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Dimensions of Native American Stereotyping

JEFFERY R. HANSON AND LINDA P. ROUSE

INTRODUCTION

The subject of American Indian stereotypes has received considerable attention in Native American Studies literature. A survey of some of this literature reveals a number of general conclusions concerning Indian stereotypes ("images"). First, stereotypes of Indians appear in several domains of American culture: arts and literature; education (particularly textbooks); mass media (especially movies, television, and comics); sports and recreation; and commercial advertising. Second, the stereotypes that non-Indians hold of Indians are multi-dimensional. That is, they refer to an array of characterizations of Indians regarding their culture, history, physical appearance, status and role, psychological makeup, motivation, and capabilities. Third, Indian stereotypes have been shown to be dynamic and variable, changing in form and prevalence depending upon historical and socio-cultural circumstances. Fourth, until quite recently, the dominant stereotypes of Indians have tended to be negative, inaccurate, self-seeking, or in other ways misleading, the result of which has been an ethnocentric and prejudiced view of Native American culture, history, and people.

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There are several theoretical implications which can be drawn from these observations. First, the fact that past and current Indian stereotypes appear in various domains of American culture suggests that they are deeply imbedded in American historical and contemporary consciousness. To use a linguistic analogy, there may be an underlying "deep structure" of Indian stereotyping to which non-Indians subscribe that is transformed into situationally dependent surface expressions. Second, the variable and dynamic nature of past Indian stereotypes suggests that current stereotypes may be equally dynamic, such that the prevalence, variation and cohesiveness of presently-held stereotypes should not be taken for granted. This implication is of particular concern in this paper for, as we show, current Indian stereotypes may be very different from those of the past.

The fact that past Indian stereotypes tended to be negative, inaccurate, misleading, and insensitive to Native Americans raises some very important questions about education. Is this trend continuing? If so, why does it continue in the face of widely available resources on Native American cultures, history, and people? If educational planners are interested in reducing any such discrepancy between model and reality, what formal and informal educational materials and activities should be employed to change Indian stereotypes to a more positive light? If current Indian stereotypes are becoming more positive, accurate, and sensitive to Native Americans, what has been responsible for the shift and how can the trends be maintained and improved?

From the perspective of ethnic relations, communication and interaction between Native Americans and others are affected by the conceptual models each group has of the other. (This is particularly true where tribes interact with local non-Indians over the exercise of treaty hunting and fishing rights.) Thus the study of these conceptual models (stereotypes) becomes vitally important in understanding the dynamics of ethnic relations and offering recommendations for their improvement.

The goal of the present paper is to add to our understanding of current Indian stereotypes through the use of survey sampling and quantitative measuring instruments. Our specific aims are to describe some dimensions of Indian stereotyping and their variation among a sample of college students, and to compare our results with previous research on the subject. Finally, our results

are used to address some of the theoretical concerns outlined at the beginning of this paper.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Historical Research

While historical approaches to Indian stereotyping vary in the dimensions emphasized and the time period studied, they are characterized by two common features: 1) explication of the functional context of Indian stereotyping in Euroamerican political, economic, and philosophical arenas, and 2) a qualitative methodology.

Whether viewed through the lenses of Puritanism, Romantic Naturalism, Agrarian Ideal, Imperialism, or Environmentalism, the perceptions of Indians as ignoble, noble, or somewhere in between were ideologies that were functionally adjusted to the plans and needs of colonial Europe and the United States. For example, in *Puritans, Indians and Manifest Destiny*, Segal and Stineback¹ demonstrate how the Puritan view of Indians as a morally and spiritually inferior people living in a "wilderness" outside the domain of God and civilization served to justify the economic expansion of New England colonies and expropriation of Indian lands. John Cotton, a Puritan minister of the 1630's, professed a common belief concerning the taking of Indian lands: "In a vacant soil, he that hath taketh possession of it, and bestoweth culture and husbandry upon it, his right it is."²

