted beliefs about the personal attributes of another group; in essence, the perception of a group as generic rather than being made up of individuals." However, a stereotype may involve only one belief about a stereotyped group and not an entire set of "beliefs"; nor is it particularly clear why an individual could not create a stereotype by assigning a novel set of beliefs to a group which are *not* widely accepted by anyone else, but nevertheless generalize that group to the point of erasing its individuality.

Philosopher Lawrence Blum, in writing on stereotypes as a general phenomenon, attempts a cohesive definition of stereotyping generalizable across a range of social interactions. "Stereotypes are false or misleading generalizations about groups held in a manner that renders them largely, though not entirely, immune to counterevidence… A stereotype associates a certain characteristic with the stereotyped group (Blum 2004: 251)." Blum goes on to provide additional characteristics inherent to the act of stereotyping, which can be synthesized into a basic definition for the act of stereotyping: he limits the stereotyped group to the domain of human beings, states that the group is of a particular salience (ethnicity, gender, religion, etc. or unique combination thereof), is portrayed as "fundamentally the same" (Blum 2004:261), and cannot be conceived of regularly otherwise. "Additionally," summarizes one philosophy paper on Blum, "[the stereotyped group] has characteristic Y, where Y is a characteristic with a large graduation of moral significance (from bad stereotypes to the alleged good stereotypes), and Y is either false or misleading" (Suffis 2012: 4).

Blum states that the characteristic (Y) may have a wide range on the moral scale of the stereotyping person or group, in order to account for the "bad" stereotypes as well as the "good" stereotypes. The removal of this passage can be argued on the basis that the Y characteristic need not register as morally significant to either group implicated in the stereotype. Features that are morally neutral to all persons involved in a stereotype can nevertheless constitute stereotypes. Any statement that envisions a group of people, grouped together based on culturally constructed race, region, age, or another salient feature as "fundamentally the same" robs them of their individuality and group diversity (Blum 2004:261). Blum argues that as methods of dehumanization, these actions are inherently ethically problematic. By this rationale, even when both groups involved in the stereotype (the stereotyper and the stereotyped) find nothing morally objectionable to the generalization being made, the kind of sweeping generalization of a group that acts to flattens difference and cannot allow for individuality becomes a stereotype, and in Blum's estimation has a dehumanizing (and thus a negative effect) on the group being stereotyped. Alvin M. Josephy (1984:31) agrees, arguing that stereotypical images of Native people have "defamed and dehumanized Indians" by dent of their very existence.

Stereotypes have frequently been linked to cases of "Othering" or exoticizing groups, based on the assumed inescapable group cohesion and lack of individuality that most stereotypes proffer (Gianoulis 2004; King 2009:216; Kumaravadivelu 2008:17; Kumashiro 1999). But to include exotification in the definition of stereotype would be to ignore cases of erasure, where the unique features of a group as claimed by that group are dismissed. There are cases when a group is forcibly placed *into* what is considered the more acceptable mainstream. If the group – like for instance, the Mashpee tribe –

decides that it has a feature that differentiates its members from the mainstream but that difference is denied, those who seek recognition of difference can be stereotyped as either confused or deceptive, but certainly not "ethnic" or "exotic." One non-Native member of the town of Mashpee said of those claiming Mashpee Native heritage that all town members were "the same," leading to a conclusion that the ones who called themselves Native must be confused (The Mashpee Conflict 1984). A stereotype of confusion or deception does emerge applicable to the group attempting to be recognized as something outside of the mainstream – but it is an indirect or secondary stereotype, applied to them during the very process of denying their claims of difference. They are assigned a new difference, but not the one they wanted recognized: they are seen by those outside their group as different only by dent of being confused individuals or liars.

In other words, the erasure or denial of all cultural difference is not the opposite of stereotyping. Acknowledgement of general cultural differences can be acceptable; they are unacceptable when: unacknowledged and/or misleading differences are thrust onto a group, or when an entire group is robbed of any expectation of individuality based on the difference in question. In forming a firm definition of "stereotyping" to work from, then, exotification as a necessary element will not be included.

With these slight modifications to Blum's definition, and with other considerations in mind, philosophy student Maxwell Suffis created the following definition: "1. There is a group, where the group is taken to be an accurate reflection of its constituent members (though, it may turn out on further reflection to be false or even a stereotype), such that the group is of particular salience (ethnicity, gender, religion, etcetera), and there is some proper name X such that X refers uniquely to that group. 2.

Some person Z asserts that all (or some) of those referred to by X have predicate Y. 3. To say that all (or some) of those referred to by X have the predicate Y is either misleading and or false. 4. Z generally downplays or overplays the significance of Predicate Y on those referred to by X in such a way that it either homogenizes or alienates those referred to by X. When (1-4) are satisfied, we have a stereotype" (Suffis 2012:7). It is this definition that will be used in this thesis. All of the stereotypes discussed in this thesis certainly fit this definition (as well as most less defined definitions) of a "stereotype."

To test the utility of this definition, it will be applied to a common Native American Indian stereotype. In order to satisfy the first section of the above definition, there must be some grouping. In the case of Natives, "Native Americans" or "Indians" is the group, and this grouping is taken (by someone using a stereotype) as an accurate reflection of its constituent members (Berkhofer 1979:14-15). To satisfy the second part of the definition, there must be some predicate (or "feature") that a stereotyping group or individual attributes to all "Native Americans." Josephy (1984:37) identifies one of the most prevalent and long-standing features attributed to Native people: "the White man's… overriding image of them [Native peoples] as war-oriented."

To satisfy the third part of the definition of "stereotype," this feature of Native peoples – being warmongers – would have to be false or misleading. Indeed it is, as "the native peoples were essentially preoccupied with the pursuits of peace" (Josephy 1984:37). Even when Native tribes like the Pequot made the decision to engage in war activities, they often did so reluctantly and because they felt that the Europeans (in the Pequot's case, the English) were not responsive to their calls for peace and equitable

treatment (Josephy 1984:60). So to call them "war-oriented" is misleading even in the context of such Native military action. Finally, the fourth part of the definition maintains that, for this example, the trait of being "war-oriented" would have to be applied to Native peoples in such a way that it alienates or homogenizes everyone who falls into the group "Native American" as defined by the stereotype. Again, this example works with the given definition of stereotype. "From one frontier to another, Whites carried with them notions and fears of Indians… and were predisposed to believe that 'the only good Indian' was a dead one. All Indians, to their thinking, were cruel and bloodthirsty savages" (Josephy 1984:73). The designated trait of Native people being war-oriented, then, satisfies every part of the given definition of a "stereotype."

The definition of "stereotype" used in this thesis is general enough to be applied in cases of misogyny, racism, ethnocentrism, homophobia, ageism, or ableism to assert where stereotypes are present. But, as demonstrated, it also applies quite aptly to the specific cases of Native stereotyping discussed in this thesis.

C. The Creation of Stereotypes

Now armed with a basic definition for stereotypes, we can more easily identify stereotypes, the problems that occur from their use, where they have emerged or are emerging, and what ends they might be serving. At the very least there must be two groups, as socially constructed by at least one of these two groups. That each group sees itself as a distinct group is unnecessary. It has been argued, for example, that Native people did not see Europeans as a distinct group any more or less than they saw other tribal nations and communities as distinct groups; however, the Europeans' insistence

that two (racially defined) groups did exist – Native and European – formed the basic "X" group and "Z" group necessary for stereotypes to emerge. Therefore, when I discuss Native people of the United States in this thesis, it is not necessary that such a group has ever existed "organically" or has named itself thusly. Instead it will be a reference to a created group, an imagined group from the minds not of any Native peoples but of Europeans and their descendants, which nevertheless has had very real effects for those people of Native descent who have had the category thrust upon them (d'Errico 1998; Stedman:1982:xvii; Berkhofer 1979:14-15).

This example also brings to the fore the fact that stereotypes often emerge when people with different histories or cultures begin interacting in earnest. Cultural misunderstandings, difficulties in communication, disparate cultural and philosophical beliefs are all potential (though not necessary) grounds for the kind of generalizations that lead to stereotyping.

However, it should be noted that stereotyping is not always about two societies "meeting" or "clashing" in some way – often subgroups, subordinate in relation to population or power within larger societies, are stereotyped. And by the definition I am using for the purposes of this thesis, stereotypes are not necessarily a "one way" street in the sense that only powerless or small groups can be stereotyped. Certainly a group with less power and fewer numbers can apply stereotypes to members of the majority group – although the resulting effects from those stereotypes will likely be very different depending on which group is doing the stereotyping. If stereotypes do not emerge in simple "head on" misunderstandings between groups with different practices, then, we

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must question why they come about, why they shift and change, and what purpose they could possibly serve in a given society that contains them.

It will be argued in this thesis that stereotypes emerge or shift not only due to repetition and ignorance, or unfamiliarity with the stereotyped group in question (Tan et al. 1997); they also work to serve sociopolitical functions which are not uniform depending upon the stereotyped (X) and stereotyping (Z) groups, but vary according to the environment, the participants in the stereotype, the ubiquity of the stereotype, the nature of the stereotyped (or the X group), and the real and perceived power differentials between the groups being stereotyped and those doing the stereotyping (the X and Z groups). The effects of stereotypes are the products of a social instrument, which is at least in part serving a particular purpose or several particular purposes.

Social cognitive theory asserts that "behaviors, attitudes, and values can be learned vicariously through the observation of others… through direct observation as well as mediated observations" and that individual factors play a role in determining "what events are observed and retained and how that information will be used or imitated in the future" (M. J. Lee et al. 98). I argue that which stereotypes about Native American Indians are utilized, expounded upon, repeated, or manipulated depends on individual factors which include not only personal but also regional perceptions of Native threat. As the perception of Native threat increases, personal and social inhibitions against using crude, simplistic, or explicitly violent stereotypes lessen and such stereotypes become more acceptable.

What this amounts to is a variation of general strain theory. Strain theory traditionally questions the socially-driven motivations for crime rates and delinquency (Agnew 2006). "According to GST [general strain theory], people engage in crime because they experience strains or stressors" (Agnew 2006:2). I expand this to question how societal pressure increases the chance of verbal and physical violence as well as otherwise generally unacceptable behaviors (legally criminal or otherwise), as they relate to the use of (so-called) "positive" and "negative" stereotypes against other people.

In the case of U.S. colonists and their violence toward Native peoples, the upswings in violence reflected the threats or *perceived* threats that they faced from those Native groups. That the Native groups really were or were not in a position to create such a psychological strain on the colonists would not have had as great an effect on the colonists as their own perceptions. "Individuals are pressured… by the strains they experience… Strain theory focuses on individuals' *personal experiences with strains*" (Agnew 2006:3, 2006:10) In other words, it is the point of view of the stereotyping group or individual that determines the nature of a stereotype being used against a stereotyped group in a given environment. Just as the body reacts to perceived stressors in the same way it reacts to actual stressors, the colonizers reacted to seeming threats, and Native stereotypes have therefore played a role in how many colonizers treated Native people. Pioneer families moving into the west, for example, came with stereotypes of the Native people they would encounter and treated them according to those stereotypes. "Indian families hid themselves during the day and scurried fearfully across the road at night… The White travelers on the Trail had their own notions of what was going on. They were sure that they were being surrounded by scheming Indians, watching them…

believing they were about to be attacked and robbed by treacherous 'redskins,' [they] set up an alarm and fired into the darkness… Many Indians were killed this way, and when their bodies were found the next day, it was believed – even though children were among them – that the Indians had deserved their death" (Josephy 1984:74).

Whether a perceived Native threat leads to a very negative stereotype of Natives which encourages harm (such as violence) against them, or a perceived threat is met with violence which is then justified by negative stereotypes that assuage guilt, stereotypes are tied to the various treatments of Native people by the colonist majority and therefore to most colonists' perceptions of Native threat. This relationship, where a perceived threat goes hand in hand with poorer Native treatment and more explicitly negative and harmful stereotypes, will be referred to as a "perceived strain stereotype reaction."

Therefore, the regional political climate, philosophical and cultural views, knowledge bases, allocation of resources, histories, and community populations will all be of concern when analyzing the "why" of any particular stereotype, as well as its potential negative effects. Even when Europeans and their descendants classify all Native people within the United States as one group, "Native Americans," their treatment of Native people will be specific based on the above factors which influence the amount of perceived strain of Native activity on many non-Natives. Thinking of stereotypes in simple terms of "alienating" or "Othering," although helpful in articulating the ethical concerns of stereotyping, will be of limited use in determining why the stereotypes discussed in this thesis emerge and shift in the ways that they do, and what exact damage and misinformation they are propagating.

D. Impacts of Stereotypes

It has been noted that stereotypes grossly generalize groups, to the point of robbing them of any internal diversity and erasing any individualism from the group's constituency (Blum 2004; Ashmore and Del Boca 1981). Herein lies the difference between generalizations and stereotypes. For example, when an anthropologist notes that one particular subcultural group is heavily focused on maintaining what they have determined to be proper gender roles, she is not making a stereotype. She would be engaging in stereotyping if she ignored evidence of resistance or diversity, assumed every member of that group would conform to the group's expectations of proper gender roles, or overplayed the significance of gender roles on each group member's thoughts or actions. It is an important point to make: that both so-called "positive" stereotypes and "negative" stereotypes result in homogenization of stereotyped groups. Rosenthal (1990: 6) echos this sentiment when she states that "positive stereotypes harm us less directly but in the end are no less limiting." "There are some… who, no less stereotypically, discuss Indians in a tone reserved for sinless martyrs" (Mihesuah 1996:16).

Additionally, stereotypes allow for "an intensified moral distancing from the stereotyped group" (Blum 2004: 288). Explicit in this thesis's definition of "stereotype" (from Section B) is distancing and alienation between one group and another group. Although distancing in and of itself may be argued as an ethical concern, is clear that it can serve social functions (Blum 2004). Moral distancing allows for the creation of "us" and "them," which can be used to justify the colonization, social domination, or outright extermination of other human beings. Moral distancing is a key psychological mechanism that allows Othering to occur, along with its attendant effects (Blum

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2004:288). When a stereotyped group is mistreated by an individual or a dominant

group, the dominant persons' moral dilemmas are often soothed by the insistence that

"they" are fundamentally different than "us." The harmful results of this kind of social

distancing are of serious concern to those interested in equal rights among humans, social

justice, the wellbeing of children, and peaceful interactions between culturally different

groups.

This thesis seeks to show that Native American Indian stereotypes have been and

continued to be used as a response to perceived Native threat (which is equivalent to

Native success – militarily, economically, or even culturally) as well as a justification for

"aggression and injustice" against Native people (Josephy 1984:32).

Of course, it is not always readily apparent which stereotypes will come to have

the worst effects on those being stereotyped. These effects emerge not only from the

explicit content of the stereotype but from the environment in which the stereotype is

being acted, the participants involved in the stereotyping behavior, the ubiquity of the

stereotype, the victims or targets of the stereotype, and of course the power differentials

between the groups involved in the stereotype. Environment, participants, ubiquity,

victimization, and differences in power will all play major roles in the potential damaging

effects that the stereotypes discussed in this thesis may have.

E. Other Concerns over Stereotyping

In addition to the direct physical and emotional harm acted upon those

stereotyped by those acting on stereotypes – such as beatings or slurs – stereotypes have

been associated with lower academic performance, physical performance, self-doubt, and

non-recognition of legitimate issues that fall outside of the stereotype for members of the stereotyped group (Crocker et al. 1998; Swim and Stangor 1998; Eccles 1994; Eccles and Wigfield 2002). "Illusory Indians were so authentic to most Americans that no alternate images were acceptable" (Stedman 1982:xv). These particular negative effects have been dubbed in social psychology literature as "stereotype threat" (Thoman et al. 2008; Beilock and McConnell 2004; Picho and Brown 2011; Von Hippel et al. 2011; Keller 2007; Cadinu 2011). Stereotype threat has been defined as occurring "when knowledge of a negative stereotype about a social group leads to less-than-optimal performance by members of that group" in "stereotype relevant tasks" (Beilock and McConnell 2004: 597, Picho and Brown 2011:377).

I would add one small caveat to the existing stereotype threat theory, eliminating from its definition the word "negative" and widening it to include all stereotypes which could conceivably have negative effects on performance. I would make this adjustment because where a "positive" stereotype may boost performance in the field that it is related to – for example, the stereotype that African Americans are good at sports and other "cool" activities, potentially resulting in higher performance in those fields – it may also hinder development in other areas that seem to be that field's polar opposite. If a young boy of African descent believes that it is fitting for him to be good at physical activities, and he also sees physical activities as being the opposite of scholastic or "nerdy" activities, his scholastic performance may be indirectly harmed as a result, even without the presence (theoretically) of an explicit "negative" stereotype telling him that based on his skin color he should be *bad* at scholastics. If to be good in one thing culturally implies a stereotype of being bad at another, then even "positive" stereotypes may

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indirectly create negative performances in fields other than the ones explicitly discussed in that stereotype.

As will be discussed in Chapter 5, erasure of cultural difference between a Z (stereotyping) group and an X (stereotyped) group when the X group wants some differences to be acknowledged, results in a de facto negative stereotype of members of the X group (as either as liars, or as individuals confused about their own culture or ethnicity). If one group asserts that "we are all the same," and subset of that group asserts that they possess a unique feature, the larger group will then stereotype the "subset" group as confused or mendacious. Therefore what may seem at first to be inclusive or non-Othering can, given the circumstances listed above, necessitate a secondary stereotype against a group attempting to assert difference, and will therefore constitute a serious stereotype threat.

F. Conclusion

With a firm grasp on stereotyping in general, the next Chapter will present a short history of shifting attitudes about and stereotypes of Native people within the United States. A general trend will emerge of more intense and violent stereotypes and reactions against Native people where Native populations were not only geographically close, but were perceived as presenting some threat to the non-Native population (Berkhofer 1979:47; Josephy 1984:32). This "perceived strain stereotype reaction" will be shown in the following Chapters to be a historical and ongoing trend, as evidenced by trends in contemporary popular media images of Native people.

The third Chapter will outline the methods and boundaries of the media research undertaken for this thesis, with Chapter 4 presenting the major, geographically distinct trends that became apparent in the media.

The specific trends that comprise geographically distinct stereotypes of Native people will be discussed in depth in Chapters 5 and 6, on the eastern and western United States, respectively. Finally, in Chapter 7, I will offer a discussion of Native resistance to the stereotypes levied against them in the popular media.

CHAPTER II

NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN STEREOTYPES

A. Opening

With a clear picture of what stereotypes are, why they emerge and change, and what their effects are, this chapter's first section will delve into a short history of Native or indigenous stereotypes. I will then move on to examine historical Native American Indian stereotypes, particularly as they relate to the United States, as well as continued stereotyping against Native people, in Sections C and D. The "perceived strain stereotype reaction" is evidenced when more disdainful or explicitly aggressive stereotypes are used of Native people who are not only living "close in proximity" to non-Natives but also have some level of political autonomy, military potential, or economic success which results in a large number of the surrounding non-Native population perceiving a "Native threat" (Josephy 1984:32).

After a review of the history of Native American Indian stereotypes, Section E will voice concern from Native people about the effects of media in promulgating Native stereotypes. Finally, the closing section will emphasize the need for continued awareness of stereotypes as they emerge, develop, and shift.

B. A Short History of Native Stereotyping in General/Worldwide

Native stereotyping is a difficult phenomenon to assign an origin. It relies on a definition of stereotyping as well as a determination of "Native," in addition to historical evidence of past cultural interactions. In many cases "Natives" are associated with

traditional lifeways and beliefs, such as land practices and traditional ecological knowledge, an oral and/or literary tradition, cultural beliefs and spiritual practices, and particular languages or dialects (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:7; Stonefish 2003; Corntassel 2003:78-80). If "Native" is taken as an extremely broad term meant to reflect a particular and persistent regionality, lifeways, and beliefs, we might expect to go looking throughout history for early instances of stereotyping by looking for prejudice between the people of one region and their associated lifeways and belief systems, with the people of a different region and their different lifeways and beliefs.

Perhaps the most obvious distinctions could be drawn between peoples with different economic systems, spiritual beliefs, and societal structures. When prejudice and stereotyping are not issues occurring between groups of equal ability or status, and there is a power differential, the negative effects of the stereotypes are open to worsen with little recourse for those being stereotyped; such has often been the case in colonial situations where one group dominates another (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). This is one of the reasons that words like "First Peoples," "Indigenous," or "Native" are now often associated with some experience in being colonized, though the exact experiences may differ (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:7). In the face of newer lifeways and beliefs, or through the destructive influence of colonialism, these cultural practices may become the minority; and as the minority, they are usually less powerful than newer cultural practices.

The Greeks, once divorced from humankind's shared history of small scale communities in order to form what we now refer to as a "nation" or a "state" society, applied the term "barbarian" to describe groups of people occupying other regions (Papadodima 2010: 1-2). A connotation was made between nomadic or tribal societies

and backwardness, and although the term "barbarian" would later be applied to enemy state societies and various "Others", the connotation of the word with savagery has persisted (Papadodima 2010: 1-2). "Ancient ethnographers, like ancient historians, employed a dichotomy between civilized and uncivilized, urban civilization and barbarians, as a basic tool in their analyses. Thus the literary record preserved in both genres reflects a consistent picture of barbarians as culturally inferior" (Burns 2003:3). While it is impossible to state that the use of this or any other pejorative term constitutes the "first instance" of Native stereotyping, it is notable for its clear use of stereotyping and for its effect on the Western world's interactions with tribal peoples, often even into present times.

The Greeks' (and later, Romans') belief in their superiority over the "barbarians" they conquered allowed English colonists to the Americas to compare themselves to the great Roman civilizers who had brought the light of civilization to their own Anglo-Saxon ancestors (Kupperman 2000:30). It also provided justification for the subordination and forced assimilation of Native people.

The notion of Western superiority was further legitimized in the mid-1800s by the burgeoning field of anthropology, which largely advocated the idea of social evolution. Lewis Henry Morgan was one of the most widely influential academics working with ideas surrounding social progress (Ben-zvi 2003:211). He outlined three stages, which every culture or society could be grouped into based on their technology, methods of food production, animal domestication, literacy, kinship structures, and concepts of (private) property. Societies were classified by the stages "savagery," "barbarism," and "civilization," with levels of degree in each category (Morgan 1877). Classical Greek

and Roman cultures were classified by Morgan as "civilization proper," furthering the notion of Greek and Roman (and by extension, Western) superiority (Ben-zvi 2003:212). It is a legacy that continues to trouble many Indigenous peoples.

Across the world, Indigenous communities are allying with other Indigenous communities in acknowledgement of a shared and continued struggle for recognition as civilized people (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:6-7). In many countries "Native," "Indigenous," or "traditional" lifeways are under great pressure from external forces to disband or assimilate, are being denied rights guarantee by the government and by their status as sovereign nations, or are not being recognized as sovereign entities (Abrams 2011; Peters 2011; U.S. Department of the Interior 2011; Dewailly 2006:88-89; Josephy 1984:177-178; Parman 1994:169-173; Deloria 2004:224). Stereotypes of backwardness, uncleanliness, and obsolescence play a major role in convincing the non-Native public that even state and military action against such groups are justifiable in the name of progress, health, and prosperity (Trostle 2005:114-115).

C. A Short History of Native Stereotyping in the United States

That the Western world saw tribal lifeways as barbaric and uncivilized by the time European countries began actively colonizing the "New World" should go without saying (Prucha 1971:2). The Natives of the Americas were only salvageable to those who believed that their barbarism was learned and not innate – but the barbarism and backwardness of the Native lifeways and beliefs themselves were traits rarely questioned even by the so called "friends" of the Natives; they were at best a group to be "helped" but never emulated (Demos 1994:3-4). In fact, many British evangelistic groups framed

their Christianization of the poor, unsaved Natives as the only hope for Native salvation, as compared with the cruel treatment of Natives at the hands of the Spanish colonizers, which was widely publicized in England in the work Tears of the Indians, more commonly referred to as "Spanish Cruelties" (Lepore 1999:3-20). Certainly there were some naïve evangelists who truly believed that they would save Indian souls and receive gratitude from their converts, and these colonists must have been sorely disappointed once surrounded by populations whose traditional territories were being encroached upon and whose interest in Christian conversion was minimal at best. But beyond those faithful believers, the rhetoric of bringing the light of religion to the New World provided for the English colonists not only the possibility of personal fulfillment while converting heathens, but also a religious justification for the right of England to colonize that sought to trump the colonial rights of rival Spain. "The truly godly would seize the opportunity God had sent, and bring new dedication both to their own lives and to their country" (Kupperman 2000: 31).

The civility of Native societies was judged throughout the colonial era on a number of factors: openness to Christianization (once introduced to it), land practices, male-female distinctions and hereditary hierarchies, and assimilation into non-Native communities (Locke 1689; Bragdon 1996:578; Wallace 1993:48; Berkhofer 1979:34-44). Depending on the sociopolitical climate of the colonies, some indicators for civility would occasionally trump others, lose or gain popularity as a measuring stick for Native civilizations. Stereotypes of backwardness and difference were always present, but the stereotypes and the damage they did to Native people were highly dependent on

European perceptions of the origins and malleability of that presumed backwardness, and their perception of Native threat (Lepore 1999:3-20; Demos 1994:3-4).

In short summation, for the European settlers a perception of inborn barbaric tendencies and/or high Native threat spelled eradication for Native populations, while a perception of malleability and/or innocuousness called for the more "humane" method of pressured assimilation and Christianization. Favor for either one of these viewpoints and associated strategies for handling the "Indian problem" during colonial times waxed and waned, primarily based on the perceptions of Native threat or resistance. (For many New England colonists, a permanent demarcation between the "good Indians" and the "bad Indians," either as tribes or individuals, was drawn based on their willingness to assimilate or cooperate – and by extension, their compliance with colonial policies (Anderson 1994:609; Axtell 1981:138).) Even during their most vulnerable phases of colonization, the grossly outnumbered colonists were likely to "strike out wildly and unexpectedly if they thought they had been crossed or challenged" (Kupperman 2000:13-14). Although referring to physical violence here, the same could easily be said for the stereotypes of Natives promulgated by the colonists, as their descriptions of Indians swung from that of childlike people begging for English help (on the original Massachusetts Bay Company Seal) to barbaric "enemies and killers" (Demos 1994:2, Josephy 1984:65).

During the English colonial era, the colonists' superiors were perplexed by the paranoid responses of some of the colonists, which those colonists in turn took not as valid criticism or difference in perspective, but as a sign of a serious governmental disconnection from their everyday lives surrounded by potential Native enemies. To

their minds, even Indian "friends" might make war on them (Josephy 1984:61). They

seemed quite sure that if their leaders were on the outskirts of colony civilization like the

everyman, they too would see the Native threat. The Declaration of the People of

Virginia, issued in 1676 by Nathanial Bacon before his rebellion, expressly states the

opinion of a sizeable number of colonists that colonial governor William Berkeley had

"protected, favored, and emboldened the Indians against his Majesty's loyal subjects" by

"passing his word for the peaceable demeanor of the said Indians" (Bacon 1676:1). In

general the more threat colonists perceived, the less likely they were to stereotype

Natives in well-meaning ways (as Governor Berkeley supposedly did when he pointed

out a generalized peaceful Indian demeanor), and the more likely they were to gravitate

toward more malicious stereotypes such as Indian barbarism and warmongering. "Even

the most sympathetic writers easily moved into chilling denigration or worse"

(Kupperman 2000:15).

Throughout early colonial writing, the Natives were often viewed through the lens

of possible "Indian threat." Captivity narratives were offered as proof of the kind of

Native barbarism that merited violence – even if some accounts like Mary Rowlandson's

1682 narrative appear to be, in retrospect, somewhat civil treatment given the Natives'

dire circumstances and the treatment they were often given at the hands of colonial

captors. Violence was a common reaction of paranoid colonial leaders who were

preoccupied with the looming possibility of conflict with a group or groups that were

greater in numbers, more familiar with the landscape, and (as was the case with the

Pequot) had more wealth and political connections than the colonies (Josephy 1984).

The upper east coast was the first region of the present-day United States where a clear shift of power took place between English colonists and Native inhabitants. First, in the early 1600s, smallpox cleared many Native towns and villages in what many colonists saw as "divine Providence" (We Shall Remain: After the Mayflower 2009; Josephy 1984:42). The population shift that occurred in the area is staggering. In the early 1500s, disease spread among Native communities along the Atlantic coast, reducing "the total aboriginal population by 25 to 30 percent. From 1584 to 1620, European diseases apparently reduced the survivors by another 90 percent!" (Josephy 1984:42). The survivors were left weakened, traumatized, and increasingly outnumbered by the colonists (Josephy 1984:43-44). The battles and the massacres of Native communities in the New England area (particularly during the years of King Philip's (or Metacom's) War) further resulted in huge population losses for most of the Native nations of the area (We Shall Remain: After the Mayflower 2009; Nichols 2003:52; Ellis 2011).

After the initial 16th and early 17th century onslaughts of disease, some tribes were able to regroup and reestablish communities (We Shall Remain: After the Mayflower 2009). In 1674, during one of the earliest periods of colonization, Daniel Gookin assessed New England's tribes based almost exclusively on their military potential and the implied threat that might pose for the developing colonies (Gookin 1674). His account and the writing of the early periods of colonization reflect a focus on the military might of tribes, and a response that leans toward the presumption of noncompliance and the ensuing tactic of violence.

However, later records from the area reflect the power shift that had occurred in favor of the colonists. After the numbers shifted so greatly in favor of the colonists, and

the Native military threat was largely eliminated, we see in the contemporary writing a very different attitude toward the Native survivors (Nichols 2003:52). Again, a shift in attitude toward Native people did not result in a more enlightened view of their cultural practices – but it did eventually result in less overt military involvement. The Native population no longer had to be fought into nonexistence; after the colonial era their numbers were few enough and scattered enough that it was acceptable to use less obvious tactics, such as merely writing them out of contemporary existence (Baron et al. 1996; Doughton 1997; Thee 2006).

In 1861, 200 years after Gookin's careful report of demographics and military strength, John Milton Earle wrote what is still considered a definitive work by those with a single-minded belief in the competency and transparency of its author. His report, entitled "The Earle Report" or "Report to the Governor and Council Concerning the Indians of the Commonwealth Under the Act of April 6, 1859," identified hopelessly dwindling Native populations that were rapidly losing both their cultures and their racial purity as Indians (Earle 1861). His expectation was for an extinction of Native identity in the region within a few generations (Baron et al. 1996; Doughton 1997; Thee 2006). Earle's inability to see Native people, or his unwillingness to write them into census data, was not uncommon for the time. The town of Mashpee, a historically Native-controlled community, showed an intense change in its recorded demographics. Shifts in recognition, not population, are evident in the Mashpee case as records dramatically change from 1860, when approximately 300 Native people and 10 African-descendant people were recorded, to 1870, when approximately 300 African-descendant people were recorded and only 1 Native person was record (The Mashpee Conflict 1884). Early

colonists were intensely interested in the demographics and whereabouts of all Native populations, likely even erring towards larger numbers or "on the side of caution" as they felt was necessary in order to monitor potential violence. A couple of centuries later, their descendants purposefully ignored Native demographics, and were sure enough in their position to feel comfortable allowing Native people to go unrecorded, disperse, and/or disappear.

In fact, vague premonitions of Native extinction were accentuated by what were touted as accounts of the very "last (tribal name) Indian," which abound in New England during the mid to late 19th century. "Almost every town in New England had an individual who was described as 'the last of the Indians,' a popular, if somewhat misleading sobriquet" (Bruchac 2004:28). The "last Indian" never really was the last, of course, but that did not deter government officials and journalists from publishing their lives and deaths as articles of interest and, interestingly enough, of some degree of remorse or sympathy. Long after Native people were any military or economic threat to the area's non-Native communities, their "demise" was written as a sad tale, albeit it a fated one destined to play a role for the greater good of American greatness. This belief in tragic but justifiable Native termination was given the name "Manifest Destiny" by New York author John L. O'Sullivan in 1845 (Pratt 1927:797).

Of course, as stated earlier, there was always a following "last of" every tribe. Additionally, often local records show continued Native patterns and traditions that (intentionally or unintentionally) contradict the official state records collected by traveling individuals like Earle (Baron et al. 1996). It is not the inaccuracy of the accounts which are surprising, considering how wise a choice it was for so many Native

people to "hide in plain sight" as well as how convenient it was, on the governing side, for policy making (Ellis 2011). Of primary interest are the tones of these later articles. How oddly different an attitude they contain – especially when compared to the vitriol of captivity narratives and earlier colonial accounts, in which the death of the last of a tribe would likely have been more of a cause for celebration instead of contemplation or interest.

Two prominent examples of semi-sympathetic writing in regard to a Native individual are two articles published on Mary Curless Vickers, one as a tribute or "human interest" piece in 1895 and the other, her obituary, in 1897 (Anonymous 1895, Anonymous 1897). Mention of her "Indian descent" was heavily featured in each, but it is clear that both of the authors as well as her surrounding community held her in high esteem. The first article on her life began with a story of a difficult childhood filled with hardships, almost Dickensian in nature and sure to make readers empathize with the young Miss Vickers. Both articles featured her admirable character (in spite of such a rough upbringing) and her impressive energy, right up until her very last years when her health began to falter. For anyone reading the articles unfamiliar with the subject, Mrs. Vickers would not resemble the "dragons of the wilderness" that little New England towns feared during the 17th and early 18th centuries, but would instead be more reminiscent of their own grandmothers (Cotton Mather 1706:4). Yet another article, the obituary of "Sally Maminash, The last of the Indians here" pointedly describes her as a Christian and shares a few "tragic" details from her life (Bruchac 2004:28). As long as the Natives were thought to be dying out or disappearing, it was acceptable to romanticize them or empathize with them.

Just as government policy towards local Natives had shifted from severe physical violence to more quiet administrative erasure, mainstream colonial stereotypes of Natives shifted from brutish and wild Indians (in times of uncertainty) to the pitiable victims of a changing world (once there seemed to be no question of colonial dominance). "If Whites regarded the Indian as a threat to life and morals when alive, they regarded him with nostalgia upon his demise – or when the threat was safely past" (Berkhofer 1979:47). This trend, earlier in the thesis termed the "perceived strain stereotype reaction," not only took place on the upper east coast, but has continued throughout United States history.

Shifting our gaze to the southeast in the early to mid-1800s, we can see a similar trend of highly negative stereotyping from the neighbors of Natives, who felt threatened by their presence, and a higher degree of sympathy from those who were more distant and/or felt less threatened. The history of the Cherokee removal and "Trail of Tears" is a prominent example of damaging stereotypes heightened by or coming back into fashion because of a perceived threat to non-Native interests. The example of the Cherokee is interesting because the Cherokee quite possibly posed less of a physical or military threat to their neighbors than an economic threat. Encouraged to assimilate to white southern culture, many tribal members not only "passed" as fully assimilated but actually excelled in business, education, and other typically Anglo-European domains.

Instead of embracing the Cherokee and the other "civilized tribes," however, tensions with non-Native neighbors in Georgia actually rose as the Cherokee agricultural economy flourished and the Cherokee government became more regulated and similar to that of the United States (Wallace 1993). The only logical conclusion is that for their colonial neighbors, the importance of Native cultural assimilation quickly took a back

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seat to the unnerving threat of their economic and political viability. "The threat was not so much the savage, drunked Indian as the civilized one who… would beat the white man at his own game – raising cotton" (Wallace 1993:62). Even the emphasis on Christianization was eventually thrown asunder when missionaries, largely helping the Cherokee avoid removal, were essentially banned from Cherokee territory by an 1830 Georgia law (McBride 2006). The 1828 discovery of gold in Dahlonega, Georgia – within the bounds of Cherokee territory – accelerated not only greed but fears of Indian prosperity (Young 1982:384). So pervasive were these fears that not only were the Cherokee people banned from this section of their own territory, but the desire to remove them entirely quickly gained support from Georgians (Josephy 1994:325-326).

The Cherokee fought their removal both in the United States courts and in the court of public opinion, particularly campaigning for the support of government officials (Josephy 1994:329; Wallace 1993:93; Satz 1974:40-48). Non-Natives who sided with the Cherokee, at least insofar as they opposed their removal, often did so on the basis of their success in assimilating and becoming Christianized. A few of these allies, like Samuel Worcester, were missionaries who had personally lived among the Cherokee. However, the vast majority of removal opponents were Christians or politicians more removed from the region where removal would take place. Christian reformer Jeremiah Evarts (born in Vermont and residing in the northeast for his whole life) was a major opponent of the Indian Removal Act and Cherokee removal in particular. A group of Christian women from Steubenville Ohio, concerned over the rights violations of the Cherokee, petitioned against their removal early in 1830 (Memorial of the Ladies of Steubenville, Ohio 1830). Ralph Waldo Emerson, writing to Jackson's successor

President Martin Van Buren in 1838 from Massachusetts, insisted on "sympathy" for "the painful labors of these red men to redeem their own race" (Emerson 1838). "Both Houses of Congress were deluged by hundreds of petitions and memorials, solicited by religious groups and benevolent societies opposed to Indian removal. Town meetings were held, particularly in the Northern states, demanding justice for the Native Americans" (Wallace 1993:67).

In the political arena, New York Congressman Ambrose Spencer, Massachusetts Congressman Daniel Webster, and Kentucky Congressman Henry Clay all opposed Cherokee Removal (Satz 1974:39-40). New Jersey Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen spoke in Congress against the law, referring to the Natives that would be affected as their Indian "neighbors" (Prucha 1990:10). Future President Abraham Lincoln, still in Illinois, also opposed the act (Laws.com 2011). The geographically closest major political opponent of the act was Davy Crockett, who later lost reelection and promptly relocated to Texas (Berry n.d.:1).

Jackson himself fell back on negative Indian stereotypes to gain support for the Indian Removal Act and in particular the removal of the Cherokee. "In Jackson's own words, '[The Indian Removal Act] will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters.' Jackson painted a picture of the Cherokee as illiterate, uncivilized 'savage hunters' even though 90% of the Cherokee Nation could read and write in Cherokee (many could also read and write in English) and were farmers" (Berry n.d.:1). To the Cherokee and any other removal opponents he attempted to sell the removal as an opportunity to "cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community" although by almost every

visible trait they already embodied all of these ideals (Jackson 1830). To be sure, Jackson was grasping at straws; for a man who claimed to want Christianized Cherokee, he never even offered commentary when Georgia law prohibited missionary work with them (Satz 1974:50). The stereotypes he used in regard to the southeastern tribes were most acceptable to those colonists close enough to find the Natives around them either physically or economically dangerous – those living in "the southern states that were anxious to expel their Indian residents" – and their absurdity and contradictions were apparently more obvious to distant observers who felt no stress and perceived no threat from Cherokee successes (Satz 1974:50).

In his 1864 biography General Winfield Scott, who oversaw the military during Cherokee removal, describes them as generally attractive, civilized, well read, and often wealthy people. He notes particularly the intensity of Georgian hatred toward them: "Almost every Georgian, on leaving home, as well as after their arrival at New Echota, - the centre of the most populous district of the Indian territory - vowed never to return without having killed at least one Indian" (Scott 1864:319). He describes the "ferocious language" used in regard to the Cherokee and that such intense animosity "caused the Georgians to forget, or, at least, to deny that a Cherokee was a human being" (Scott 1864:319). The proximity of the Cherokee and their economic successes had resulted in the tribe being perceived by Georgians as a major threat to their own personal wellbeing.

After brutal removal of the majority of the southeastern tribes' populations, several decades passed before sympathy for the removed Natives emerged from the areas that had most strongly pressed for their removal. In the northeast, the growing presumption was that the local Native population was either long dead or in the process

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of dying out; in the southeast, the local Native communities were thought to be either removed or dying out (Baron et al. 1996; Doughton 1997; Thee 2006). The few remaining communities scattered throughout the southeast were forced to hide in relative silence much as the northeastern Native peoples had (Josephy 1994:331). Only after removal and "disappearance" seemed assured in the southeast did sympathetic accounts of the Trail of Tears begin to emerge.

Historic signs put up in the mid-1900s by the state of Georgia begin to represent a sympathetic account of the Cherokee. The 1954 sign in front of the John Ross home (put up before its recognition as a National Historic Landmark) describes how he "voluntarily chose exile with his people" and lost his wife during the removal (John Ross Home 1954). In the mid-1900s, just over a century after Cherokee removal, active efforts from non-Natives to commemorate Georgia's Native heritage began. In 1952 Georgia purchased from a private owner the home of Cherokee Chief James Vann, restoring it from 1958 to 1964 (About North Georgia 1994-2012). The New Echota site, formerly the Cherokee nation's capital, was dedicated as a state historic site in 1962 but explored as a potential state site beginning in the 1950s (New Echota Historic Site 2012). In 1971 the Chieftan's Museum opened in the former home of Major Ridge, the man who illegitimately signed the Treaty of New Echota and provided the federal government documentation to remove the Cherokee (About Chieftans Museum/Major Ridge Home 2012). In 1973 Cherokee Principal Chief John Ross's former home was declared a National Historic Landmark and listed not only as a "historic" and "political" site but also as a site of interest to "social/humanitarian" concerns (Levy 1973). It is interesting to note that the state of Georgia's interest in Cherokee heritage, particularly heritage

surrounding the removal period, began just before the more progressive politics of the

1960s (which were not wholeheartedly embraced throughout the south, in any case).