In *Savagism and Civilization*, Pearce³ traced the historical trajectory of images of the American Indians as influenced by Puritanism, the Enlightenment, Agrarian Idealism, Manifest Destiny, and Evolutionism. While the images varied, for Pearce they all shared the common feature of using the American Indians as a symbol for the idea of Savagism.⁴ Savagism was existence outside the bounds of civilization, deficient and devoid of the ethnocentrically-derived "positive" traits of Euroamerican society, and through time the American Indians were defined as representatives of Savagery. For the Puritans, Indians were equated with Satan, opposing God's work in the creation of a New Canaan. Romantic and Enlightenment thinkers viewed the Indians, either

noble or ignoble, as pristine and natural men permanently attached to their savage nature. The subsequent development of the Agrarian Ideal and Manifest Destiny in the context of American expansion in the nineteenth century fostered a perceptive of Indians in terms of natural laws of progress and evolution. Indians were represented as an inferior people culturally tethered to a dying age which was being replaced by civilization according to "natural laws" of progress. Whether perceived as bloodthirsty and without morality or virtuous and just, Indians were viewed as the zero point of human society, serving as the symbolic benchmark from which Euroamerican society could measure its own growth and progress.⁵

A more recent study, similar to that of Pearce, is Berkhofer's *The White Man's Indian*.⁶ After tracing the historical trajectory of Indian stereotypes, Berkhofer extends his analysis to current stereotypes, demonstrating the common threads of assumptions and beliefs about Indians in various domains of American culture from the earliest Spanish contacts in the New World up to the present time. Consistently present in the historical Euroamerican perceptions of Indians are: the typological lumping of Native American cultures and peoples into one homogeneous "other" category such as "los Indios" (Spanish), "le sauvage" (French), or "Indian" (English/American); conceptualizing Native American culture and society as static, unchanging, and therefore an anachronism of primitive life and later of the West; and the perception of Native Americans as alternatively noble (good) or ignoble (bad) but nevertheless deficient in intellect, accomplishment, and culture. Stereotypes of Indians were a reverse model of white society wherein the perceptions of Indians as pristine environmentalists or bloodthirsty savages depended on the observer's feelings about his own society and the use to which he wanted to put the image.⁷ Thus, for social critics the Noble Savage was the appropriate metaphor, while the defenders of empire and expansion portrayed the Indian as an ignoble menace. In either case, Indians were seen as deficient and static within the broader stereotypic paradigm underlying the Noble/Ignoble dichotomy. An implication of the traditional paradigm was that Indians were a vanishing race and would have no place in the "new" America. Their era ended in a losing struggle with the natural laws of progress.

Berkhofer, however, also suggests that Indian stereotyping changed as a result of the development of cultural anthropology, with its tenets of cultural pluralism and cultural/moral relativism, during the twentieth century in the United States.⁸ Berkhofer attributes this shift to the Boasian program, which emphasized the ethnographic study of specific tribes and cultures from the cultural relativist posture, thus providing a philosophical context for understanding and accepting cultural variation. An important point which Berkhofer makes is that the ideological tenets of cultural pluralism and cultural/moral relativism must be taken into account when analyzing current Indian stereotypes. His major criticism of the Boasian program, echoing a point made earlier by McNickle,⁹ was its tendency to concentrate on the ethnographic reconstruction of past tribal life and culture. In creating a timeless "ethnographic present" which acted to steer interest in Native Americans to pre-reservation cultures, anthropology tended to reinforce the association of Indians with the past. Despite this criticism, Berkhofer suggests that a new Indian stereotype paradigm has emerged in recent times. As altered by the adoption of cultural and moral relativism, one implication of the emergent paradigm is that Indian cultures continue to have a place in a culturally pluralistic America. An important question, however, is whether the emergent Indian stereotype paradigm has actually replaced, or is competing with, the traditional paradigm. The present research demonstrates that these two paradigms appear to coexist, with the emergent model currently more prevalent among respondents in our study.

In sum, the historical literature has contributed in important ways to an understanding of Indian stereotypes. It has documented the dynamic nature of non-Indian images and beliefs about Indians within the parameters of the traditional stereotype paradigm as functionally related to the goals of Euroamerican society. It has pointed out the misleading, negative character of much Indian stereotyping. The literature has demonstrated the deep-rooted nature of Indian stereotypes through the examination of various cultural domains such as art, literature, philosophy, popular culture, history, science, and law. It has also documented the multi-dimensionality of Indian stereotypes through the examination of evidence bearing on Native American culture, morality, values, and potential. The major limitation

of the historical approach has been over-reliance on the qualitative approach. Based on selected case illustrations, stereotypic images and beliefs have been assumed to be fairly uniform, widespread, and salient among non-Indians, but the actual frequency and variation of such beliefs in the general population was not directly examined.