Given the racial tensions occurring in the state at this time, white guilt over past racism or

newfound progressive ideals as motivating factors for Cherokee commemoration seem

unlikely.

Today, the discomfiture over the state's treatment of the Cherokee is often present

in Georgia. Although most educational materials gloss over the details of the political

events and manipulations leading up to the Indian Removal Act and the Treaty of New

Echota (which was taken to officially gave "permission" to remove the Cherokees), they

do emphasize the harsh conditions on the Trail and the general unfairness of Cherokee

treatment. A website dedicated to the event and sponsored by the Georgia Department of

Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, describes it as "a sad story in our

history. It is a story of men, women, and children herded together and forced to march

more than a thousand miles to a new and different homeland" (Georgia Trail of Tears:

n.d.). It implores visitors to develop "a better understanding of this tragedy, as well as an

increased appreciation for Cherokee culture" and, to its credit, acknowledges Cherokee

communities in Oklahoma and North Carolina, as well as Cherokee family units

"throughout the southeast" (Georgia Trail of Tears: n.d.(2)). Another Georgia author

describes it as "a travesty and tragedy of both our Georgia history and our American

heritage" (Golden 2001-2012). The prevailing attitude of Georgians toward the Trail of

Tears today is one of, if not personal shame, a deep sense of general regret.

Again, the pattern aligns with the "perceived strain stereotype reaction." As the

Cherokees ceased to exert a strain in the minds of their concerned Southern neighbors,

and as physical violence against what few Cherokee were left had become unnecessary, stereotypes of the Cherokee as a "savage" group began to fade away (Jackson 1830). As they had in the northeast, more sympathetic stereotypes of the Cherokees as a pitiable, ill-fated people emerged only after what had been perceived as the Cherokee "threat" has been so sufficiently eliminated as to remove the psychological strain of those intimidated by Cherokees' successes.

Looking westward, this pattern of a "perceived strain stereotype reaction" repeats itself anew. As long as the Western front was still "wild," controlled by Native groups and not the descendants of colonizers, a warlike mentality of conquest allowed for Native people to be cast in the role of fearsome enemy. Even as the state of Georgia was just about to begin the process of confronting the tragedy of removal, citizens in western states were calling for less leniency with Native leaders and populations (Library of Congress n.d.). It is notable that after several massacres, local newspapers showed the greatest amount of support for the U.S. military, while east coast journalists and civil societies were often dismayed or more critical (Library of Congress n.d.).

The horrific Sand Creek massacre of 1864 is a prime example of this repeating dynamic. Local newspapers seemed pleased with the attack – described as a battle – despite disturbing eyewitness accounts from several soldiers who were uneasy with their role in it. "While the Sand Creek Massacre outraged easterners, it seemed to please many people in Colorado Territory" (Weiser 2011). Also of interest is that one soldier refused to allow his cavalry to fire on the camp and later testified against the massacre's leader Colonel Chivington; this soldier, Silas Soule, was an abolitionist who was not a local settler but originally hailed from Massachusetts. Soule was later assassinated.

Chivington himself, still admired enough in Colorado to occasionally perform Sand

Creek reenactments and to later have a town named for him, was thoroughly denounced

by the 1865 Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War (Weiser 2011).

Similarly, most public outrage over the Wounded Knee massacre came from

eastern non-Natives who, having grown accustomed to a great power advantage over the

scattered or hidden Native populations in their lands, must have come to see Natives

more as pitiful, backwards victims than as significant, savage threats (Phillips 2005; The

Okie Legacy 2012; Kawitzky 2006; DeMontravel 1986). Those living in the "wild" west

felt less comfortable with (or in control of) their Native neighbors. Unsure of their

safety, the stereotypes they offered of Native peoples were much closer to "savage" than

"noble savage."

The language frontier newspapers used in regard to the victims of the massacre is

reminiscent of 17th and early 18th century New England captivity narratives and accounts

of Indian raids. "Our only safety depends upon the total extermination of the Indians.

Having wronged them for centuries, we had better, in order to protect our civilization,

follow it up by one more wrong and wipe these untamed and untamable creatures from

the face of the earth. In this lies future safety for our settlers and the soldiers who are

under incompetent commands. Otherwise, we may expect future years to be as full of

trouble with the redskins as those have been in the past" (Baum 1891). Note that the

future author of "The Wizard of Oz" falls back on what seem to be older and are

definitely more brutal justifications for the stereotype of Indian savagery – they are

"untamable creatures," not unlike Cotton Mather's "dragons," whose innate

backwardness cannot be cured with anything other than extermination.

Compare this attitude on the massacre at Wounded Knee to the popularity of the book "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee" among non-Natives. The book, an account of the western front and particularly the Wounded Knee massacre sympathetic with Native American Indians, was first published in 1970, when Native activists were petitioning for basic individual and tribal rights. Already great strides in civil liberties had been made by those of African descent in the preceding decades, and the American population (largely driven by youth movements) seemed more tolerant and open to discussion. The activist efforts of the American Indian Movement (AIM) successfully demonstrated the historic and continued mistreatment of Native people by the United States government. The group's skillful interactions with the media initially garnered substantial sympathy from the American public, if not the FBI (We Shall Remain: Wounded Knee 2009; Nichols 2003:198-203). Several celebrities celebrities like Marlon Brando and Robert Redford threw their public support behind Native activist efforts, such as the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973 (We Shall Remain: Wounded Knee 2009). Though public attention was often high and positive toward Native activists during the beginning of a coordinated effort, before waning as the events carried on (as was the case with the Alcatraz occupation and the Wounded Knee occupation), it is clear that the media tended towards sympathy for the Native protestors and activists (Nichols 2003:198-203).

But perhaps the main reason for such large and somewhat unexpected outcries of support from so many members of the non-Native public was not newfound knowledge, guilt, or cultural open-mindedness; perhaps the reason for such public support is that it would be difficult, especially after acknowledging many of the devastating effects of racism, to deny Native activists their very basic requests when their communities were no

longer perceived as threatening to white society. In short, giving them what they

demanded would not constituted a significant strain for most members of the population

– in fact, it is likely that most could not imagine how changes in reservation policy or the

occupation of a historic prison like Alcatraz (before tours of it were even available to the

public) could possibly affect their lives or well-being (Alcatraz History 2011:5). Without

any perception of strain from these Native activists, no degradation into harsh name-

calling came from the general public.

Of course, this is not to imply that no progress had been made, and that many

white or non-Native Americans were not genuinely appalled by past and current

injustices against Native people. But we should also keep in mind that there was no great

progressive movement that altered Georgians' attitudes toward non-whites in the 1950s,

precisely when the state earnestly began commemorating and acknowledging the tragedy

of Cherokee removal. During the beginning of the activist movement, Native

communities were only beginning to petition for what most consider basic human rights –

they certainly were not prospering economically or politically, nor (from the non-Native

perspective) were they asking for "more" rights or acknowledgements than basically any

other American. What harm could come to non-Native communities by granting most of

these rights, or by at least attempting to work with the Native groups? Native threat was,

to most non-Natives' minds, nonexistent; and so the perceived risk of acknowledging

Native rights seemed minimal. The absence of tension over many of the Native activists'

appeals may have been a factor in many peoples' support of Native activism.

The biggest exception during this era was archaeologists whose work was thrown

into question by equal graves protection for Native people. Many of these archaeologists

did indeed fight against Native activists' efforts and, in fact, framed them as a threat to general human knowledge and betterment. It has not been a well-taken sentiment from people who have been referred to as savages, noble or otherwise, for too long. Some archaeologists compared the reburial of remains to book burnings (Bones of Contention: Native American Archaeology 1998). Others attacked the very basis of Native claims to ancestors, claiming that certain groups had "a weak claim to Indian identity" (SAA 2007). These archaeologists faced a high strain from Native activists – the possibility of their work being limited or being forced to change in new and unfamiliar ways – and behold! The "perceived strain stereotype reaction" emerges again, as brutal attacks were often launched against Native people from academics who were supposedly more open-minded, progressive, and understanding than the general public. Many archaeologists' ethical and philosophical attitudes were pitted against the strain of possible research limitations and, in many cases, ostensibly lost out to what they perceived as essential research and (self) preservation. "Repatriating materials to living Native American groups was interpreted [by some]… as a threat to the future of the discipline" (Wilcox 2010:180). Not only did many archaeologists react with stereotypes, but apparently felt secure enough to defend these stereotypes publicly.

The best realization to come from this debacle, though, is that not all archaeologists immediately fell into condemnatory Native stereotypes in order to defend themselves from a perceived threat. It is possible that many reevaluated their perceptions of a threat and found that no great threat to their work existed – or perhaps believed that repatriation was the correct ethical choice even in face of threats to their work. Some concluded that exciting opportunities for engagement were being presented through

repatriation. The reasons that many archaeologists supported repatriation have not been ascertained in this thesis, but their support of repatriation when many of their peers felt deeply offended and threatened by it is undeniably of interest. Of course, there have always been individuals who, for whatever reasons, questioned the prevailing attitudes of their time. Speaking of "the colonists" throughout this thesis, then, is not meant to stereotype every individual colonist; rather, it is a term used to draw attention to generally held beliefs among a group of people who were active in the movement to spread into Native lands (the "New" World). Throughout British colonial and United States history there were certainly individuals who significantly bucked the conventions of their times on the subject of Native people; and in fact, many early New England area colonists joined Native communities, to the horror of the colonists they had left behind, and were loath to rejoin to English colonial society (Lepore 1999; Demos 1994:99). Using the term "colonists" as a generalization to refer to non-Native inhabitants of the present day United States, fully aware that not every member of this group will conform to the behavior of the others, is simply meant to draw attention to the continuities and discontinuities of popular, widely observed American portrayals of the (also constructed) group "Native American Indians" across the breadth of U.S. history. As for those individuals grouped here as "colonists" who did *not* conform to disrespectful portrayals or treatments of Native people, we can take their historical and contemporary examples to heart as evidence that harmful stereotypes need not always be used as a "go-to" attack or used in interactions between culturally distinct groups or individuals.

For quite some time now in popular culture, misguided but well-meaning people have offered a noble savage image in an attempt to combat the wild west movies still

popular even beyond the 1950s; "from historic depictions of Indians as uncivilized primal men and winsome women belonging to a savage culture, to present day Indians as mystical environmentalists" (Mihesuah 1996:13). One example of a "mystical Native environmentalist" is the 1971 "Crying Indian" commercial to raise awareness of Earth Day (Advertising Educational Foundation 2003). It was certainly meant to be sympathetic, tapping into Americans' consciousness to coax guilt over despicable U.S. Native American Indian policies and European descendants' treatment of the land. This use of a "noble savage" character followed in a long tradition of primitivism which was expanded in the late 1600s and early 1700s to include the inhabitants of the "New World" thanks to authors like Montaigne, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot (Berkhofer 1979:95-99). At this time, the idea of a "noble savage," used by social and political reformers, was contrasted with the idea of a "savage," used by the reformers' opponents; but even after these images of Native people ceased to be used "as a polemic" they continued on in "literature and imaginative works," with slight alterations to suit the creators' visions (Berkhofer 1979:102-104). Of course, even the most romantic or sympathetic noble savage imagery is ultimately unhelpful and stereotypical itself, because victimization, guilt, and pity have never been the goals of Native people – and of course, without Native participation and input, many well intentioned educational materials that bemoan the history of Native American Indians have been guilty of spreading misinformation, bad historical work, or incorrect assumptions passed as truths (Mihesuah 1996:15).

D. Continued/Modern Stereotyping

Unfortunately, both the "savage" stereotype and the "noble savage" stereotypes have persisted well into contemporary times. If we take a cue from the above history of

Native American stereotypes in the United States, we should expect to see the "perceived strain stereotype reaction" repeating itself in contemporary media. This means that some variation of the "savage" stereotype would most likely emerge from places with high levels of historic and/or contemporary conflict between Natives and non-Natives, and the "noble savage" stereotype would most likely emerge from places where non-Native perceptions of Native threat have been low for some time. Of course, widespread popular media makes one writer or creator's perception of Native people appear on television screens across the country, and high rates of mobility also complicate regional attitudes toward Native American Indians. Still, many of the media creators discussed in this thesis admittedly "write what they know" and in such cases it is likely that the regional attitudes of Natives from their hometowns – which usually are still the hometowns of their families and friends – shine through. Several shows examined in this thesis with heavily featured settings were based on creators' experiences. To list a handful of prominent examples, King of the Hill co-creator Mike Judge based the setting of Arlen, Texas on Richardson, Texas and his experiences in New Mexico and Texas; Family Guy creator Seth MacFarlane based the show's location around real Rhode Island landmarks that he was acquainted with after several years residing in Providence, R.I.; South Park creators Matt Stone and Trey Parker based the little town of South Park off of the real town of Fairplay in Colorado, their home state; Seinfeld creators Larry David and Jerry Seinfeld both grew up in New York, where the show is set; the Mercy Thompson book series takes place partly in Montana, where author Patricia Briggs was raised (Shattuck 2009, Bartlett 2007, Griffiths 2007, Biography 2012 and Biography 2012(2), Hurog: Patty: Biography 2011). It is interesting to note that many of these creators made an

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effort to bring eastern set locations to their media. Other media, in which the settings change every episode (such as The X-Files, Bones, The Mentalist, Forensic Files, Touched by an Angel, Criminal Minds, or any travel shows) or in which the settings are dictated by real events (like Eight Below), are harder to track to creators' own experiences. However, the regions and places where Native characters appear, particularly in shows that change setting every episode, can provide insight into where creators and writers believe real Native people are, and therefore where Native characters should be.

When might non-Native communities feel threatened by Native populations today, or when might tensions between the two populations run high? Although there are cases where communities perceive dangerous conditions near reservation areas, for the most part the perceived Native threat today is hardly ever a physical or military one. What seems to be alarming to non-Natives is often the possibility of a Native economic advantage, as Native nations attempt to become economically self-supporting and self-sustaining, or in some cases the exercise of Native sovereignty which is also often perceived as "special treatment" (The Polish Wolf 2011). Where non-Natives feel threatened or disadvantaged by Native economic strategies, it is likely that tensions between Natives and non-Natives will run high, as it has been demonstrated that they have historically when any Native threat has been perceived.

E. Sustained Concern from Native Communities

One important reason to examine in depth the current stereotypes of U.S. Native people and why they shift or take on particular characteristics, depending on different

situations, beyond just a better theoretical understanding of how stereotypes operate, is discomfort from Native peoples and communities. Native people are concerned about the stereotypes of their communities, often about how those stereotypes are creating stereotype threats for their children's well-being or how they are affecting the general public relations of their tribes (Driving Hawk Sneve 2003; Strickland 1989).

How important is the media in the lives of Native people? A survey conducted by Indian Country Today in October 2000, which polled 450 American Indian opinion leaders and asked what they believed was the primary cause of anti-Indian sentiment, found that approximately 45% laid the blame on media stereotypes (Schmidt 2007). Media stereotypes beat out what were identified as two other primary causes of anti-Indian sentiment; the U.S. government received 33% of the votes, and systemic racism received 22% of the votes (Schmidt 2007). Additionally, various Native American Indian accounts of cultural alienation in mainstream American public schools acknowledge a lack of culturally sensitive media material as one of the main problems in relating to their peers and instructors (Children Now 1999, Coeyman 2003). So while some individuals might miss the harmful effects of Native stereotypes in mainstream media, writing them off as silly fun or unbelievable fantasy, they are of serious concern to many Native people and to anyone interested in the products of stereotypes (Schmidt 2007; Driving Hawk Sneve 2003; Strickland 1989).

F. Conclusion: Morphing or Newly Emerging Native Stereotypes

The recognition of developing popular stereotypes is therefore important for a number of pressing reasons. As stated in Chapter I, even "positive" stereotypes might in

certain circumstances constitute a stereotype threat, particularly for school-aged children; more explicitly negative stereotypes certainly do (Crocker et al. 1998; Swim and Stangor 1998; Eccles 1994; Eccles and Wigfield 2002; Thoman et al. 2008; Beilock and McConnell 2004; Picho and Brown 2011; Von Hippel et al. 2011; Keller 2007; Cadinu 2011). Being able to quickly identify and flag certain portrayals of Native people as misinformed and politically motivated stereotypes will be a helpful ability for the practices of avoiding their usage and actively teaching to correct them.

Additionally, encouraging the public to see the regional and sociopolitical motivations behind stereotypes helps to dispel their "believability." Calling attention to the motivations and misconceptions of those who propagate such stereotypes equally undermines their credibility. Finally, as many tribes work diligently to have their sovereignty recognized and to become increasingly economically successful, correcting the misinformation of Native stereotypes and exposing their biases against any perceived forms of Native strength and prosperity will be a necessity when defending the rights of Native nations.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND BOUNDARIES OF THE DATA FOR THE THESIS

A. Opening: Delimitations of the Thesis

This section will outline the delimitations of the research conducted for this thesis. Only recent, popular media with contemporary Native characters from within the current boundaries of the United States were examined, with the reasons for these delimitations outlined in Sections B and C. Methods of identifying the media are highlighted in Section D.

B. Recent Popular Media within the United States

The primary goal of this thesis is to aid in understanding mainstream images and stereotypes that are being promulgated about contemporary Native American Indians, typically by non-Natives in creative industries. In order to keep the focus contemporary, both older and current historic dramas and westerns were not analyzed. However, the history of Native American Indian stereotypes was explored, particularly as they have been expressed in popular media; the current stereotypes of historic and contemporary Native people in the media are linked to historical prejudice and centuries of media stereotyping (Berkhofer 1979; Stedman 1982). For this reason, historical background has been provided throughout the thesis to give context to the contemporary stereotypes discussed forthwith. Therefore what is presented in this thesis should offer an overview of the images of fully contemporary, 20$^{\text{th}}$ and 21$^{\text{st}}$ century Native people currently being provided to audiences through mainstream American media. Depictions of the past are often skewed in particular ways – and the manipulation of history can certainly serve

specific functions – but my interest lies in how non-Natives are portraying their Native contemporaries.

Shoddy historical work may potentially be excused away by the creators of the media discussed in this thesis, as they may claim that no one can know with certainty what "really happened" without being present themselves, having corroborating accounts, or relying on time-consuming research of artifactual evidence. Yet depictions of living peoples, who are present throughout the United States (where most of the filming and research for these materials is done), should be far less difficult. If accuracy was a focus in mainstream entertainment, audiences might therefore expect to see more informed accounts and less simple stereotypes of contemporary Native characters. Unfortunately, accuracy typically takes a back seat to entertainment value, based on what audiences are expected to enjoy watching or reading. Hence, depictions of Natives are based less in real interactions and more on how (non-Native) or audiences would like to (or are expected to enjoy seeing) various Native peoples depicted. Certainly this can and has been said for depictions of other marginalized or minority groups (Chung 2007; Shah 2003; Lee et al. 2009).

In order to keep a focus on depictions of contemporary Native people and to narrow the breadth of the research, only "recent" popular media from the last approximately twenty years has been included. This focus on the contemporary will tell us what the "TV Indian" of this generation looks like.

Because stereotypes are usually sweeping – that is, held by groups or large numbers of people – popular or mainstream media was the focus of the thesis. To

determine if something was popular, ratings were examined, the numbers of internet search results for the media's name were viewed, run-times of television shows and serials were taken into account, and both Native and non-Native acquaintances were asked about their familiarity with the media. These perspectives on what is popular or not popular reflect a desire to focus on stereotypes about Native people held by non-Native people (or even some Native people, as Native communities and individuals can hold divergent opinions of each other and of themselves). They also reflect some personal or situational bias for what is popular; despite asking as wide a circle of individuals as possible, it was not possible to go far beyond friends, family, and acquaintances, or to gauge popularity across every region of the United States.

Video games were excluded from the thesis due to their often ambiguous physical and temporal settings and the difficulty of uncovering the potential pop cultural environments of their creators (as many video games originate in Japan, or have cross-cultural teams working on different components of game design). News reports were also eliminated from systematic study due to the difficulty of tracking and analyzing every televised or printed piece involving Native people; however, news sources (including unfiltered online comments) were perused to gauge local political attitudes toward local Native tribes. By limiting our gaze solely to an examination of contemporary "pop" media images, we can better understand current and projected shifts in the depictions of todays' Native people in American pop culture.

C. Focus on Native American Indians within the United States

Only United States media has been considered in order to examine any ongoing stereotype trends significant to historic U.S. Indian policies and rhetoric, applicable regional developments, and social movements. Although the national boundary is one imposed on Native peoples, it nevertheless has been significant in determining which policies were applied to which Native nations. Even an inaccurate, "outsider" designated label like "American Indian" – formed on the basis of racial classification – becomes significant when it has the power to group, separate, and determine the treatment of people (d'Errico 1998; Stedman:1982: xvii; Berkhofer 1979:14-15).

There is also a fairly staunch divide between the popular television of the United States and its national neighbors to the north and south, often due to differences in programming or syndication issues. Movies and books reported on here have travelled across countries more easily, but the popularity of certain television shows (and the timeliness of their popularity) is important and specific to the United States' viewing audience. For instance, some shows that are currently syndicated in Canada (like Northern Exposure) are no longer anywhere to be found on channels available in the United States; and some shows that were not greatly successful in the United States have had only limited viewership abroad (such as Wolf Lake) (Aboriginal Peoples Television Network 2012(2), Wikepedia: Wolf Lake 2012). Keeping the gaze within the United States' regions therefore made practical sense when discussing how regional conditions and stereotypes seep into pop culture media.

The "perceived strain stereotype reaction" theory is based around regional perceptions of and responses to Native people. Although there are some overarching national themes for the United States – such as the savage and the noble savage, the concept of Manifest Destiny and the dying "race" of Natives – which of these nationally familiar stereotypes or tropes are utilized depends heavily on regional attitudes. The people of a certain area, based on their perceptions of Native threat to their economy, lives, or even lifestyles, will selectively choose from a litany of national and regional stereotypes those stereotypes which are most useful for their situation (as they see it). Where Native threat is perceived to be high, the stereotypes will be more explicitly negative and violent (like the wild savage stereotype); where Native threat is perceived to be low, the stereotypes will be less violent (like the noble savage stereotype). When judging the Native population of a region that is not their own, most non-Native individuals' level of perceived strain is likely to lower and allow for less explicitly negative stereotypes – except perhaps in cases where they believe that Native activity in one area will spark unfavorable Native activity in their own area, again raising their perceived strain about future interactions with Native people.

Therefore, the locality of media settings can point to areas that can be expected to have high level of perceived strain between the non-Native and Native populations. Where stereotypes are more vicious – i.e., more aggressive, solicitous of violence, and blatantly anti-Indian – we expect that some treat from the Natives in that area is perceived. Where stereotypes are less vicious, we can predict that the Native there are not perceived as being a threat, either to local non-Native residents or to more distant non-Native individuals. When the media is set in the creator's hometown or home state,

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we can often guess that he or she is repeating the local attitudes about Native people that he or she learned, as the creator is clearly (and often explicitly) following the adage "write what you know" (Shattuck 2009, Bartlett 2007, Griffiths 2007). As Americans from every region from the United States become involved in popular media production, the selective use of historical or national stereotypes in certain regions seeps into contemporary popular culture.

D. Discussion of Specific Data

Materials were identified through conversations with Native and non-Native individuals, internet searches, and in-person tours of media chain-retail stores. Because no complete scholarly or non-scholarly compendium of contemporary Native characters in media exists, this thesis attempted to thoroughly collect all popular examples in television, film, and book series from the last twenty years. Most of the media examined in this thesis was quickly recognizable as either popular or obscure through the methods identified above. However, a few are included that do have a smaller but devoted "cult" following.

Every television show or series, book or book series, or movie included in this thesis features one or more contemporary Native characters, either recurring or in a single issue. Shows, films, and books were coded for significant components or traits. A full list of the media examined for this thesis is included in Appendix A. Any aspect – for example, use of a particular term in relation to Native people, a setting like a Native casino, or the ability to shapeshift – which appeared in two or more shows was noted, and then every show was coded or retroactively coded, and recorded for that particular trait.

A full list of traits that all media were coded for, as well as specifics on how each trait was defined and identified, is listed in Appendix B.

Each show had its setting identified through directly imparted information, context clues, printed interviews with creators, shooting locations, or other applicable details. While a few shows have generalized locations, most have been tracked to within at least a general region of a state. Locations of media are listed in Appendix A, as well as the dates for all media. Timelines were noted for each show, but did not yield significant results in regard to coded traits or frequency of the setting – with the exception of the Pacific Northwest region, which was a favored location for settings and film shooting in the early to mid-1990s, and later experienced a resurgence in popularity during the mid-2000s in conjunction with the publication of the Twilight book series.

E. Conclusion

This thesis essentially interrogates how (and why) contemporary Native characters look, act, and sound the way that they do in recent popular media. After trends were identified, the 58 media were grouped in a variety of ways – from north to south, east to west, older to more recent, and by genre – in order to see if any larger patterns were present which might constitute stereotypes. As it became clear that they did constitute stereotypes, the specific stereotypes were explored and their purpose was questioned. The next Chapter presents the results of the media analysis, and Chapters Five and Six offer in depth explorations of the results and explanations for why contemporary Native characters are being portrayed in the ways described below.

CHAPTER IV

INTRODUCTION TO DATA FINDINGS

A. Opening

The data findings in this Chapter and the two following Chapters are organized
into two regions: the east and the west. This Chapter will provide context for the
discussion of stereotypes of eastern and western set Native characters in recent popular
media. Section B will provide an overview of the colonization of the current United
States as seen in popular American culture. Section C addresses the intent of such a
starkly divided representation, and Section D describes the original impetus to group the
media into the two regions of east and west. Section E provides the findings of the media
analysis. Finally, Section F discusses the data's bifurcation into east and west.

B. Discussion of the Disparate Geography of U.S. Colonization

The data findings below are organized into two Chapters, one on the east and one
on the west. There are several reasons for this bifurcation. The first is the chronology of
European settlement that has formed the basis of the modern United States. Of course,
early expeditions have been documented or artifactually suggested across current U.S.
borders. The extent of trading routes with other peoples Native to the Americas as well
as peoples not Native to the Americas is still not fully known, contact with Chinese
exploration vessels is still a possibility, and of course, there were certainly Spanish
expeditions across the southeast and southwest long before the areas were settled by
largely English descendants (Menzies 2008, Nichols 2003:26-54). History presents us

with interactions between various Native and non-Native groups that are far less geographically "neat" than simple east-to-west waves of colonial settlement.

But written into United States history is a westward march, begun with Massachusetts and Virginian colonies on the east coast (Horsman 1968:24). The colonies, after the American Revolution, formed the thirteen original states on the east coast, whose populations encroached Native lands and increasingly pushed into western territories (Horsman 1968:24). Even the founding fathers had their eyes set to western expansion; Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase showed the importance he placed on western acquisition, such that he likely broke the country's laws to ensure it (Wallace 1993:39; Brown 1920:14-35). After the development of the United States of America as a national entity, a steady push to expand U.S. borders (particularly past the Mississippi River and beyond) is evident. Popular media still reflects this westward march as part of American history and the development of the United States.

C. Theoretical Discussion of Geographical Stereotypes and Representations

Just as the term "Native American" or "American Indian" signifies a non-Native distinction artificially thrust upon various Native peoples with important consequences, the division in this thesis into east coast Native peoples and western Native peoples also signifies a divide constructed by Anglo-European actions and imaginations and that does not stem from Native communities themselves (d'Errico 1998; Stedman:1982:xvii; Berkhofer 1979:14-15). Nevertheless, this division does exist in the pop culture media, and by extension in the minds of at least those involved in the creation of the media, and so it must be discussed in this manner. In describing the geographical patterns evident in

popular contemporary media, it is necessary to speak of the east and the west more separately than would otherwise be accurate, in order to represent what that media displays.

Replicating an east/west distinction is not meant to strengthen it. Rather, it is intended, by drawing attention to the regional political motivations and misunderstandings that comprise and give definition to this bifurcation in Native representations, that the legitimacy of both the stereotypes and their regional separatism will be foundationally shaken.

D. Justification for Geographic Presentation

The decision to write about representations about the east and west, separately, was made after media was coded. In other words, the division was guided by images in the media and was not presumed going into the media coding. Other ways of classifying the media – north to south, or chronologically – did not produce any meaningful patterns. Appendix B lists all patterns, occurrences, or trends that each media item was coded for; none of these presented clear regional patterns when media was organized from north to south. Several patterns were identified when media was grouped east to west, and so the data taken from media coding guided the presentation that follows.

Despite the cultural divide between non-Native southerners and northerners, made all the more extreme in popular media, the coded media seemed to pay no heed to this divide and rather presented strong trends for eastern Native characters and different strong trends for western Native characters (Hamilton 2009:54-55; Cox 2009). Why is there a divide running east to west, but not north to south, in depictions of Native

characters? This divide may well be part of a historically informed progression of the United States' perceptions of Native people, from the early encounters in the country's British colonial beginnings on the east coast to the interactions of Natives with "all-American" pioneers on the western side of the Mississippi (which occurred after the existence of the United States).

As the northeastern colonies gained ground over Native populations through warfare, massacres, and diseases to which Native people had no immunity, the colonists perceived a lesser threat from Natives and the increasingly sympathetically framed depictions of Natives reflected this newfound confidence on the colonists' dominant position (We Shall Remain: After the Mayflower 2009; Nichols 2003:52; Ellis 2011). As their perceived strain decreased, their stereotypes of Natives became less violent (though still filled with assumptions and manipulations). Southern colonies, too, increased control over Native populations enough to feel comfortable dubbing them "civilized" tribes – at least until some of them began to present economic threats to neighboring Anglo-Americans, who were then predisposed to contradict themselves and grasp at earlier "savage" stereotypes (Jackson 1830; Scott 1864:319). According to the theory of a "perceived strain stereotype reaction," post-Removal, the southern states could stop insisting on such stereotypes about the Cherokee; they had played their part. After Removal, to the minds of many Georgians the Natives were no longer a threat to be denounced, but a vanquished people to be, perhaps, pitied.

Though the eastern states were relatively stable in relation to the Native people in their areas by the mid-1800s, the western march presented new "uncharted" territory potentially full of "wild" Indians – and consider that in this phase of exploration, the

United States as a fledgling nation would be sending out caravans of pioneer families with no sprawling Empire for support should relations with the Natives threaten the westward march (Josephy 1984:74). It is little wonder that the perceived strain of potential Native hostility was high for these Americans, and the potential threat of Natives justified (in their minds) the use violent stereotypes about them, which then acted back upon the treatment of Native people (Josephy 1984:74). Traveling west of the Mississippi River signaled a renewed age of exploration and colonialism, this time undertaken by a smaller and less established nation.

Keeping in mind this historical divide between eastern colonies-turned-states and those areas of the United States explored after the establishment of the original thirteen colonies and their split from the British Empire can help us understand that the history of relations between British colonists and Native people in the United States presents itself as an east-to-west march. Chronologically, colonization began in the northeast and moved to the southeast; but the timeline of the establishment of the thirteen original colonies is less important to most Americans than the timeline of those colonies' collective independence from Britain and the pioneers' westward march; these events are part of the national history that informs American identity, as evidenced by their reenactments (particularly around Independence Day).

The presentation of an eastern section followed by a western section mirrors this east-to-west progression of colonial and Native relations, concomitantly reflecting the trends that presented themselves in the popular media.

E. Discussion of the Data

The next two Chapters will discuss in detail the traits which emerged in the east and those which emerged in the west. All shows from Appendix A were analyzed for traits from Appendix B. Where a trait was unclear, or was present but in an unusual circumstance, a note has been made by that trait. Every trait listed in Appendix B makes an appearance either in Table 1 for an eastern set show, film, or book, or in Table 2 for a western set show, film, or book. However, some traits appear only a handful of times while others are recurring, particularly in either the "east" region or the "west" region, upholding the east/west division previously discussed.

Table 1 shows the occurrence of trends in each media set in the east. Note that casinos, humor as a major theme, trickery, wealth, Native-failed ceremonies, and misappropriated ceremonies/"shamanism" were common to shows set in this area.

TABLE 1: TRAITS OF EASTERN SET MEDIA

Show Titles:	Traits Exhibited:
Family Guy, "The Son Also Draws"	2+ Characters, Casinos, Humor (Major Theme), Native-Failed Ceremony, Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism," Wealth, Native Greed, Whites as Indians/Traits, Alcoholism, Trickery, Regalia, White Guilt, Tourism
We Shall Remain, "After the Mayflower" (contemporary pieces)	2+ Characters, Government Distrust, Land Issues, Anthropologists
Seinfeld, "The Cigar Store Indian"	Humor (Major Theme), Reservations (*for restaurants-wordplay)
A Gifted Man, "In Case of Separation Anxiety"	Recurring Character, Successful Ceremony, Supernatural Beings (Not Native Ghosts or Aliens)
Law and Order: SVU, "Outsider," "Alternate"-"Cold"	Recurring Character (*season 9 only), Government Distrust, Native Criminal Activity, Native Police/Government Employee/Military, Martial Arts
Criminal Minds, "Tabula Rasa"	2+ Characters, Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism," Secrecy/Privacy, Native

	Criminal Activity
The Glades, "Honey"	2+ Characters, Casinos, Wealth, Native Greed, Reservations, Alcoholism, Tourism, Land Issues, Native Criminal Activity, Native Police/Government Employee/Military
We Shall Remain, "Tecumseh's Vision" (contemporary pieces)	2+ Characters, Poverty, Government Distrust, Alcoholism, Land Issues
The Simpsons, "Bart to the Future"	Casinos, Humor (Major Theme), Successful Ceremony, Native Greed, Reservations, Trickery
The Simpsons, "Little Big Girl"	2+ Native Characters, Humor (Major Theme), Whites as Indians/Traits, Trickery, Regalia, Tourism, Education/Degrees
Parks and Recreation, "Harvest Festival"	Humor (Major Theme), Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism," Museums, Artifacts (Including Bones), Government Distrust, Trickery, Regalia, White Guilt, Tourism, Land Issues, Native Ghosts,
Bizarre Foods with Andrew Zimmern, "Minnesota"	2+ Native Characters, Reservations, Regalia,

Table 2 shows trends for each western set media. Major trends unique to the

western set media were: shapeshifting and skinwalkers, Native ghosts, extraterrestrials, or

other supernatural beings, successful ceremonies, poverty, activism (real or suspected),

secrecy/privacy, stories/oral tradition/"legends," tracking ability, and anthropologists.

TABLE 2: TRAITS OF WESTERN SET MEDIA

Show Titles:	Traits Exhibited:
King of the Hill	Recurring/Main Character, Casinos, Humor (Major Theme), Poverty, Government Distrust, Whites as Indians/Traits, Trickery, Regalia, Tourism, Land Issues
Walker, Texas Ranger background episodes	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Poverty, Museums, Artifacts (Including Bones), Activism Real, Government Distrust, Secrecy/Privacy, Whites as Indians/Traits, Reservations, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Regalia, Tourism, Tracking Ability, Native Criminal Activity (*activism), Native Police/Government Employee/Military, Education/Degrees, Martial Arts

Walker, Texas Ranger, "Team Cherokee"	2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Poverty, Activism Real, Reservations, Native Criminal Activity (*one character)
Saving Grace	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Supernatural Beings (Not Native Ghosts or Aliens), Native Police/Government Empolyee/Military
We Shall Remain, "Trail of Tears" (contemporary pieces)	2+ Characters, Poverty, Government Distrust, Reservations, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Land Issues, Anthropologists, Education/Degrees
Smallville, "Skinwalker"	2+ Characters, Activism Real, Activism Suspected, Secrecy/Privacy, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Land Issues, Shapeshifting, Skinwalkers, Aliens
We Shall Remain, "Wounded Knee" (contemporary pieces)	2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Poverty, Activism Real, Government Distrust, "Wounded Knee," Reservations, Alcoholism, Regalia, White Guilt, Land Issues, Education/Degrees
Western Sky Loan commercials	2+ Characters, Poverty, Wealth, Native Greed
South Park, "Red Man's Greed"	2+ Characters, Casinos, Humor (Major Theme), Native-Failed Ceremony, Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism," Wealth, Native Greed, Trickery, Regalia, Land Issues
South Park, "A History Channel Thanksgiving"	Humor (Major Theme), Whites as Indians/Traits (*a 1/16th "fake" Indian), Regalia
South Park, "Cartman's Mom Is a Dirty Slut"	2+ Characters, Humor (Major Theme), Whites as Indians/Traits, Reservations, Regalia
The X-Files, "Shapes"	2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Activism Real, Government Distrust, "Wounded Knee," Secrecy/Privacy, Whites as Indians/Traits, Reservations, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Regalia, Land Issues, Shapeshifting, Native Police/Government Employee/Military
Forensic Files, "Four on the Floor"	2+ Characters, Reservations, Alcoholism (*bar), Native Police/Government Employee/Military
Criminal Minds, "The Tribe"	2+ Characters, Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism," Poverty, Activism Real, Activism Suspected, Government Distrust, "Wounded Knee," Whites as Indians/Traits (*not condoned), Reservations, Land Issues, Native Police/Government Employee/Military, Education/Degrees
The X-Files, "Anasazi," "The Blessing Way," "Paperclip"	2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Government Distrust, Secrecy/Privacy, Reservations, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Regalia, Aliens
Scoundrels, "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary"	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Casinos, Humor (Major Theme), Poverty, Reservations, Native Criminal Activity

Tony Hillerman novels	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism," Poverty, Wealth, Reservations, Skinwalkers, Native Ghosts, Supernatural Beings (Not Native Ghosts or Aliens) (*potentially), Native Criminal Activity, Native Police/Government Employee/Military
Touched By an Angel, "Written in Dust"	2+ Characters, Museums, Artifacts (Including Bones), Government Distrust, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Land Issues, Native Ghosts, Supernatural Beings (Not Native Ghosts or Aliens), Native Police/Government Employee/Military, Education/Degrees
Renegade	Recurring/Main Character, Successful Ceremony, Activism Real, Government Distrust, Secrecy/Privacy, Reservations, Regalia, Tracking Ability, Native Criminal Activity (*hiding an innocent suspect), Native Police/Government Employee/Military, Motorcycles
Bizarre Foods with Andrew Zimmern, "Arizona"	2+ Characters, Secrecy/Privacy (*remote area), Reservations, Land Issues
Medium, "Native Tongue"	2+ Characters, Poverty, Wealth, Secrecy/Privacy, Reservations, Alcoholism, Supernatural Beings (Not Native Ghosts or Aliens), Anthropologists, Native Criminal Activity
Joe Dirt	Poverty, Reservations, Tracking Ability
Sons of Tucson, "Kisses and Beads"	Humor (Major Theme), Poverty, Native Greed, Trickery, White Guilt, Tourism
We Shall Remain, "Geronimo" (contemporary pieces)	2+ Characters, Poverty, Government Distrust, Reservations, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Land Issues, Anthropologists, Native Police/Government Employee/Military
Big Love	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Casinos, Tourism
The Mentalist, "Aingavite Baa"	2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Poverty, Government Distrust, Reservations, Regalia, Tourism, Land Issues, Native Criminal Activity, Native Police/Government Employee/Military
Access Hollywood (with Tony Potts)	Recurring/Main Character
Up All Night, "New Car"	Humor (Major Theme), Poverty, Shapeshifting, Native Ghosts
The Dudesons, "Cowboys and Findians"	Casinos, Humor (Major Theme), Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism," Whites as Indians/Traits, Regalia (*costume), Tourism
Sons of Anarchy	2+ Characters, Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism," Poverty, Government Distrust, Reservations, Native Criminal Activity,

	Motorcycles
Numb3rs, "Bones of Contention"	Casinos, Wealth, Native Greed, Museums, Artifacts (Including Bones), Activism Real, Government Distrust, Reservations, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Land Issues, Anthropologists, Native Criminal Activity, Native Police/Government Employee/Military, Education/Degrees
Mercy Thompson series	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Reservations, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Shapeshifting, Skinwalkers, Native Ghosts, Supernatural Beings (Not Native Ghosts or Aliens)
Smoke Signals	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Poverty, Government Distrust, Reservations, Alcoholism, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends"
Bones, "The Man in the Bear"	Successful Ceremony, Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism," Poverty, Government Distrust, "Wounded Knee," Whites as Indians/Traits, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Land Issues, Tracking Ability, Anthropologist, Native Criminal Activity, Native Police/Government Employee/Military
Twin Peaks	Recurring/Main Character, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," White Guilt, Tourism, Supernatural Beings (Not Native Ghosts or Aliens), Tracking Ability, Native Police/Government Employee/Military
Wolf Lake	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Secrecy/Privacy, Reservations, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Land Issues, Shapeshifting, Skinwalkers, Native Police/Government Employee/Military
Twilight series	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Secrecy/Privacy, Reservations, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Land Issues, Shapeshifting, Supernatural Beings (Not Native Ghosts or Aliens)
Free Willy and Free Willy 2	Recurring/Main Character, Activism (Real), Tourism, Land Issues, Native Criminal Activity (*activism)
Northern Exposure	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Wealth (*one character), Secrecy/Privacy, Regalia, Tourism
The Simpsons Movie	Humor (Major Theme), Successful Ceremony, Alcoholism, Regalia
Eight Below	Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends"
Deadliest Catch, "Tribute to Phil Harris"	

Hawaii Five-0	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Native Criminal Activity, Native Police/Government Employee/Military
Samantha Brown, "Girl Meets Hawaii"	2+ Characters, Successful Ceremony, Stories/Oral Tradition/"Legends," Regalia, Tourism, Land Issues
Samantha Brown's Great Weekends, "Hawaii"	Tourism, Land Issues
Lilo and Stitch	Recurring/Main Character, 2+ Characters, Poverty, Government Distrust, Regalia, Tourism, Aliens

Some features were somewhat common to shows in both locations (2+ Characters, Whites as Indians/Traits, Alcoholism, Regalia, White Guilt, Tourism, and Land Issues) while others were not significant in either area (Martial Arts, Motorcycles, "Redskins/Red" and "Scalping").