Contemporary Research

Numerous studies were examined which attempt to address the problem of recent or current Indian stereotypes and which, despite differing foci and methods, characterize these stereotypes as being fueled by those of the past.¹⁰ With few exceptions, the general conclusion reached by these researchers is that Native Americans continue to be labeled in inaccurate, misleading, static, and derogatory terms. Most of the evidence upon which these conclusions are based comes from two domains of American culture: 1) educational materials (especially textbook analysis); and 2) popular media (particularly the motion picture industry). In most cases, methodology has focused on qualitative data collection.

During the 1970's educational materials portraying Native American history and culture came under intense, and legitimate, scrutiny. A qualitative assessment by the American Indian Historical Society during this period of over 300 primary and secondary history textbooks concluded that not one could be approved as a dependable source of knowledge about the history and cultures of Native Americans.¹¹ Similar results were reported by Hirschfelder in an examination of the treatment of the Iroquois in selected history texts.¹² For example, it was found that Iroquois contributions to American history were either ignored or downplayed, while other aspects of their culture were negatively described. In a quantitative examination of five eighth-grade history books adopted by the state of California, Garcia found varying frequencies of a limited number of themes depicting Native Americans¹³ that included: "noble savage," "white man's helper," "Indian maiden," "red varmint," and "warrior/fighter." Negative and inaccurate depictions of California Native Americans were similarly reported by Bean.¹⁴ Finally, the implications of negative stereotypes of Native Americans for education and cul-

tural pluralism have been addressed by Bataille. Though Bataille's focus is on the effects of past Indian stereotypes in promulgating current ones, she acknowledges the recent rejection of the "melting pot" concept (upon which the traditional stereotype is based) in favor of cultural pluralism.¹⁵ This latter point agrees with Berkhofer's contention of a new Indian stereotype based upon the tenets of cultural relativism.

The media, particularly the motion picture industry, have also been used to measure the interplay between past and current Indian stereotypes. For example, Bataille and Silet have discussed the formation of Hollywood Indian imagery as a continuation of stereotypes created in the captivity narratives and dime novels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁶ Similarly, Stedman¹⁷ and Price¹⁸ describe and analyze the stereotyping of Indians in the motion picture industry. Price, in particular, shows that while the prevailing stereotypes were negative and inaccurate during the period 1908-1947, subsequent motion picture endeavors have sought to break down these traditional images. This re-orientation, Price argues, is based on the increased number of Indian documentaries, greater use of Indian actors, and a greater sympathy toward Indians.¹⁹

Contemporary studies thus have documented the persistence of traditional Indian stereotypes in certain domains of American culture, and provided some evidence suggesting that a different Indian stereotype is emerging, as well. There are, however, several important limitations of the contemporary studies. They tend to focus on negative stereotypes and overgeneralize about the relative pervasiveness of these stereotypes. The fact that the movie industry recycles movies containing inaccurate and misleading Indian stereotypes from earlier eras does not necessarily mean that audiences universally embrace them. Likewise, the demonstrated inadequacy of certain textbooks does not mean the nonexistence of countervailing educational literature. The contemporary studies sometimes appear to assume that the presence of negative stereotyping in one cultural domain (e.g. educational literature or movies) is an automatic indicator of its presence in others and that identified misconceptions are widely believed. According to Shaughnessy, for instance, the AIHS cites the following as "common misconceptions" of American Indians: "Indians are warlike people"; "Indians' physical features are

generally indistinguishable"; "Indians are dry, stoical, humorless"; "Indians are unreliable"; and "Indian languages are guttural, simple, just like animals."²⁰ The pervasiveness of such beliefs should not be taken as a foregone conclusion, but rather treated as hypotheses to be tested. The question, "What do people really believe about Indians today?" must be addressed with more empirical rigor. The present study constitutes a modest beginning.

DATA COLLECTION

Early in the fall of 1987, questionnaires were distributed to students in undergraduate sociology and anthropology courses at one large southwestern university. They were completed by 226 students present in classes on the day the questionnaire was given.