Trends in linguistic practices, which also presented geographically and will be discussed in the following chapters, were charted in Tables 3 and 4 for the eastern and western set shows, respectively.

Eastern set shows had higher rates of mockery of Native accents and languages, low occurrences of Native languages (translated or untranslated), accents for Native characters that were neither standard American accents nor identifiably Native accents, as well as more jokes (which is to be expected given that humor as a major theme occurs mostly in the eastern set shows).

TABLE 3: LANGUAGE TRAITS OF EASTERN SET MEDIA

Show Titles:	Language Traits Exhibited:
Family Guy, "The Son Also Draws"	Animal-Based Name, Native Accent, Non-Native Accent (*Italian-American), Mock Sounds Native Languages (Non-Natives), Indian Name Joke
We Shall Remain, "After the Mayflower" (contemporary	Animal-Based Name, Native Language Translated

pieces)	
Seinfeld, "The Cigar Store Indian"	Mock Sounds Native Languages (Non-Natives), "Scalping" (*for tickets-wordplay)
A Gifted Man, "In Case of Separation Anxiety"	Native Language Untranslated
Law and Order: SVU, "Outsider," "Alternate"- "Cold"	Native Accent
Criminal Minds, "Tabula Rasa"	Native Accent
The Glades, "Honey"	Animal-Based Name, Non-Native Accents by Natives (*African American Vernacular English)
We Shall Remain, "Tecumseh's Vision" (contemporary pieces)	Animal-Based Name, Non-Native Accents by Natives (*Southern)
The Simpsons, "Bart to the Future"	Native Accent, Native Broken English, Mock Sounds Native Languages (Non-Natives), Indian Name Joke, "Scalping"
The Simpsons, "Little Big Girl"	Animal-Based Name, Non-Native Broken English/Mock Native, Mock Sounds Native Languages (Non-Natives), Indian Name Joke
Parks and Recreation, "Harvest Festival"	Native Accent, Native Language Translated, Mock Sounds Native Languages (Non-Natives) (*in this case by a Native character)
Bizarre Foods with Andrew Zimmern, "Minnesota"	Native Accent, Non-Native Accents by Natives (*possible Minnesotan accent)

In contrast, the language traits of western set media were a much higher

prevalence of Native languages, either translated for the audience or untranslated, less

mockery of Native accents and languages, and very few accents that were not either a

standard American accent or an identifiably Native accent for Native characters.

TABLE 4: LANGUAGE TRAITS OF WESTERN SET MEDIA

Show Titles:	Language Traits Exhibited:
King of the Hill	Native Accent, Mock Sounds Native Languages, Indian Name Joke

Walker, Texas Ranger background episodes	Animal-Based Name, Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, Native Language Translated, Mock Sounds Native Languages (Non-Natives) (*criticized), "Redskins"/"Red," "Scalping"
Walker, Texas Ranger, "Team Cherokee"	Animal-Based Name, Native Accent, Indian Name Joke (*used by antagonists), "Chief" as a Nickname (*used by antagonists), "Redskins"/"Red" (*used by antagonists), "Scalping"
Saving Grace	Native Accent (*possibly)
We Shall Remain, "Trail of Tears" (contemporary pieces)	Native Accent, Native Language Translated, Non-Native Accents by Natives (*Southern)
Smallville, "Skinwalker"	Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, "Chief" as a Nickname (*used by antagonists)
We Shall Remain, "Wounded Knee" (contemporary pieces)	Animal-Based Name, Native Accent, Native Language Translated
Western Sky Loan commercials	
South Park, "Red Man's Greed"	Native Accent, Native Broken English, Non-Native Accents by Natives (*French), Mock Sounds Native Languages (Non-Natives), Indian Name Joke, "Redskins"/"Red"
South Park, "A History Channel Thanksgiving"	Animal-Based Name
South Park, "Cartman's Mom Is a Dirty Slut"	Native Accent, Native Broken English, Indian Name Joke
The X-Files, "Shapes"	Animal-Based Name, Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, Native Language Translated
Forensic Files, "Four on the Floor"	
Criminal Minds, "The Tribe"	Animal-Based Name, Native Accent, Native Language Translated
The X-Files, "Anasazi," "The Blessing Way," "Paperclip"	Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, Native Language Translated
Scoundrels, "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary"	Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, Native Language Translated, Non-Native Broken English/Mock Native
Tony Hillerman novels	*May use Native Language Untranslated or Native Language Translated.
Touched By an Angel, "Written in Dust"	Animal-Based Name, Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, Native Language Translated
Renegade	Animal-Based Name
Bizarre Foods with Andrew Zimmern, "Arizona"	Native Accent, Native Language Translated
Medium, "Native Tongue"	Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, Native Language Translated

Joe Dirt	Native Accent (*possibly)
Sons of Tucson, "Kisses and Beads"	Native Accent
We Shall Remain, "Geronimo" (contemporary pieces)	Native Accent, Native Language Translated
Big Love	Native Accent
The Mentalist, "Aingavite Baa"	Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, Non-Native Accents by Natives (*New York)
Access Hollywood (with Tony Potts)	
Up All Night, "New Car"	Animal-Based Name, Native Accent
The Dudesons, "Cowboys and Findians"	Native Language Untranslated, Non-Native Accents by Natives (*Southern/Western)
Sons of Anarchy	Native Accent, "Chief" as Nickname
Numb3rs, "Bones of Contention"	Native Accent
Mercy Thompson series	Animal-Based Name
Smoke Signals	Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated
Bones, "The Man in the Bear"	Native Accent
Twin Peaks	Animal-Based Name (*nickname), Native Accent
Wolf Lake	Native Accent
Twilight series	Native Accent
Free Willy and Free Willy 2	
Northern Exposure	Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, Native Language Translated
The Simpsons Movie	Native Accent, Native Broken English, Non-Native Broken English/Mock Native, Mock Sounds Native Languages (Non-Natives), Indian Name Joke
Eight Below	Native Accent (*slight)
Deadliest Catch, "Tribute to Phil Harris"	
Hawaii Five-0	Native Language Translated
Samantha Brown, "Girl Meets Hawaii"	
Samantha Brown's Great Weekends, "Hawaii"	Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated

| Lilo and Stitch | Native Accent, Native Language Untranslated, Native Language Translated |

It is from this coding of all 58 shows, films, and book series, as well as careful attention to specific media contexts, that the analyses of the following two Chapters emerges.

F. Conclusion

It should be noted that during coding, media was first grouped from most northern settings to most southern settings, with no significant patterns emerging from the coding. Significant patterns in coding only emerged when media was grouped from the most eastward-set shows to the most western-set shows. This pattern will be discussed in depth in Chapters Five and Six.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION: EAST

A. Opening

This chapter will examine in depth the trends occurring in recent popular media with contemporary Native characters set in the eastern United States. Section B, on pop media expressions in the east, delves into the traits that appeared most frequently in eastern set media, to the extent that they have become regionally located stereotypes of inauthenticity, greed, wealth, and shiftiness. Because media stereotypes provide audiences with information based on both what viewers see and what they hear, and because some interesting language practices emerge from analysis of the media, Section C examines the linguistic practices used in eastern set media. These language practices align with the prevailing trends in eastern media covered in Section B. Section D examines why, in spite of evidence that eastern Native characters are stereotyped, media creators and fans either deny the stereotypical messages proffered by the media or deem them acceptable. Finally, Section E summarizes the findings of the research for eastern set media.

B. Pop Media Expressions for the East

To begin, it is necessary to point out that of the 58 popular shows from the last 20 years identified with contemporary Native characters, only ten are set in the east. In itself, this lack of Native characters reinforces the notion that Native peoples of the area either died or were removed long ago. Among the shows that were set along the eastern coast of the United States, there were some generally shared, distinctive characteristics.

The first major shared feature is an emphasis on casinos or other "benefits" to Native Americans. Although there are some mentions of casinos in western-set shows, they are usually single line references; in contrast, shows set along the east coast typically take place either partially or entirely inside of the Native casinos. For example, the series King of the Hill (1997-2010), "Bones of Contention" (Numb3ers) (2005), "Cowboys and Findians" (The Dudesons) (2010), and "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary" (Scoundrels) (2010) never show us Indian casinos, but merely refer to them in a single line of dialogue.

In contrast, the three shows set on the eastern coast which feature casinos are heavily based in a casino setting. The Simpsons' "Bart to the Future" (2000) takes place in the future by way of a vision given to Bart by a Native man in the back room of a casino. The Glades' "Honey" (2010) revolves around a murder in a casino, potentially spurred by the tribal council's unwillingness to recognize new members and, by default, share with them the casino profits. Family Guy's "The Son Also Draws" (1999) is one of the most damning portrayals of Native casinos, expressly calling into question the Native casino managers' connections to their culture.

One notable exception is South Park, "Red Man's Greed" (2003), which fits most of the traits of eastern shows set in casinos despite the show's location in Colorado. The show may be following a similar set of traits to eastern shows because the setting, like the untraceable town of Springfield in The Simpsons, is meant to be representative of any "ordinary" middle-class, white suburbia in the United States (but with a more interesting cast of local characters). The regionality of the place itself, then, takes a back seat to its ability to give such a generalized, "workaday" impression to viewers.

Connected to this emphasis on Native ethnic benefit is The Simpsons' "Little Big Girl" (2007), which focuses on the academic and cultural advantages to being Native American Indian, as well as high instances of Native wealth. Wealthy Natives are mentioned in the eastern-set shows and more western-set shows, but in the western-set shows instances of Native wealth are almost always counterbalanced by instances of Native poverty; no such balance exists in the eastern-set shows. And where there is Native wealth in the east, it is always paired with some accusation of Native greed. (Native greed is only expressed once in the west – in Numb3ers' 2005 episode "Bones of Contention.")

We may well ask why popular shows set in eastern locations seem to be more preoccupied with Native casinos, Native wealth, or other "advantages" to being Native. Perhaps it is due to regional concerns over casinos. Despite the fact that most Native casinos are to be found in western states, the east coast and several eastern tribes have played a major role in the development of Native gaming. Although there were already Native bingo halls and small gambling establishments, unregulated by state law, it was the Seminole of Florida who first began construction on a major, high-stakes bingo and gaming hall that would not be regulated by Florida laws on gaming. The Foxwoods Casino, opened by the Mashantucket Pequot, was established fairly early in the history of Native gaming (in 1986) and has since expanded (Foxwoods Resort Casino n.d.). Also within the state of Connecticut is the Mohegan tribes' Mohegan Sun, the second largest casino in the United States after Foxwoods (Christenson 2005). It too, has expanded in its original location as well as into other northeastern states. An impression of big business and great monetary success seems to follow the gaming ventures of the

Seminole, the Mashantucket Pequot, and the Mohegan, unlike many smaller gaming ventures across the United States.

If there is an impression of Native success – particularly in a venture where Native people are seen to be exempt from the laws similar business ventures must follow – we can expect to see from the surrounding non-Native population some anxiety about Native success and/or Native "advantages" which appear to unfairly favor Natives over non-Natives. And if the perceived threat stereotype reaction holds true, feelings of anxiety and unease over Natives will be reflected in regional stereotypes of Native people. Native people with some measure of economic success are not "tragic Indians," but a threat (Den Ouden 2011).

To be sure, eastern depictions of Native people differ in marked ways from depictions of Natives in the west. The emphasis on casino settings, Native advantages, Native wealth, and Native greed are fairly unique to the area, or are presented in ways that set them apart from the west (as is the case with depictions of wealth and poverty in the west, but only wealth in the east). In and of themselves, greed, wealth, and casinos as a set of images of Native people predispose viewers to see Native casinos around them as calculating, unfeeling, and run by shady individuals. The "shifty casino owner" has been noted by Native bloggers (Rob 2011). But the shows in the east go a step further and call forth problematic histories in order to probe, question, and undermine Native identity.

Throughout Family Guy's "The Son Also Draws" (1999), for example, the manager of the Native casino speaks with a thick Italian-American accent. He looks Native American Indian and has some Native jewelry on, but he wears a business suit,

smokes, and talks with a heavy Italian-American accent. The implications are clear – what kind of Native American talks like the Godfather? (We get our answer at the end: one who has lost his culture.) He is clearly reminiscent of a mobster, calling to mind ties between American Indian gaming and organized crime. The main character of the show, Peter, is sent on a vision quest that the Natives have no faith in, believing it to be a convenient way to get rid of him. Instead, he does receive a vision and tells the Native people about it. Saddened that they have not received a vision, they admit that they have lost their way as a people (and, by extension, that in one day Peter has become a better Indian than they have ever been). It is especially pernicious due to the fact that the show is a cartoon, and so admission that they are a sham can come directly from the Native characters.

The Glades' "Honey" (2010) handles identity disputes slightly better. A murder and theft in a casino leads to accusations of greed and related dismissals of Seminole individuals' official tribal membership status. An elderly musician of African-American and Seminole heritage attempting to gain tribal membership is doubted at first by Seminole tribal police and the main character, likely due to his African-American accent and physical appearance, but eventually finds the proof of his heritage necessary for tribal enrollment. The show still makes sure to tell us, through the words of the Native policewoman, that people faking Native heritage is a real and widespread problem due to casino profits.

South Park, although a western-based show, also follows many of these conventions. In the 2003 episode where the town fights a Native casino, Native greed, Native wealth, and ethnic advantages all find their way into the episode. So do

accusations of fakery, however subtle. Toward the end of the episode, one of the background Native characters speaks for the first time, and has a thick French accent. The main characters look at each other with eyebrows raised.

A less direct attack on Native identity and cultural association is the phenomenon of Native ceremonies or spiritual practices which explicitly fail to accomplish their goals. In western based shows, every ceremony conducted by a Native person is either successful, or the results are either unknown to viewers or unknowable (in a non-spiritual sense). The only exception to this in a western-set show is South Park's "Red Man's Greed" (2003), though this is unsurprising, as South Park has already been shown to follow eastern traits more closely than western traits. In the east, Family Guy shows us that Native people can be failures at their own culture; and, although a historical example, it is also interesting to note that in We Shall Remain's "Tecumseh's Vision" (2009), emphasis is placed on Tecumseh's brother and his less-than-accurate prophesies.

The explicit and implicit attacks on Native cultural continuity and identity in these shows serve to create new stereotypes which blend historical attacks on Native identity with narratives that will undermine contemporary Native identity (and what are seen to be its related benefits). Viewers are left with two possibilities. The first is that Native people do not exist, and those claiming to be Native – even if they look phenotypically Native – are simply a group of misguided or lying, scheming individuals with no ties to Native American Indians. (And if you can't trust the ones who look Native, what becomes of the many Native people in the east who don't look typically Native? After all, the perception goes that if even the phenotypically "Indian" Native characters depicted in the popular media of the east coast cannot be trusted to be true Native

peoples, then surely any "Natives" who fall outside of that phenotypically Native look are obvious imposters and undeserving of special economic considerations.)

The second is that Native people exist, but are culturally disconnected from their heritage and have only formed groups to gain benefits like tribally-owned casinos; despite having Native heritage they are not culturally distinct from other Americans, and are only using any Native heritage they may have as an economic advantage. Thusly, they are not "real Indians." Even when Native communities assert themselves, then, both historical documents which have them disappearing in the 19th century as well as these modern adaptations work against their claims of true Native identity. If the Indians themselves didn't die, says popular culture, then at least their cultures did, and no one can claim Indian identity (and its associated benefits) without the culture.

What is interesting about the stereotypes of Native people in the east is that unlike most stereotypes about ethnic or cultural groups, the media isn't telling viewers "these people are different and alien. You won't understand them and they won't understand you." This is the message most stereotypes proffer – a message of "us" vs. "them," exotification, and Othering. Instead, what the media is saying about eastern Natives is "These people are exactly like you, only tricky and deceptive (or confused). They aren't any different from you, they aren't special, and so they don't deserve any kind of consideration that you don't also receive." This is either a stereotype that born out of the "vanishing Indian" narrative or a refusal to acknowledge cultural difference or special interests. In any case, it is based in erasure, not exotification. In a deft move, it creates distance and difference from those claiming Native heritage only by first declaring that there are no differences between the "Natives" and everyone else.

If stereotypes were simply born of and carried on out of ignorance, then they should be lessened when historical and ethnographic evidence proves them to be false. However, despite ignorance and repetition playing a role, that has not been the case (Berkhofer 1979; Stedman 1982). Stereotypes do certain work, valuable work for some groups, and will not be easily corrected when they are still socially useful for those groups. The vanishing Indian stereotype, despite being disproven on many fronts along the eastern coast, has been reworked in a way that is most useful for groups that feel threatened by Native populations. The media depictions of Indians as "fakes" politically serves to remove their identity, which is seen as the basis for preferential economic treatment, as opposed to tribal/national sovereignty (The Polish Wolf 2011). (It also supports the legitimacy of previous historical work, comfortably allowing non-Native people to forego the unpleasant task of reevaluating and critiquing earlier scholars.) According to the logic that equates Native identity with special benefits, once Native identity is denied, so are the "benefits." Without those benefits, Native people no longer have an "edge" that would make them an economic threat, and so the strain of those concerned about Native "benefits" dissipates. There is an "active hostility to the very idea of Indian wealth" (Deloria 2004:224). Shows like Family Guy's "The Son Also Draws" make it clear that in the contemporary world "the only good Indian is" – if not a vanished Indian – "a poor Indian" (Den Ouden 2011).

Additionally, when Native prosperity looms as a perceived threat to non-Natives, the stereotypes become increasingly and explicitly negative. Implications of fakery, lying, trickery, and greed all justify rather strong reactions against those who claim Native identity in the eastern United States. Apart from just being "different" or

"strange," being fake, unfair, or greedy are traits which can justifiably be met with substantial resistance even amongst those who categorize themselves as "liberal" or "tolerant." In fact, producing images of Native casinos "sticking it" to (non-Native) small town people leads to a kind of reversed history where Natives are "the Man" and we root against them as we root for the underdogs (Parman 1994:178). (South Park, in "Red Man's Greed," addresses the blatant historical reversal at play). Native people in this area are working against not only popular history and those who wish to preserve its testimony of erasure, but also this reworked version of it that has merged with other strong visuals and made its way into popular media.

To further support the notion that the Native people on in the east are inauthentic Indians, it should be noted that several features which were highly present in western-set shows with Native characters were wholly or mostly absent in the eastern-set shows. These features were: a recurring character, poverty, issues with museums and archaeology, any activism, references to activities at Wounded Knee, secrecy/privacy, stories/oral tradition and "legends," shapeshifters, skinwalkers, Native ghosts, aliens, any other kind of supernatural beings, tracking abilities, and the presence of Native languages (translated and untranslated).

C. Language Discussion

The use of certain linguistic practices supports accusations of falsity and inauthenticity in eastern Natives. Every media source was coded for the presence of a Native accent, Native languages (translated and untranslated), broken English spoken by a Native person, broken English spoken by a non-Native person/"Mock Native," non-

Native accents (other than standard American English) spoken by a Native person, non-Natives mocking the sounds of Native languages/songs, "Indian name" jokes, the use of "Chief" as a nickname, use of the term "redskins" or "red," and references to "scalping" (which were usually spoken). Most significant were Native and non-Native accents on Native characters, use of Native languages, mockery of Native languages or sounds, and jokes about Native names.

Although Native accents are found throughout shows in the east and the west, they are often placed in a context of explicit mockery in the east, and Natives with non-Native accents are almost exclusive to eastern-placed shows. Of the eight cases of Natives with non-Native accents, three are from the east coast (with one being a documentary), and a fourth is from South Park (which follows eastern trends). Of the four other cases of Natives with non-Native accents, three are also documentaries (or use the images and voices of real Native people) while a fourth involved a western Native person who had lived in New York and acquired an accent there before moving back to the reservation out west (in The Mentalist's 2010 episode "Aingavite Baa").

This means that four programs had to make a conscious choice to give Native characters non-Native accents. The Mentalist's "Aingavite Baa" (2010) and The Glades' "Honey" (2010) both give some justification for why their characters are Native but do not speak with either a standard American accent or a Native American accent of any kind. That the Native woman in "Aingavite Baa" is questioned about her accent is proof that one's accent is tied to the authenticity of their identity, for this popular show at least. Any accent besides a "Native accent" is seen as unacceptable for an authentic Native person, and is grounds for questioning the legitimacy of their claim to Native-ness.

The two shows that do not even attempt to provide any explanation for this phenomenon are also the two with the most unexpected accents for Native characters – Italian-American and French – and therefore leave the viewers to wonder what kind of Natives could have those accents, and why. In the context of the Natives in question being focused on casino profits and the economic advantages of being Native American, it is not unreasonable to assume that viewers will at least suspect that the Native looks are affected, a simple means to an economic end.

The use of Native languages is also sparse in the east. The two instances where they are used are in the series We Shall Remain, on "After the Mayflower" (2009), and on A Gifted Man's "In Case of Separation Anxiety" (2011). Its use in "A Gifted Man" was particularly unusual; instead of a local Native language – for example, "After the Mayflower" states at the program's beginning that "the words spoken in this film are in Nipmuc, an Algonquian dialect" – they had the show's New Age Native shaman shout the word "aho" in some kind of spiritual context. Many Native languages have the word "aho" in their vocabulary, usually with a less dramatic meaning (like "agreed," or "thanks"), though it is not widely used in the northeast. Research for the character, Anton Little Creek, seems sparse, and his practices on the show are highly New Age. (They involve crystal ceremonies which often crop up in New Age belief as "Native American" traditions (Katya 2011: 1).) So far it has not been divulged if the Native character on the show is from the west and has moved to New York, or is originally from the area, but the actor who plays him is one of the few non-Natives playing a Native person on camera, even in popular media.

The connections between cultural survival and authenticity and language use have been studied for their significant role in cultural group legitimacy (Fought 2006). The eastern media that show Natives using English only are not suggesting that Native languages are unimportant for Native identity; they are suggesting just the opposite and, additionally, that area Natives are found lacking. They also ignore and disregard the work being conducted by Native people in the east on regaining and maintaining ancestral languages – another exercise in erasure and nonrecognition. Everything from wide scale revitalization projects with the Wampanoag language and Cherokee languages, to electronic language learning materials, to personal attempts to learn or strengthen language knowledge are being undertaken by Native people in the eastern United States (MacArthur Fellow Program 2010; Museum of the Cherokee Indian 2012).

Mockery of Native languages or sounds is high in the east, where humor is also widespread in the programming. Family Guy's "The Son Also Draws" (1999), Seinfeld's "The Cigar Store Indian" (1993), and The Simpsons' "Bart to the Future" (2000) and "Little Big Girl" (2007), all feature mockery of Native languages by these shows' protagonists. South Park, again falling nicely in line with eastern trends, has its main characters imitate Native sounds.

As we move westward, instances of this begin to peter out. In the midwest, Parks and Recreation's "Harvest Festival" (2011) has a Native person using what we are told is a Native language (although the tribe in the show does not exist in real life); however, instead of doing a ceremony as he has promised (to lift a fake Native curse he placed), he stands in front of the non-Native crowd and we see that what he says translates into "I am not saying anything. No one can understand me anyway. Doobee, doobee, do." It is

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unsure what language he is speaking, but his last name (Hotate) is a Japanese word for "plain scallops" (Rob 2011).

King of the Hill (1997-2010), located in Texas, also has a Native character and a non-Native character imitating Native sounds. Walker, Texas Ranger (1993-2001) has an episode which depicts whites dressed as Natives and imitating Native songs, but Cordell Walker (the title character played by Chuck Norris) expressly condemns the "Hollywood Indians" and states that actual Native people should have been invited to perform, even if the non-Native audience wouldn't have known the difference. The most westward example of mockery of Native languages is from The Simpsons Movie (2007), which takes place in Alaska. The Simpsons, usually set roughly somewhere in the east (and represented by a Vermont town for the movie premier), seemed to carry many of its eastern stereotypes into Alaska when The Simpsons Movie was released.

In a similar vein, Indian name jokes are significantly high in eastern shows. Three eastern shows feature jokes about Native names, as well as two different episodes of South Park (in 1998 and 2003) and The Simpsons Movie (2007). Other than South Park and The Simpsons Movie, there are only two Native name jokes in popular media. One is in an episode of King of the Hill, and the other is used in Walker, Texas Ranger by the villains of the episode. (Walker quickly gives them an attitude readjustment on behalf of his Native friends who are being harassed.)

D. The Use of Regional Stereotypes

Many of the more egregious jokes at Natives' expense are found in humorous shows – for example, cartoons for adults like Family Guy, the Simpsons, South Park, and

King of the Hill. The same humor which is used in the service of mockery is usually

provided as its justification. Seth MacFarlane, the creator of Family Guy and one-time

resident of Rhode Island, has responded to various offended parties through a humor

defense. "From its inception, 'Family Guy' has used biting satire as the foundation of its

humor. The show is an 'equal-opportunity offender'" (Fernandez 2010). The creators of

South Park have used the same famous words – "equal opportunity offender" – in relation

to the controversies on their own show (Simpson 2011).

This appropriation of social justice terms is intended to humorously point out that

no one group is being targeted in these shows, whose purposes it is to be shocking and

offensive. But the implication often is that those who cannot laugh along simply don't

get that type of humor, or perhaps are angry activist-types who envision a world of

circumscribed, politically correct forms of entertainment. This deflects ignorance and

other negative qualities away from the comedy shows and onto their detractors. "It's all

played for can't-*you*-take-a-joke laughs" (emphasis added) (Simpson 2011). The fact is

that the stereotypes the shows promote tie into and support historical racism, with real

effects on viewers which are passed on to Native people, without ever addressing that

racism explicitly.

Likewise, fans of the shows often defend that these depictions are all in the name

of fun. "Surely no racism is intended by such ordinary, and even entertaining and

delightful, usages, which liven up television and cinematic dialogue…" (Hill 2008: 156).

When they are used against the owners and managers of casinos, they additionally serve

to make us root for the "little guy," who can never beat "the house" – where, in these

cases, Native people are "the house." Perhaps the creators of some of these shows really

are trying to make jokes without intending to send any larger messages. Yet that does not mean that they are all in good fun, even if that was the intent. For one, negative stereotypes often get picked up and passed along without an explicit intent to harm, but this does not stop them from doing harmful work against the stereotyped group, even when said in jest. "We tend to think about humor as something that is innocuous, something that might be good for our health, moods, relationships and so on, but humor also has its dark side, and we should all be aware of it. Sometimes humor can lead to negative and harmful outcomes against others, and we should be conscious of when and how it can happen" (Lyubansky 2010). Of course, even humor that begins as something the joker feels is innocuous can nosedive into "vicious, racist joking" just as quickly as colonists' sympathetic descriptions of Natives "easily moved into chilling denigration or worse" (Den Ouden 2011, Kupperman 2000: 15).

As with Jane Hill's analysis of Mock Spanish, the linguistic and broader cultural mocking evident in eastern-placed media is not exceptional, but rather part of a pattern that corresponds to "common sense" ideologies of Native authenticity which find expression both inside and outside of the media (Hill 2008). Native people of the northeast are keenly aware of the erasure of their Native identity through statements of denial: "they are remarks that serve to wipe out a culture" (Snow Moon Bachofner 2003: 146). The advantages and disadvantages of Native erasure have likely been thrown into focus in the face of casino negotiations and land issues; the Mashpee case provides a clear example of the vested political advantages of denying Native authenticity (The Mashpee Conflict 1984).

Without attempting to guess at the intentions of media creators, we can nevertheless acknowledge a harmful use of humor within the northeastern context of Native erasure. Several authors have made the distinction between acceptable racial humor and unacceptable racist humor, largely dependent upon context (time and place, reasonable intentions, "in group" membership/status, honorary group membership, etc.) (Maloy 2011, Lyubansky 2010, and Greengross 2011). In his psychological study on the effects of racist humor, Thomas Ford concluded that "if you hold negative views against one of these groups, hearing disparaging jokes about them 'releases' inhibitions you might have, and you feel it's ok to discriminate against them" (Greengross 2011). Within the northeastern context, considering the locally held views of Native inauthenticity, the defense of humor for the continuation of these "fake Indian" stereotypes falls flat.

E. Conclusion

The set of traits described in this chapter form the basis for a regional stereotype of eastern Natives in recent popular media as fakes, serving to undermine tribal rights and what are perceived to be ethnic benefits. With several economically successful Native tribes on the east coast, a high level of strain caused by these successes allows many non-Natives to resort to harsh stereotypes about eastern Native peoples. Even shows which generally espouse liberal messages, like Family Guy, fully partake in the updated use of historical racism in the northeastern and southeastern regions in order to undermine Native successes and relieve any perceived strain caused by such Native "threat."

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION: WEST

A. Opening

This chapter will examine the trends in western set recent popular media with contemporary Native characters. The western set media exhibits a number of regionally specific traits, some of which stand in contrast to the traits ascribed to Native characters located in the east. The authenticity of western Native peoples is accepted, even pushed, by recent popular media; however, it reinforces notions of profound cultural differences that necessarily build a separation between Native people from other people. These regionally specific traits are discussed in Section B of this chapter. Section C explores the language traits that were unique to western set shows and that act in support of the traits discussed in Section B. The fourth Section, Section D, highlights the defenses used to justify these regional stereotypes. Section E summarizes the results of media coding described in this Chapter.

B. Pop Media Expressions for the West

Heading into the midwest, there exists a mix of stereotypes between those that are most clearly found in the east and those that are more western. Occurrences of humor as a major feature, for instance, are lower in the midwest than in the east but higher than in the west, where humor is rare. However, as settings push westward, some distinctively "western" trends in depictions of Native characters become apparent.

As opposed to the mentions of Native wealth in the east, wealth is featured six times in the 46 shows, books/book series, and films set in the west (roughly Oklahoma and beyond). One of these six mentions is in South Park, which tends to tightly follow the eastern trends. Poverty, on the other hand, is mentioned 19 times in western-set shows. Instances of Native greed are also greatly reduced in the western shows. Linked to Native wealth, it occurs three times in the ten eastern shows and three times in the 46 western shows (including, again, one occurrence in South Park). This sets up a somewhat rigid economic divide being depicted between the eastern Native characters and western Native characters.

In the west, with the exception of South Park's "Red Man's Greed" (2003), Native ceremonies never blatantly fail to accomplish their goals. The ten eastern-set shows depicted three Native ceremonies conducted by Native people, with one Native ceremony failing to meet its desired ends, while the western-set shows only have one example of failure, from South Park. But this does not mean that Native ceremonies (spiritual or medicinal) are absent from western depictions of Native people; on the contrary, there are 15 shows which show some aspect of a Native traditional ceremony. The difference lies in the rates of success.

In the east, when Native people attempt traditional ceremonies, they fail almost as often as they succeed; but in the west, Native ceremonies conducted by Native people either explicitly meet the desired goals or are of such a spiritual nature that viewers cannot be shown definitive results. However, just as we trust that eulogies have served their purposes at a funeral, viewers are not implicitly nudged into questioning the more intangible goals of Native ceremonies, and so can trust that they have served their

function. Some shows even use special effects to validate the less tangible results of Native ceremonial practices. In "The Blessing Way" (1995), the X-Files showed Fox Mulder's visions while he was being healed by a Navajo (or Dine) elder; one episode of Walker, Texas Ranger showed ancestral spirits in dance around a dying Native elder; Wolf Lake takes us into the visions of one Native man after another Native character gives him a curative drink (2001); and even The Simpsons Movie shows Homer in a Dali-esque landscape during a Native ceremony in which he has a revelation about his life (2007).

However, this is not to say that Native ceremonies and beliefs are brought into mainstream media with great pains to avoid disrespect or misinformation. In fact, with oral tradition and traditional beliefs, the opposite is more often the case. Native oral traditions and stories are often "shoved" into European folk tales or whatever particular fantasy tale fits best with the narrative of the media in question. And to be sure, fantasy and sci-fi are linked to popular images of Native characters in the west.

The example of shapeshifters is perhaps the most clear new trend in depictions of Native characters, and it is exclusively limited to western-set shows. Because transformation stories can be found among several eastern Native peoples, there exists no obvious reason for shapeshifting tales to be limited to western settings. There were six examples of shapeshifters in the west. Most shapeshifters had a background that was supposedly rooted in Native oral tradition, though most of these media used parts of Native oral tradition cobbled together with European mythology and popular fantasy tropes.

The Twilight Saga (2005-present), for example, makes the Quileute wolf-shapeshifters the natural enemies of vampires, based on a supposed tribal history with the creatures. Actual Quileute stories are thus forced into a non-Native fantasy paradigm wherein vampires and werewolves are natural enemies. Because of Stephanie Meyers' new take on this old paradigm, many fans mistakenly equate the Quileute shapeshifters with werewolves. (It should be noted that all lycanthropes, or "were-creatures" are shapeshifters, but not all shapeshifters are lycanthropes. The prefix "were-" usually denotes an involuntary shift that revolves around moon cycles, whereas shapeshifters can often change appearance at will.) However, even when fans correctly identify the Quileute characters with shapeshifters and not werewolves, they are still identifying them using the European concept of shapeshifters while believing themselves to be using a Quileute concept. Here it becomes obvious that to the average reader or viewer, the truth of Quileute oral tradition becomes so mixed with non-Native fantasy tropes that it is incredibly difficult to sort out each from the other. Because real Native oral traditions are supposedly the basis of the Native "legends" we are told in western-set media, Native stories (real, manipulated, or fabricated) only appear in western media, where they are explicitly framed for us as a "Native legend" or "Native story."

Yet it would also be a mistake to assume that all transformation stories that involve Native people are necessarily derogatory; they may be seen so in the context of a Western hierarchy which places humans far above animals, and to be sure a Western audience may take away some dehumanizing message about Native people who transform into animals. But many Native stories do feature some human to animal transformations, and these should not be misunderstood or censured by well-meaning

outsiders as harmful and dehumanizing. The real harm in these pop culture shapeshifting storylines is that Native stories are removed from their contexts, they are manipulated to fit into European mythology, and they equate almost all of their Native characters with shapeshifters by making all of the Native characters shapeshifters or somehow associated with the supernatural.

In three cases, being able to shapeshift into an animal form in the European tradition is specifically equated to the Native belief in skinwalkers. This is not a surprising connection to make, as Navajo/Dine skinwalkers are said to use animal pelts to shift into animal forms (or, disturbingly, to use human skins to take a different human form). What is surprising, for anyone familiar with the traditional beliefs surrounding them, is that being a skinwalker is generally depicted as a morally neutral trait or even as a good thing in the popular media. In the Native belief, skinwalkers must first break the bonds of morality in order to become a skinwalker, and they are known to do terrible things like attacking people at night. They have been compared to werewolves, but are far less morally acceptable than werewolves, who usually have no memory of their evil deeds and are in a sort of "temporary insanity" while in wolf form. No such defense can be had for skinwalkers.

In Wolf Lake (2001-2002) and in the Smallville episode "Skinwalkers" (2002), being a skinwalker is simply an ability; the characters who are skinwalkers are still morally responsible agents who can be either good guys or bad guys. (Another movie made in Canada, "Skinwalkers," which fell out of the parameters of this thesis, also had two factions of skinwalkers – a good group and a bad group.) In another instance, the main protagonist Mercy Thompson is the only "walker" in the book series (2006-present)

and is the heroine. (In the fourth case of the usage of "skinwalker," in the Tony Hillerman detective series (1970-2006), the skinwalkers appear humanlike, are known to be a dangerous evil, and are not directly related to shapeshifting or lycanthropy.)

The moral neutrality of being a skinwalker proves that the word has been applied to the mythology of shapeshifting, but still carries with it undertones of Native cultures (as it is almost always applied to Native characters or used by Native characters). It secondarily indicates a growing trend that creatures who were once "monsters" even in European legends have become morally flexible; Vampiric anti-heroes (including Edward Cullen of Twilight) are a major staple of young adult reading and have their own dedicated fan groups, and all manner of emotionally tortured, romantic, supernatural characters are now attempting to ride this trend and make their way into young adult fiction.

Native characters in the west are associated with all manner of supernatural occurrences. They fight vampires (Twilight (2005-present) and the Mercy Thompson series (2006-present)), speak with ghosts (Saving Grace (2007-2010)), and have privileged knowledge about spirits and demons (Twin Peaks (1990-1991)). Whether tied to Native oral tradition or not, all of these supernatural happenings seem to involve their identity as Native people. For instance, an episode of Touched by an Angel (1996) has a living Native character able to spot an angel who is not making himself "known" to the man in his usual way. Another angel is baffled by this, as it has never happened before. The Native man has no idea that the person he sees is generally invisible to other people (until it is their time to cross over, as the angel in question is the angel of death). Later

this angel breaks with his usual pattern and appears to the Native man in a dream, where he also shows his deceased uncle to him.

Another unusual appearance of the supernatural, or certainly otherworldly, are the instances of aliens in shows with western Native characters. In Smallville's "Skinwalkers" (2002), The X Files' "Anasazi," "The Blessing Way," and "Paperclip" (1995), and Disney's "Lilo and Stitch" (2002), indigenous people have some sort of privileged knowledge of alien life forms. It should be noted that in Lilo and Stitch, the knowledge is not traditional or ancestral but is accumulated throughout the events of the film, and so is likely not related to the Native identity of the characters. In the other shows, Native "legends" about beings in the sky are shown to be literally truer than the non-Native world gave them credit for.

There is, by comparison, only one instance of a supernatural being interacting with a Native character in the east. The show A Gifted Man, "In Case of Separation Anxiety" (2011), depicts a Native shaman healing a young boy with crystals and a chant that translates into something fairly banal in several Native languages. His actions are unusual to most Native people but have been defended by practicing New Age healers (Katya 2011:1). There are also instances of "Indian magic" that are more old-fashioned or conventional in American media. Tracking as a Native ability, which was ubiquitous in old western films with Native characters, is still around; it appears five times, all in the west.

What is clear is that most of these portrayals of Native beliefs in western-set shows are born out of equal parts ignorance of Native belief and sympathetic feelings

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toward Native peoples. Almost always, when Native beliefs have been shown to be prophetic or correct, there is a sort of revelation from the main characters. At times they are obvious, with the protagonists saying something to the effect of "…and the Native Americans were right all along! Maybe we should have listened to them." Other times, visual media like television shows can impart this message to viewers with a knowing look from a Native person.

One argument for sympathy toward Native characters in western-set media is that, despite the high number of criminal shows in the west, Native characters suspected of being murders are often cleared, and those who act against the law usually have mitigating circumstances. There is a minor trend of white characters misappropriating Native beliefs, thereby leading investigators to Native characters whose names are eventually cleared. This happened almost identically in Bones' "The Man in the Bear" (2005) and in Criminal Minds' "The Tribe" (2006). (By comparison, the episode of Criminal Minds set in Virginia had an adopted serial killer of some Native ancestry misusing Native symbolism in a quest to find his identity – another example of a Native character, set in the east, confused about his cultural heritage and ethnicity.) It was also the basis of a 2010 episode of Castle called "Wrapped Up in Death" – though the episode was focused on Mayan artifacts and thus fell out of the parameters of this thesis, it followed a nearly identical plotline, wherein the evidence points to a Mayan activist before the real killer, a white scientist, is caught.