Description of Sample

The mean age of students in this sample was 23; the median was 20. Forty percent of the respondents were male and 60 percent were female. Seventy-five percent were white, 9 percent black, and 7 percent Hispanic. Only three students (1.3%) reported themselves as American Indian. The remaining students included Asian-American (5%) and self identified "other" (3%). Twenty-four percent were freshmen, 32 percent sophomores, and 26 percent juniors. Another 18 percent were seniors and special students. The sample was essentially similar in composition to overall enrollment in the larger college of Liberal Arts at this institution.

Instrument

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. First, students went through a set of twenty dichotomous concepts concerning American Indians. They were asked to check for each word pair which concept best reflected what "American Indians" meant to them, with zero being neutral—(e.g., Hunter $\frac{3}{3}$ $\frac{2}{2}$ $\frac{1}{1}$ $\frac{0}{0}$ $\frac{1}{1}$ $\frac{2}{2}$ $\frac{3}{3}$ Farmer). These dichotomous concepts were designed to elicit connota-

tions concerning cultural (e.g., hunter/farmer) and personal (e.g. weak/strong) stereotypes.

In the second part of the questionnaire, students filled in some background information on age, sex, race, and year in school and answered ten questions pertaining to exposure to various sources of information about American Indians (e.g. proximity to a reservation, Indian friends or acquaintances, school, mass media). The final section of the questionnaire was a 40-item opinion and knowledge survey in which students were asked to respond to a series of statements (from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Items selected from this section were used to measure factual knowledge, perceived homogeneity, attitudes toward assimilation, and victim blaming. Additional items provided a check on stereotyping and covered issues not analyzed here, e.g., protection of Indian burial sites.

RESULTS

Cultural Stereotypes

Data bearing on the cultural stereotypes of Native Americans were derived from the dichotomous pair concepts. The dichotomous concepts were assigned "agree-disagree" ratings. For example, for the Primitive-Civilized item, those scoring a 1, 2, or 3 on the Primitive side "agreed" with this concept as applied to American Indians. Those scoring a 1, 2, or 3 on the Civilized side "disagreed" with the Primitive connotation. Those scoring in the center (0) were given a neutral rating.

Our aim was to ascertain the extent to which students might accept the traditional stereotype paradigm by agreeing that American Indians are simple, primitive, traditional, rural, warlike hunters associated with the past. Note that some of these concepts (e.g., primitive/civilized) have stronger negative connotations than others (e.g., rural/urban), and we might expect to find a fairly high level of agreement with the concepts past and traditional even among respondents whose attitudes reflect the emergent stereotype paradigm, for reasons outlined earlier.

As figure 1 (a,b) shows, the concepts conceived as traditional cultural stereotypes received only mixed support. While a high

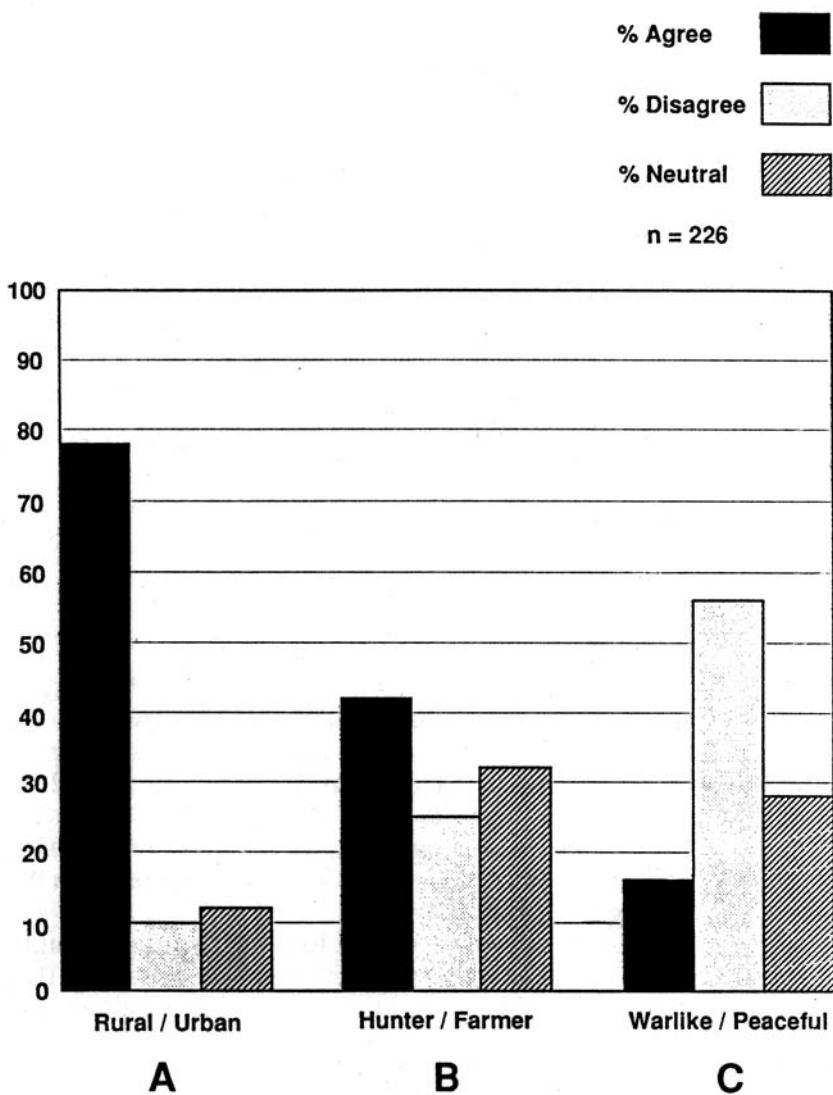


FIGURE 1.a: Student Responses to Cultural Stereotypes of Native Americans.

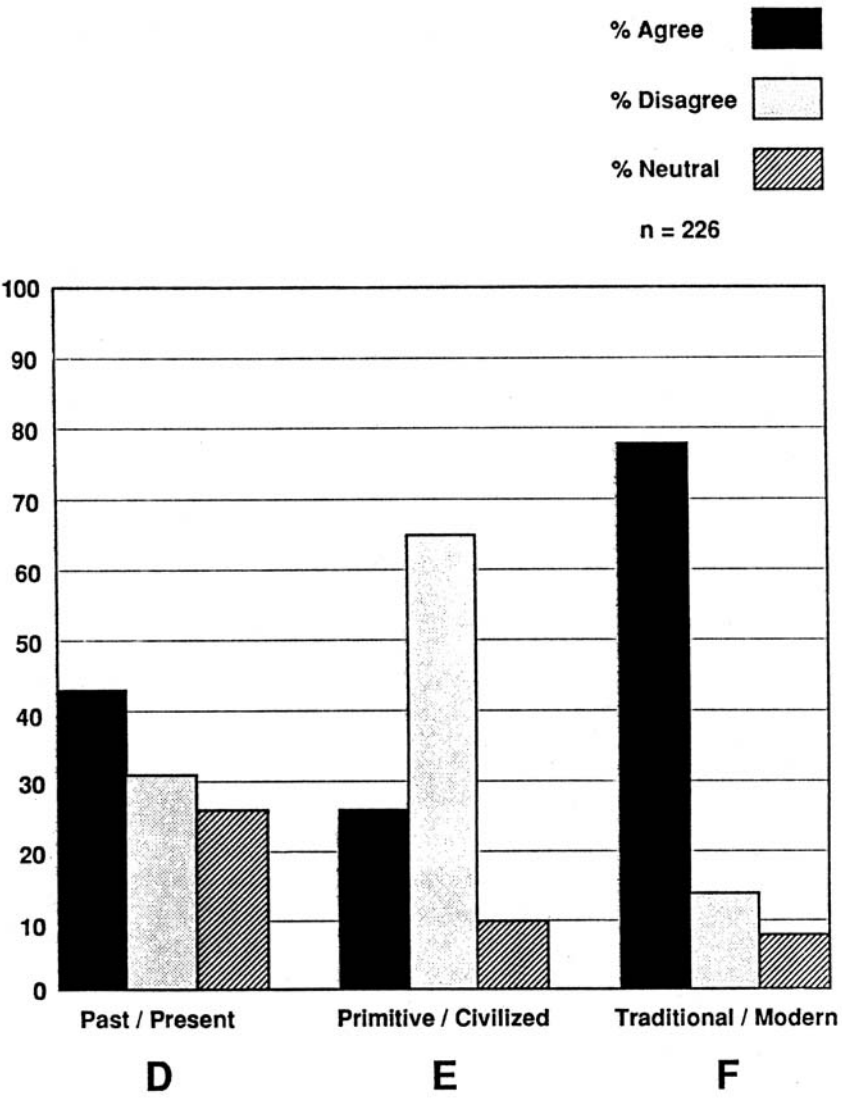


FIGURE 1.b: Student Responses to Cultural Stereotypes of Native Americans.