Even acting against the law is not necessarily bad for Native characters in these shows; for example, in Renegade (1992-1997), Native character Bobby Sixkiller defies the law and hides a "criminal" because he realizes that the man was falsely accused by

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his superiors. In Sons of Anarchy (2008-present), the Native gang is a ruthless gang –
but then again, so are most of the characters, including the protagonists. In Bones' "The
Man in the Bear" (2005), a Native park ranger is found guilty of poaching, but argues that
laws made by non-Natives about the land should not apply to Native people. (He also
risks going to jail as a murder suspect, rather than wasting the bear meat.) In Free Willy
and Free Willy 2 (1991 and 1995), a Native character sides with the young protagonist to
help – as the title suggests – free Willy.

Of course, there are some shows that have Native "bad guys." Yet in the west,
most of these shows will attempt to provide some counterbalance by being sure to depict
a Native "good guy" in the same episode. Walker, Texas Ranger (1993-2001) has Native
characters who range from good to bad, to confused and even justifiably angry. In The
Scoundrels' 2010 episode "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary," there is a Native bad guy
(actually hired by one of the protagonists) who is identified and turned in by a Native
woman – but not before she whacks him with her purse and promises to tell his mother.
In Medium, "Native Tongue" (2010), two Navajo (or Dine) men who robbed a bank are
brutally murdered, and the main character attempts to use her clairvoyance to bring their
killers to justice. In The Mentalist, "Aingavite Baa" (2010), one Native character helps
hide toxic dumping and kills another who warns him that he will report it. Having one or
several good Native characters in order to "balance out" the presence of a Native
antagonist is a strategy born out of some careful consideration for how Native characters
are depicted.

Additionally, inclusion of broad Native concerns is occasionally placed into
western-set popular media. Native characters in the west are involved in more practical

Native concerns than their contemporary eastern counterparts. For example, mentions of "Wounded Knee" only occur in the west. Activist activity for Native land rights, personal rights, recognition, etcetera, only occur or are suspected to occur in the west. Native secrecy or privacy from non-Natives, or suspicion of outsiders (usually on a reservation), is a recurring western theme with Native characters, appearing ten times in western media and only once in eastern media. Land issues appear three times in the east, but two of the occurrences are in episodes of We Shall Remain; compare this number to the instances of midwestern-set shows with land issues (one) and western shows with land issues (18). On a related note, Native conflicts with museums and archaeologists – a major ground of dispute for Native peoples both currently and for the last several decades – only occur in the midwest and the west.

Placing real Native concerns, like the ability to trust the federal government and its agents, historical wrongs against Native communities, land issues, and reclamation of cultural artifacts and ancestors, in western-set popular media and away from the east is another cue to audiences that real Natives exist "out west." Furthermore, the west, as a place with higher numbers of "real Indians," unsurprisingly features more Native main or recurring characters than eastern shows. Recurring characters – particularly several recurring Native characters – also give the impression that Native people are substantial to the regional population and ethnic makeup.

Unfortunately, saddled with the title of "real Indians" is a high level of exotification and Othering for western Native peoples. While the "legitimate" Native concerns (excluding economic growth) let us know that western Native people are real Natives, concerned with the government and land and ancestors (but not money), and the

supernatural activities and misuse of Native oral tradition let us know that they are not only different from non-Natives, but so different that they are nearly otherworldly. The message is that "Indians are so different that they cannot get on with Whites… and that they should be treated as alien" (Josephy 1984:32). They are so Native, so in touch with nature and the universe, that many of them are like mystical shamans; they know about extraterrestrial aliens, they can shapeshift, or they can see things non-Natives cannot see. Here is a fairly plain case of a regionally-based stereotype that exotifies and Others.

Native people in western-set shows not always, but very often appear in the context of doing something "Indian." They are usually introduced to the audience in such a way that their Native identity is made known almost immediately, and only a few media sources have them doing "everyday" activities even if they are recurring characters, and would therefore be expected to be in the background, going to the post office, getting lunch, etcetera. We usually have very little insight into their personalities, hobbies, or individual interests; their interests are Native American history, tribal law, Native art, or anything else associated with Native culture. Instead, unlike eastern Native characters whose Native identity is poked at and questioned, Native characters in western media are not only defined as Native, but are generally defined by their Native-ness alone.

C. Language Discussion

The use of Native languages in western-set media supports the exotification of Native peoples and cultures in these areas. Cases of Native language use in the east are rare, with one occurrence of a translated Native language and one occurrence of an

untranslated Native language. In the midwest, one show (Parks and Recreation's 2011 episode "Harvest Festival") gives us an unidentified Native language that the Native character Ken Hotate uses to make fun of non-Natives without their knowledge. (In fact, they believe it to be a "special Wamapoke ceremony.") However, in the west there are 13 instances of Native languages spoken and translated (through interpreters in the scene or with subtitles) and 13 more instances of Native languages that are spoken or sung and left untranslated. The high use of Native languages in the west further testifies to the authenticity of the Native peoples in western parts of the United States. Furthermore, the use of Native languages left untranslated for the audiences intensifies the mystery around western Native characters. As viewers, we are left to wonder what is being said and if it is something relevant to the plot. The air of mystery so consciously placed around shapeshifting, alien encounters, Native ceremonies, and other unusual activities is enhanced by speaking in languages the audience does not understand and likely has never even heard before.

In general, Native languages, names, and music are not as openly mocked in western-set shows. They hold, instead, a sense of reverie or mystique that generally precludes the possibility of joking. Indian name jokes, for example, are found out west in two episodes of South Park, in MTV's The Dudesons' "Cowboys and Findians" (2010), which was meant to be a culturally offensive show and surpassed even its own expectations of insensitivity; in Walker, Texas Ranger (1993-2001) by the show's villains; and in King of the Hill (1997-2010), where the protagonist's three friends, who tell the jokes, are repeatedly shown to be eccentric rednecks. Likewise, mockeries of Native languages or songs by non-Native protagonists were only made in western-set

shows in South Park's "Red Man's Greed" (2003), The Dudesons' "Cowboys and Findians" (2010), and King of the Hill (1997-2010). (Again, Walker, Texas Ranger uses this to immediately identify the prejudiced antagonists of the show.)

Given the emphasis on authentic Native identity in the west, it is little surprise that Native languages are featured more heavily and ridiculed less than in eastern-set media. Again, language is used as a marker of cultural authenticity; but the Native characters in the west are shown to be sufficient. Even when Native languages are not spoken (or written), the Native accents of the characters can be assumed to come from having a Native first language (and in fact, many of the actors portraying Native characters in the west actually did speak their Native language before English, so the accent is not affected). In the east, the presence of conflicting, non-Native accents from Native characters leads one to question whether a Native accent could simply be assumed; in the west, there are no "red flags" left unexplained so that the audience continues to question the accents they have heard.

On an unrelated note, a somewhat surprising find was that the nickname "Chief" for a Native character was used three times in the west, but two of those times – in Smallville's "Skinwalkers" (2002) and Walker, Texas Ranger's "Team Cherokee" (1999) – the nickname was explicitly used by an antagonist to denigrate the Native characters. The third usage was from the protagonists of "Sons of Anarchy" (2008-present), who are never portrayed as particularly enlightened individuals. Perhaps the use of a nickname for Native characters occurs in western-set media to further underlie Native identities, but it is difficult to say with any certainty, provided with so few examples. Still, given the ubiquity of this nickname for Native American men in the real world, and the general

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belief from many non-Native people that it is a well-meaning nickname, it is surprising to see that its use has been generally treated in the media with negative characters – and it is an unexpected finding that merits mentioning.

D. The Use of Regional Stereotypes

The exotification of western Natives is clear; now it is necessary to determine how to depict Native people as authentic without Othering in dehumanizing and harmful ways. After all, there are positive aspects of some of the linguistic patterns – we can celebrate the fact that Native languages are being spoken on television where most viewers will likely be hearing them for the first time, for example. There are also some encouraging trends in the general patterns; one salient example being recurring Native characters in settings where, in the real world, Native people do form a significant percent of the population. Certainly we do not want Native peoples or their languages left out of mainstream media. We simply do not want to cross into the realm of Othering, or to have them used for political purposes that disadvantage or misuse Native peoples and cultures.

While the possible political purposes of exotifying western Natives are less clear than those for erasure in the east, Jane Hill points to a few examples in her study of the purposes of Mock Spanish and Spanish identity. She suggests a regional marketing, the creation of distinct regional identities, using the incorporated yet still distinct identities of minority groups. "'Spanishness' along with Indianness is important in marketing Santa Fe and New Mexico" (Hill 2008:131). Perhaps this might explain the highly concentrated areas of Native characters around the Southwest, the Pacific Northwest, and

the non-continental areas, Alaska and Hawaii. The usefulness of incorporating indigeneity into regional identity or "regional flair," could be mobilized for practical purposes, like tourism, or for more abstract purposes, like a sense of regional distinctiveness or regional identity.

Another explanation for this exotification as one's media sources shift westward, though, is the cultural associations Americans still hold with the American West. Colonialism within the United States began primarily on the eastern coast and spread into the west, with large percentages of the eastern Native population killed through disease and violence or removed further west into the long un(colonially)controlled Indian Country. The American West still looms large in the American imaginary, as do the Native people encountered on the colonial westward march (Deloria 1969:272). Many Americans would be tempted to agree with Frederick Jackson Turner's theory of westward expansion molding the American character (Mihesuah 1996:15). The rhetoric of discovery once associated with the West and the larger stereotype of mystical "Indian magic" is likely interacting in the media stereotypes we see in depictions of western Natives (Deloria 2004:57).

Where we observe media that has Native people interacting with the supernatural, or performing "magic" of some sort, a logic similar to the humor argument comes into play and fans state that the media is so fantastical that it has no bearing on reality, and its stereotypes are therefore rendered moot. However, if the literary theory of suspension of disbelief is to be believed, the media we watch must have some meaningful connections and similarities to our lives, a "semblance of truth" (Coleridge 1817:Chapter XIV).

Some believe that giving Native people powers, like shamanism, grants them respect. Writes one optimistic student: "Since the start of television the Americans [sic] view of the culture of the Native American has slowly changed from being a ruthless savage to an honored race of people" (Barr n.d.:1). This line of optimistic thinking unfortunately does not match with what Native people face when they are confronted by people who believe them to be fundamentally different – more spiritual, or more in touch with nature, for example. As stated in Chapter 1, inherent to the act of stereotyping is the conceptual distance created between people. This is why even the most "positive" stereotype still alienates stereotyped groups and their members. If Native people are, by dent of being Native, able to tap into the spiritual realm, then Native people are different from others; their behavior is alien, perhaps even unpredictable. It doesn't take a great leap of imagination to see that creating personal distance between oneself and a group, can quickly lead to even worse distancing, like prejudice or the act of ostracizing others.

Additionally, what may be obvious fantasy or elaboration to Native viewers might certainly be what non-Native viewers see as part of the non-fantasy truth contained in the media. In other words, Twilight fans recognize that Native American people do not transform into wolves; but offhand comments about reservations, or the greatly revised Quileute origin stories, might uncritically pass as truth. Some shows have a surprising mix of correct and cringe-worthy commentary on Native people; Walker, Texas Ranger (1993-2001), for example, often goes out of the way to defend Native positions on burial disturbances or "Hollywood Indians," and often has actually done some manner of research on the Native languages used (for example, having Cherokee and only Cherokee

characters use the word "wado"), but then occasionally drops the ball with some insensitive jokes or cheesy mysticism.

How can the average viewer, with very little knowledge of contemporary Native peoples, be expected to carefully research each and every line of a book or each quote from a character in order to catch what is fiction, what is fact, and what is (perhaps most confusingly) only partial fact? If we keep in mind that many viewers have never (knowingly) met a Native American Indian person and have only learned about Native people in the school system or through mainstream media, we can see that even these absurdist fantasy tales contain bits of information about Native people that will be used as educational references by many members of the audience – if for no other reason than that they have so little other experience with Native cultures (Lee et al. 2009:96). That misinformation about Native people is being spread should be a major concern, whether it is done so in an entertaining manner or not.

E. Conclusion

Stereotypes of contemporary Native characters in media set in the western parts of the United States identify them as "authentic" or "real Indians," but to the point of assigning them unfamiliar, alien, and sometimes mystical traits. They are close enough to nature to shapeshift into animals, and wise enough with the secrets of the universe to hold secrets about extraterrestrials. They are not shown to be wealthy, and it can be assumed that if wealth became a priority for these Native characters they would be chastised for it and suspected of losing their Indian ways, as were the economically successful Native characters in eastern set media. These Native characters arouse

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feelings of interest and sympathy, but do not place any strain on others, as their efforts to

benefit economically are virtually nonexistent in the media. Their languages are

showcased, further demonstrating their authenticity as Natives. The media is sending the

message that western Native peoples are real, but so vastly different in their thinking that

it is nearly impossible to understand them. The potential for Othering and discrimination

from such a stereotype is great (Josephy 1984:32).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS: MECHANISMS FOR CHANGE

A. Opening

This thesis began as an exploration of the characteristics of contemporary Native characters in recent popular media. What has been shown is a fairly staunch divide between contemporary Native characters from popular media set in the east and contemporary Native characters from popular media set in the west. Whereas the Natives in the east are depicted as inauthentic, greedy, and tricky, Natives in the west are depicted as mystical, wise and knowing, and occasionally supernatural. The fact that Natives in the east are depicted as economically successful whereas the Natives in the west are depicted as unconcerned with money (and therefore poor) is, according to the "perceived strain stereotype reaction," a likely explanation for why one group of Native peoples' identity is being actively attacked while other Native peoples are being distorted to appear more strange, ethnic, or exotic. Because this theory depends heavily on perceptions of Native threat, future research might endeavor to gauge regional attitudes toward Native tribes and individuals, as well as inquire into experiences from Native peoples living across the United States.

Provided with the knowledge that stereotypes of Native American Indians are not only still "alive and well" but changing and shifting to meet the needs of non-Natives who are threatened by Native successes, the following Sections provide a discussion of methods for managing and correcting these stereotypes. Solutions discussed include

education, Native-made media, communication with mainstream media, and the potential of tribal protocols for structuring media use.

B. Education

An obvious place to start undoing the damage caused by Native stereotypes is in the school system, where many Native students first feel the stings of alienation that are often the result of popular media stereotypes (Coeyman 2003). The first step in countering Native stereotypes is, simply put, to be aware of their existence, what informs that existence, and what harmful work they do. If Native people in the eastern United States are having their identities questioned with accusations of greed or implications of inauthenticity and the assignment of unconventional accents, we must recognize that this is the most recent incarnation of a long history of non-recognition meant to deny recognition of and disenfranchise the Native people of the northeast and of the post-removal southeast. If Native people in the western United States are being exoticized, we must recognize the general processes of Othering at work and the specific, alienated treatment of Native people in the United States as settlers pressed westward (Josephy 1984:74).

Essentially, this is a proposal for Native history lessons which would tie into contemporary Native issues – and why not tie in the past to the present? It might help students grasp the importance of historical consequences and, on a more specific front for Native studies, would bolster an image of Native people as neither long-gone fakes nor as a rare dying breed, but as modern folks living in every part of the United States. Barring any drastic restrictions, most educators with a Native history section could potentially

dedicate a section of the class material to historical consequences and contemporary Native life.

Taking an educational approach to popular media, while a bit more focused as an area of study, may also have a place in the high school or college education systems. For one, it may work to get students involved in the content, which they may have already seen or read. Critical examination of these images and their origins would not only be helpful in reducing Native stereotypes, but would also encourage critical as opposed to passive viewing techniques, which are often missing from mass media consumption (Chung 2007:103).

C. Native Media

Of course, a major goal in the study of Native stereotypes is to reduce Native stereotypes before they make their way into media. We can hope that thorough Native education carried out on young people now will lead to more sensitive treatments of Native people in future media. We can also make more direct efforts towards this goal.

Native people in representing themselves in media has been deemed "an act of creative authority" and a basic issue of self-determination and representation (Langton 1994: 123). A major step toward self-representation in Canada was made in 1999 with the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (Aboriginal Peoples Television Network 2012). Of course, even the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network cannot control images of Native people on other networks. It cannot stop the presses churning out the Twilight series nor demand that Hollywood producers stop putting Native characters in their movies – if that is even desirable. If we are concerned both about the media

message that Native people and non-Native people are receiving, some manner of sensitivity and accuracy has to find its way into the mainstream shows, movies, and books that the largest numbers of people sit down to unwind with at the end of each day.

On a brief side note, armed with the knowledge that breaking into the film, television, or writing industry is difficult, and becoming popular enough to earn the title "mass media" or "popular media" is quite rare, some Native people have taken to the internet to spread their messages about popular media while at the same time creating popular media. Native websites and blogs play an important role in offering critiques of those shows, films, and books. (Indeed, these scattered blogs are often the only critiques of Native characters in popular shows, films, or books.) Using less expensive and more easily accessible media to offer critiques of predominant Native stereotypes is an ingenuitive strategy in which I anticipate more Native people participating.

D. Communication with Mainstream Media

Yet mass media is, and will continue to be, created at least in part by non-Native individuals. One feature that many of the shows mentioned above have in common is a general lack of Native input at the creation stage. Therefore, instead of simply advocating for entirely Native production of popular media in the future, we should additionally consider pathways that would allow for communication between Native people and non-Natives working in mainstream media. We can easily imagine that the Twilight series and its elevation to fame would have happened differently if the Quileute had been asked for their opinion, and had those asking for it had actually listened (Riley 2010). Without some communication between Native people and non-Native media

creators, there could very well come to be media made by Native people with positive portrayals of Native characters alongside media made by non-Native people with unfortunate portrayals of Native characters (and potentially more popular, with a larger audience).

Certainly it is not outside the realm of possibility for non-Native writers, directors, producers, or other creators to invest in more believable, less stereotypical Native characters, or to feature Native people on television shows like travelling programs. It is not the intention that all media creators and producers are chased away from the idea of including Native characters; this would lead to an erasure of Native characters, which is undesirable, as "neglecting to portray them [minorities] in the media serves to symbolically annihilate them" (Merskin 1998: 333-345).

Although Native people, with a personal and experiential knowledge of Native identity, are best suited to provide better examples of Native characters, and should have the most significant input into Native characters, it is important to keep in mind that non-Native people can "do" Native characters well. (Northern Exposure is a prime example of this.) It is equally important to acknowledge that non-Native producers can fund media about Native people or with Native characters by working with Native input. Though not extremely well-known today, the six-part miniseries The Native Americans, produced by Ted Turner, does successfully showcase the knowledge of many Native elders, as well as emphasize American history from the Native perspective. The shows involved "Indian writers, producers and academic advisers from a variety of tribes," marking them as rare cases where non-Native creators collaborated with Native artists and scholars at the beginning of major media projects (Hall 1992). When Native people

collaborate on media projects, the results can be quite encouraging. The following cases in popular media from the last two decades, both of which were analyzed for this thesis, stand out as hopeful episodes.

The first is a partial success. In the season two finale and the first two episodes of season three, The X-Files introduced a handful of Navajo (or Dine) characters. After the season two finale "Anasazi" aired, it was apparent that the Native characters would at least return for the first episode of season three; and it was also apparent that some cultural mistakes had been made in "Anasazi." This blunder was the result of a lack of contact with Navajo/Dine people prior to filming. After "Anasazi" aired, X-Files creator Chris Carter was invited to a Navajo/Dine ceremony in order to better represent the Native characters in the upcoming season three episodes (Polly 2006). In most peoples' opinion, his visit to New Mexico resulted in two better episodes in season three (Polly 2006). In fact, in season three's second episode, "Paperclip," Navajo/Dine oral tradition is championed in a contemporary context, and is valuable in that regard.

Another successful instance of communication between Native individuals and television creators was the 2010 Travel Channel show Bizarre Foods with Andrew Zimmern, "Arizona," which featured host Andrew Zimmern visiting a Navajo family to eat traditional Navajo foods outside of the American mainstream, as per the show's mission. While this show could have easily taken advantage of marginalized people to present Navajo food practices as abnormal or disgusting, show executives planned the host's activities well in advance with input from the Navajo Nation Film Office, which issues permits for filming on Navajo land and reviews any media depictions of Navajo people to ensure accuracy (Navajo Nation Office of Broadcast Services 2012). The

show's cooperation with the nation's film office provided a good basis for communication, as it acknowledged tribal sovereignty and therefore began relations in a respectful tone. In turn, the show was not only allowed by the Film Office but also promoted by the community publication The Kayenta Today as a "positive, respectful" portrayal (The Kayenta Today 2010).