percentage (78%) of students viewed Indians as rural (perhaps because reservations are mainly in rural areas), a much smaller proportion thought of Indians as hunters (42%) rather than farmers (25%). More students identified Indians with the past (43%) than with the present (31%) and 78 percent saw Indians as traditional. However, a majority of respondents (57% and 65%) "disagreed" that Indians are warlike or primitive; 16 percent and 26 percent, respectively, "agreed." Thus this sample does tend to associate Indians with the past, and most respondents view Indians as rural and traditional. At the same time, Indians are seen as peaceful and civilized, not as warlike or primitive—which indicates a departure from some outmoded beliefs that were part of the traditional stereotypic paradigm.

Personal Stereotypes

Ten personal traits, presented as dichotomous concepts, were included in the opening section of the questionnaire: lazy/hard-working; apathetic/activist; non-competitive/competitive; weak/strong; undependable/dependable; unpatriotic/patriotic; submissive/dominant; withdrawn/outgoing; docile/assertive; and sullen/cheerful. Recall that students were given the response choice of "neutral" if neither term described what "American Indians" meant to them. We were interested in assessing the range of variation in student responses—that is, whether they tended to view Indians in negative or positive terms for each dichotomous pair. Being lazy, apathetic, non-competitive, weak, undependable, unpatriotic, submissive, withdrawn, docile, and sullen were provisionally treated as negative and recoded so that any degree of agreement was taken as assignment of these personal traits. Frequencies of "agree," "disagree," and neutral responses are presented in figure 2 (a-c). For only three of the ten negative traits did we find more students who agreed than disagreed: submissive (48%); withdrawn (52%); and sullen (42%). For each of the remaining negative traits, the majority of respondents *disagreed*. For example, 72 percent disagreed with lazy, 55 percent disagreed with non-competitive, 81 percent disagreed with weak, 55 percent disagreed with undependable, and 60 percent disagreed with unpatriotic. Neutral responses were given by one-quarter to one-third of the students on most of the personal trait

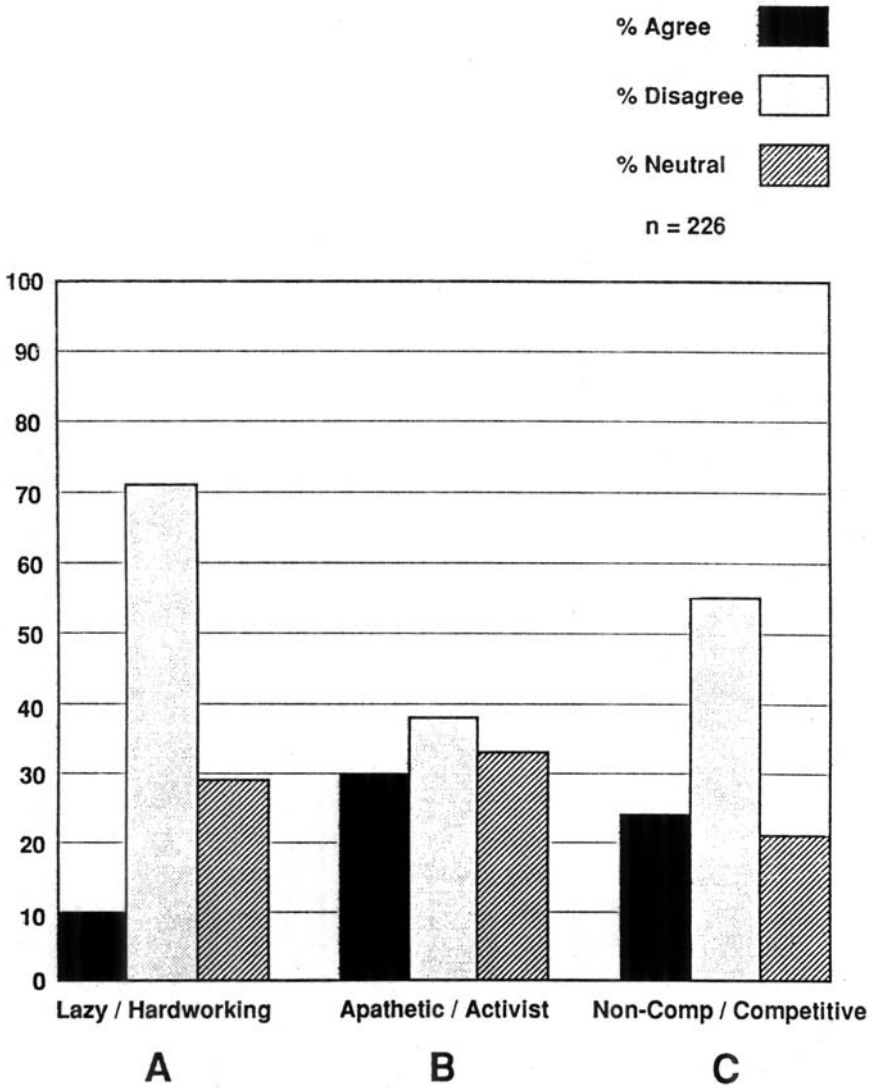


FIGURE 2.a: Student Responses to Personal Stereotypes of Native Americans.

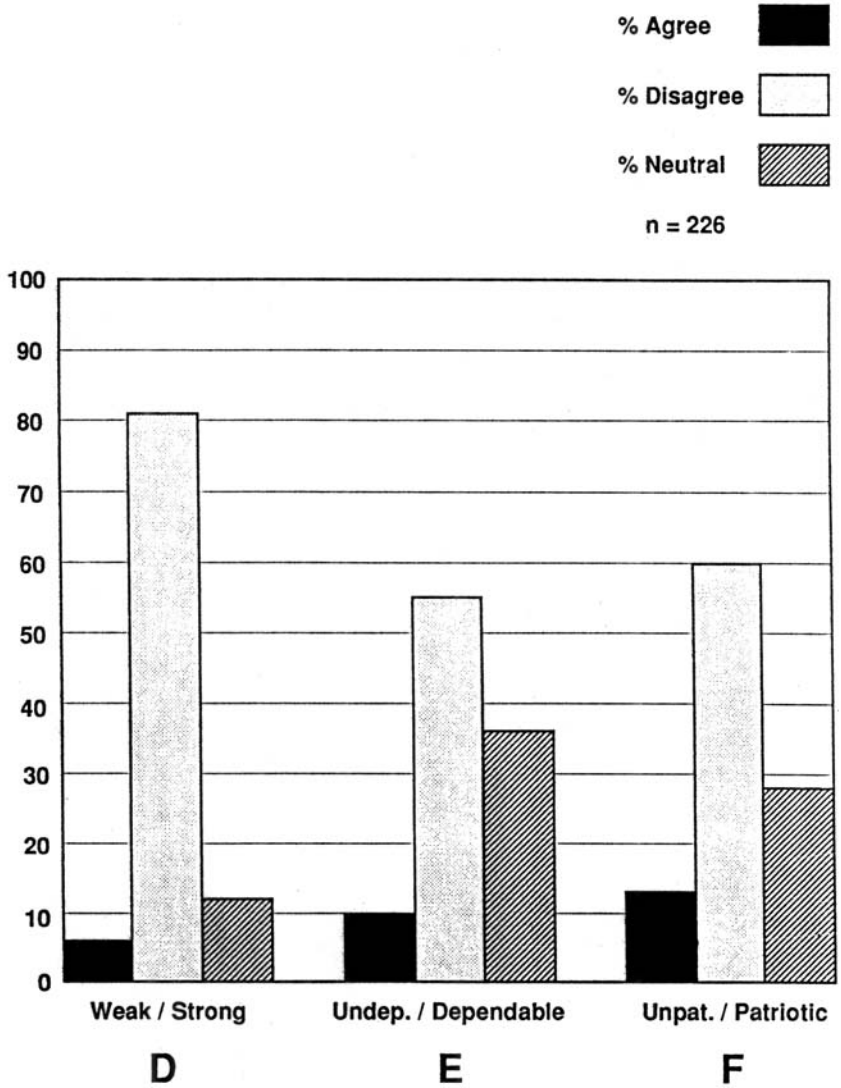


FIGURE 2.b: Student Responses to Personal Stereotypes of Native Americans.