These episodes of mass media communicating with Native organizations provide some optimism for a future in which media creators actually consider the Native characters and people in their media as subjects and not objects.

E. Protocols for Media Use

As an avenue for future communication, legal and non-legal protocols may prove extremely useful. Although protocols with legal ramifications would require timely and costly negotiation with lawyers, non-legal protocols or "best practices" guidelines can be written by virtually any community body with little guidance – including non-federally recognized tribes. They are essentially a list of accepted behaviors in a community meant to "govern the conduct and behavior of researchers" and others who wish to publish materials taken from the community (Anderson 2006). Although a non-legal document may seem weak and offer little in the way of legal protection, its implications for communication and public relations can be substantial. For the limited cost of a meeting where the tribe or community would discuss and write the protocol and make it available in a public space (on the tribal website, or at the tribal or town office), the tribe or community would have a written, public code of conduct it could point to if researchers or media workers violated it. It would be difficult indeed, as a member of the general

public, to disagree with a tribe's notions of privacy when they have first provided a specific and easily obtainable form for behavior.

And as much as they might inhibit those who work in media, protocols could be positively viewed as a helpful guide in illuminating proper behavior. Authors and show creators would no longer struggle with what may seem to them to be a no-win enigma of how to portray Native characters to the satisfaction of Native people. One of the best outcomes of protocol-guided behavior is that it would limit certain media portrayals but would still allow those in media to portray Native characters, albeit in a more sensitive and realistic manner, with express tribal consent. In dealing with portrayals of Natives that are not tribe-specific, pan-tribal organizations might consider creating protocols with general recommendations for portraying Native people and encouragement to work with real tribes which would have more specific protocols for behavior. This is a way around the fake tribes many media creators use, likely as a lazy way of avoiding any actual tribal research.

If public relations between Natives and non-Natives are an important reason to monitor Native stereotyping and attempt to eradicate it, protocols could prove immensely important simply in terms of moving public opinion away from artists and toward Native people. If a specific Native tribe or nation provided an accessible guideline to working with their tribal history and culture, perhaps with an explanation of why the tribe finds it very important, many people would be hard pressed to state that an artist did not overstep the bounds of polite society by entirely disregarding such a straightforward and courteous request.

Finally, protocols have been discussed here for their potential in opening lines of communication with media creators and in justifying Native responses to unfavorable stereotypes created in disregard of those protocols to the public; but guidelines such as these could also be used to regulate the behavior of researchers, students, or tourists, who may even be unaware that they are acting offensively. Any issues that are too sensitive to be explained in writing may be covered with the phrase "For any other needs regarding photography, drawing, painting, filming, audio recording, note-taking, or other media production, please contact [designated tribal contact person]."

The establishment of guidelines and protocols is not only an act of sovereignty over Native land and representation, but it is a necessary reminder of that sovereignty to everyone who comes in contact with the protocols.

F. Conclusion

The original question of this thesis was a fairly straightforward one. It has been noted that popular media overwhelmingly depicts Native people as living in the past (Mihesuah 1996; Berkhofer 1979). Law professor and Native media commenter Rennard Strickland was quoted in 2006 as saying "Surprisingly, even with fewer and fewer Western and Indian films being produced, I find that students in my classes still retain the old movie image. I think this is so because it has no competitive contemporary image out there for younger generations to see" (Schmidt 2007).

But what about Jacob Black, from the Twilight series, whose face has been plastered on movie posters for the last several years? This is a character that inspires legions of fans to wear t-shirts with "Team Jacob" written across them. What about the

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Wamapoke tribe from Parks and Recreation, or the Native gang from Sons of Anarchy?

If most shows depicted Natives as living in the past, a vanished, extinct people, how

would these contemporary shows portray Native American characters living in the 20th or

21st century? That was the simple question that provided the impetus for this thesis.

After laying the groundwork for stereotyping, the media was analyzed. It was

clear that some new stereotypes were emerging. After all, Native casinos are a fairly

recent development themselves, and Native shapeshifting in the European mythological

tradition accelerated greatly only in the 2000s. Yet some things felt familiar. In these

shows, the Native characters in the east were essentially having their status as Native

people questioned. The presence of humor and jokes at the Native characters' expense,

the statements of "special privilege" to Natives, and the assignment of accents like

French, Italian American, or African American Vernacular English that seem inauthentic

for "real Indians" are hints from the media that Native identity in the east might be a

fraud, an affectation for the advantage of casino profits. On the other hand, Natives in

western set shows had their Native identity reinforced to the point of becoming exotic or

otherworldly; they were often secretive, had special powers, or possessed knowledge

about supernatural or extraterrestrial beings. Additionally, Natives out west are mostly

depicted as being poor and minimally concerned with economic success.

With two distinct sets of stereotypes operating on a geographic basis by media

settings, the next obvious question was: why were the depictions of Natives in the east

and Natives in the west markedly different? Why were Natives in the east generally

tricky, untrustworthy, and potential frauds – while Natives in the west were generally

authentic yet strange, supernatural, sympathetic (in other words, noble savages)? To

answer this question, I began working through United States history with an eye for stereotypes of Native people, ranging from the most virulent or violent "savage" stereotypes to those that are sympathetic or pitying.

The use of savage stereotypes versus tragic or noble savage stereotypes appeared to hinge significantly on colonial perceptions of Native economic, military, or cultural threat throughout history, a pattern which I dubbed in the thesis as the perceived strain stereotype reaction. Taking a cue from strain theory, which posits that deviant or criminal behavior increases with societal strains, I applied the theory to explain the emergences of explicitly negative or harmful stereotypes, and maintained a regional focus. So in the case of explicitly anti-Indian stereotypes, as the population of a certain region experiences or perceives some strain over the actions of Native people, their willingness to engage otherwise unacceptably vicious and violent stereotypes generally increases. I believe that this theory accounts for the underlying messages of the regionally distinct stereotypes of contemporary Native characters in the recent popular media.

It appears to be no coincidence that casinos, greed, wealth, trickery, and mockery of Native cultures and characters is high along the shows set on the east coast, where the first Native casino was proposed and where the largest Native casinos in the United States currently are. And it seems no coincidence that in western set shows, the "real Indians" are not only strange and unfathomable but also unconcerned with economic wealth. It has been noted by others that Native prosperity constitutes unease for large numbers of non-Natives; Amy Den Ouden referred to this principle of anti-Indian prosperity with the quote "the only good Indian is a poor Indian," and Philip Deloria also

noted an "active hostility to the very idea of Indian wealth or modernity" (Den Ouden 2011, Deloria 2006:225). This unease over Native success constitutes a perceived strain which relaxes social boundaries on violent or anti-Indian stereotypes and images.

In summation, Native stereotypes are not static. Some are distinctly current, like the new emphasis on shapeshifting and skinwalking; some may be recycled or gritty reboots; but they emerge and shift in response to attitudes about Native people. They take into account "common sense" historical knowledge and in particular, what Native people are up to and if that appears to pose a threat to many members of the non-Native population. Perceptions of threat help many non-Natives choose between the popular savage and noble savage stereotypes. In view of this theory, the regionally distinct stereotypes of eastern and western Natives are not surprising. They rely on previous stereotypes and histories to form stereotypes about contemporary Native people that serve to discredit eastern Natives, in order to take away what are perceived as unfair ethnic benefits, and to exoticize western Natives and justify their lack of economic opportunities. These stereotypes, historically informed by previous stereotypes and selected or altered to best serve the majority of non-Native populations, skew public opinion against Native sovereignty; they therefore form part of the basis for mistreatment of individual Native people and wide scale denial of Native rights in the United States (The Mashpee Conflict 1984).

Each method for dealing with these stereotypes of contemporary Native characters in popular media begins with awareness. Only when we are aware that there is a problem can we begin to find ways of improving the situation – and here I use "we" to refer to the entire viewership of popular media. Stereotypes of Natives are a recurring

problem, even as they shift to meet new circumstances. They are not an "Indian

problem" but a problem for everyone interested in a more equitable future or, at the

absolute least, more believable and three-dimensional programming. Rather than always

looking to history to identify stereotypes as the flawed representations that they are,

contemporary viewers can recognize stereotypes as they emerge and change by

acknowledging and critiquing the sociopolitical positions that sanction the use of

stereotypes.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF CODED MEDIA, THEIR DATES AND APPROXIMATE LOCATIONS

Family Guy, "The Son Also Draws" – 1999 – Quahog, Rhode Island

We Shall Remain, "After the Mayflower" (for the contemporary pieces) – 2009 – Massachusetts

Seinfeld, "The Cigar Store Indian" – 1993 – Manhattan, New York

A Gifted Man, "In Case of Separation Anxiety" – 2011 – Manhattan, New York

Law and Order: SVU, "Outsider," "Alternate"-"Cold" – 2007-2008 – New York

Criminal Minds, "Tabula Rasa" – 2008 – Roanoke, Virginia

The Glades, "Honey" – 2010 – Hollywood, Florida

We Shall Remain, "Tecumseh's Vision" (for the contemporary pieces) – 2009 – Ohio, Indiana, Southeast

The Simpsons, "Bart to the Future" – 2000 – northeast, possibly midwest (Vermont as the premier of "The Simpsons Movie," with the east coast having the largest number of towns named Springfield)

The Simpsons, "Little Big Girl" – 2007 – northeast, possibly midwest (Vermont as the premier of "The Simpsons Movie," with the east coast having the largest number of towns named Springfield)

Parks and Recreation, "Harvest Festival" – 2011 – Indiana

Bizarre Foods with Andrew Zimmern, "Minnesota" – 2008 – Ojibwa White Earth Reservation near Mahnomen, Minnesota

King of the Hill – 1997-2010 – southwest Texas (the town is inspired by Garland, Texas, near Dallas, and Austin, Texas)

Walker, Texas Ranger, Cordell Walker background episodes – 1993-2001 – Texas and Oklahoma

Walker, Texas Ranger, "Team Cherokee" – 1999 – Texas and Oklahoma

Saving Grace – 2007-2010 – Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

We Shall Remain, "Trail of Tears" – 2009 – Oklahoma

Smallville, "Skinwalker" – 2002 – Kansas

We Shall Remain, "Wounded Knee" (for the contemporary pieces) – 1999 – South Dakota

Western Sky Loan, commercials – 2010 – South Dakota

South Park, "Red Man's Greed" – 2003 – South Park basin of Colorado

South Park, "A History Channel Thanksgiving" – 2011 – South Park basin of Colorado

South Park, "Cartman's Mom Is a Dirty Slut" – 1998 – Ute Reservation in Ignacio, Colorado

The X-Files, "Shapes" – 1994 – upper Montana

Forensic Files, "Four on the Floor" – 2005 – Farmington, New Mexico and surrounding areas

Criminal Minds, "The Tribe" – 2006 – New Mexico (in the fictional town of Terra Mesa)

The X-Files, "Anasazi," "The Blessing Way," and "Paperclip" – 1995 – near Navajo/Dine land in northwestern New Mexico

Scoundrels, "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary" – 2010 – New Mexico

Tony Hillerman novels – 1970-2006 – near Navajo/Dine land in northwestern New Mexico

Touched by an Angel, "Written in Dust" – 1996 – New Mexico/Arizona region

Renegade – 1992-1997 – Arizona and across the Badlands of the southwest

Bizarre Foods with Andrew Zimmern, "Arizona" – 2010 – northeastern Arizona

Medium, "Native Tongue" – 2010 – Phoenix, Arizona

Joe Dirt – 2001 – southwestern area

Sons of Tucson, "Kisses and Beads" – 2010 – Tucson, Arizona

We Shall Remain, "Geronimo" (for the contemporary pieces) – 2009 – New Mexico and Arizona

Big Love – 2006-2011 – Utah

The Mentalist, "Aingavite Baa" – 2010 – Sacramento, California

Access Hollywood (with correspondent Tony Potts) – 1999-2011 – southern California

Up All Night, "New Car" – 2011 – southern California

The Dudesons, "Cowboys and Findians" – 2010 – Buffalo Hills, California

Sons of Anarchy – 2008-present – southern California

Numb3rs, "Bones of Contention" – 2005 – Los Angeles, California

Mercy Thompson series – 2006-present – near Spokane and Seattle, and partially in Montana

Smoke Signals – 1998 – Pacific Northwest and traveling

Bones, "The Man in the Bear" – 2005 – Washington state

Twin Peaks – 1990-1991 – near Snoqualmie, Washington

Wolf Lake – 2001-2002 – in and near Seattle, Washington

Twilight series (books and films combined) – 2005-present – Forks, Washington and the Quileute Reservation in La Push, Washington

Free Willy and Free Willy 2 – 1991 and 1995 – Washington state

Northern Exposure – 1990-1995 – Alaska (in the fictional town of Sicily)

The Simpsons Movie – 2007 – Alaska

Eight Below – 2006 – Alaska

Deadliest Catch, "Tribute to Phil Harris" – 2010 – Alaska

Hawaii Five-0 – 2010-present – Honolulu, Hawaii and other Hawaiian islands

Samantha Brown, "Girl Meets Hawaii" – 2000 – Hawaii

Samantha Brown's Great Weekends, "Hawaii" – 2009 – Maui, Hawaii

Lilo and Stitch – 2002 – Kaua'i, Hawaii

APPENDIX B

LIST OF FEATURES FOR MEDIA CODING AND THEIR EXPLICATIONS

Recurring/Main Character(s) – This denotes a character being either a recurrent character in a series or a main character in non-serial media.

2+ Native Characters – This denotes two or more Native characters; none, some, or all of whom may also be main or recurring characters.

Casinos – This includes all mention of casinos.

Humor (Major Theme) – This denotes humor as a major or overarching element of the media.

Native-Failed Ceremony – This denotes situations wherein Native characters attempt a spiritual or medicinal (traditional) ceremony and explicitly fail to accomplish their goals.

Successful Ceremony – This denotes a successful spiritual or medicinal (traditional) ceremonial activity conducted by Native people.

Misappropriated Ceremony/"Shamanism" – This denotes the use of spiritual or medicinal ceremonial activity by non-Natives or in nontraditional or inappropriate ways.

Poverty – This denotes poverty as a depicted general state for a group of Native people, mentions of Native poverty, or impoverished Native characters.

Wealth – This denotes wealth as a depicted general state for a group of Native people, mentions of Native wealth, or wealthy Native characters.

Native Greed – This denotes situations in which Native characters seek to take things from either other Native or (usually) from non-Native characters.

Museums, Artifacts (Including Bones) – This denotes issues with museums, archaeologists, artifacts, and the remains of ancestors.

Activism Real – This denotes Native characters involved in real Native activist pursuits, either alluded to or depicted.

Activism Suspected (Not Real) – This denotes suspicion of Native activism (usually, suspicion of criminal activist activity) that is discovered to be untrue.

Government Distrust – This denotes outright statements of government distrust from Native characters, allusions to Native distrust of the U.S. government by any character, and jokes about Native people working with the government.

"Wounded Knee" – This denotes any reference to Wounded Knee – either the A.I.M. activism there or the massacre.

Secrecy/Privacy – This denotes any depiction or outright statements of Native characters being private, distrustful, or secretive about their lives, practices, land, etc. Usually it takes place within the context of relatively closed reservations.

Whites as Indians/Indian Traits – This denotes primarily whites, but any non-Natives assuming Native characteristics, cultural practices, or traits.

Reservations – This denotes references to reservations as well as depictions of reservations.

Alcoholism – This denotes references to or depictions of Native alcoholism or drunkenness.

Stories, Oral Traditions, "Legends" – This denotes any reference to, telling of, or allusion to any Native story, oral tradition, or "legend" whether it be real, invented by the media creators, or an amalgamation of real Native oral tradition and creative license.

Trickery – This denotes instances of or references to Native characters using dishonesty or deception.

Regalia – This denotes the use of regalia, either worn or displayed, in the media.

White Guilt – This denotes any reference to feelings of white guilt or responsibility for Native suffering.

Tourism – This denotes references to tourism or depictions of tourism of Native cultural practices, artifacts, or on or near Native-occupied areas (reservations, casinos, etcetera).

Land Issues (Development, Jurisdiction, etc.) – This denotes any land issues depicted or discussed in the media.

Shapeshifting – This denotes any shapeshifting between human forms and/or human and animal forms, conscious or unconscious, in which Native characters play some part (either as shapeshifters, facilitators, or another actor in a shapeshifting narrative).

Skinwalkers – This denotes cases of shapeshifting where the shapeshifting is explicitly referred to as "skinwalking" or the shapeshifters referred to as "skinwalkers" (or some derivative thereof).

Native Ghosts – This denotes Native "ghosts" or ancestral spirits or visions depicted or referred to in the media.

Supernatural Beings (Not Native Ghostsm Shapeshifters, Skinwalkers, or Aliens) – This category was meant to draw attention to any other supernatural occurrences within media that have Native characters; the Native characters themselves do not have to be the supernatural beings.

Aliens – This denotes any appearance or reference to extraterrestrial aliens.

Tracking Ability – This denotes the reference or portrayal of Native tracking abilities.

Anthropologists – This denotes the reference or portrayal of physical or cultural anthropologists in media with Native characters – most often, cultural anthropologists. Archaeologists were classified under "Museums, Artifacts (Including Bones)" as their appearances most often coincided with museums, cultural artifacts, and ancestral remains.

Native Criminal Activity – This denotes any criminal activity on the part of Native characters, including activism as well as sympathetic or heroic criminal activity.

Native Police/Government Employees/Military – This denotes a Native character or multiple Native characters under state or federal employment, such as park rangers, policemen, military personnel, reservation police or governing officials, etcetera.

Education/Degrees – This denotes an emphasis on Native education, either through the school system or in a traditional educational setting.

Martial Arts (Asian in Origin) – This denotes the presence of Asian martial arts in media with Native characters, regardless of whether the Native characters are using those martial arts.

Motorcycles – This denotes the presence of motorcycles as a major means of transportation in media with Native characters, regardless of who drives the motorcycles.

Animal-Based Name – This denotes a Native name with an English word for an animal as part or all of that name; for example, Lying Bear or Billy Gray Wolf.

Native Accents – This denotes a Native character speaking with an accent that indicates that English may have been a second language. When determining a "Native accent," since many tribes have different languages and even related languages have different dialects that result in different accents when those language-speakers learn English, it was important to note that an accent was present, that it did not resemble other commonly recognized accents in American media (such as Southern American accents, African-American Vernacular English accents, French accents, British accents, West-Indian accents, etcetera) and that it would be easily read as a Native American accent to viewers who possessed knowledge about the character's Native heritage.

Native Language, Untranslated – This denotes the appearance of any language indigenous to the area of the present-day United States that is not translated, via translator or translation device (such as subtitles), in the media.

Native Language, Translated – This denotes the appearance of any language indigenous to the area of the present-day United States that is translated for viewers, via translator or translation device (such as subtitles), in the media.

Native Broken English – This denotes the presence of broken English spoken by a Native character, indicating some unfamiliarity or a lack of complete fluency in English. This manner of speaking is marked by a lack of helping verbs, improper verb usages, and a lack of articles, such as "He go to village, bring back water."

Non-Native Broken English/Mock Native – This denotes the presence of broken English as outlined above, but spoken by a non-Native character emulating some manner of Native difficulty with the English language, typically in an unreflective, mocking nature.

Non-Native Accents by Natives – This denotes the presence of a clear accent from a Native character that does not fit the qualifications of a "Native accent" as outlined above. Examples of non-Native accents were either explicitly identified through dialogue in the media or were very easily identifiable, often exaggerated accents (including some Southern accents, African American Vernacular English, French, and Italian-American). Viewers listening to these accents, with no knowledge of characters' Native heritage, would be able to identify them with a different ethnicity or a specific region.

Mock Sounds of Native Languages (Non-Natives) – This denotes the practice of a non-Native character emulating the sounds of a Native language or song in a Native language. Making sounds like "hey-yo, hey-yo" or the rhythmic chant "hi-how-are-ya-hi-how-are-ya" count as mock sounds of Native languages and songs.

Indian Name Joke – This denotes any joke made with Native names, usually based on the formula of adjective + noun in some amusing manner. One such example found in the media was a Native man named Crazy Talk, about who everyone (we are told) is a little worried.

"Chief" as Nickname – This denotes the use of "Chief" as a nickname for any Native character, though it was only used in regards to male Native characters.

"Redskins"/"Red" – This denotes any usage of the term "redskins" or "red" people.

"Scalping" – This denotes any reference or depiction of scalping, by Native characters or non-Native characters (though the scalping was largely associated with Native characters).

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