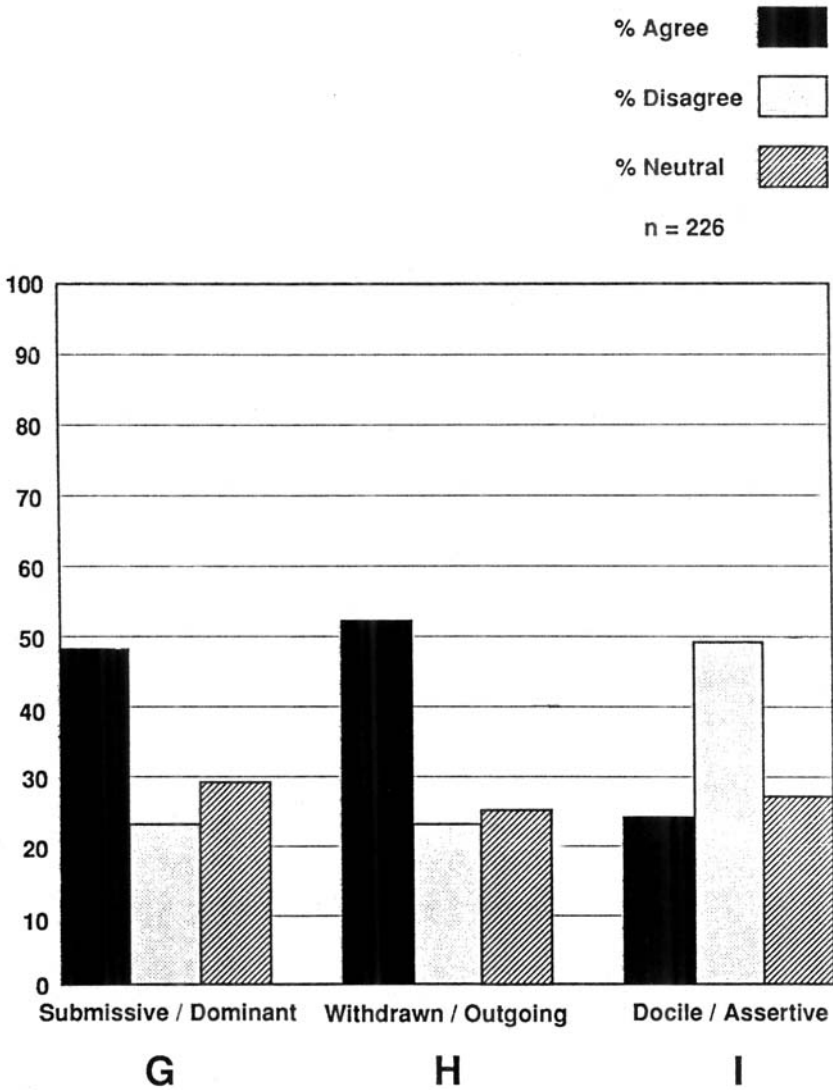


FIGURE 2.c: Student Responses to Personal Stereotypes of Native Americans.

items. Thus, the majority of respondents tended not to view Native Americans in negative personal terms. Moreover, Indians were positively regarded by this sample as strong, hardworking, and patriotic.

Cultural Homogeneity

In the third section of the questionnaire, there were six questions that dealt with cultural homogeneity. These questions were designed to elicit beliefs regarding the extent to which respondents thought American Indians are collectively a homogeneous people. These were:

- Depicting Indians as a hunting and warring people is an accurate description of traditional Indian life (Q15).
- When first contacted by Europeans, American Indian societies displayed a crude culture and a few simple languages (Q16).
- American Indians have displayed a wide variety and diversity in languages and cultures (Q22).
- The term "American Indian" is an accurate label to describe native inhabitants of North America, because they are more or less the same (Q32).
- Culturally, American Indians are pretty much the same from one tribe to the next (Q36).
- American Indians were a warlike, savage race before being introduced to civilization (Q54).

Responses to each question are presented in figure 3 (a,b). In every case, the majority of respondents disagreed with statements advancing homogeneity and sameness. For example, 58 percent of the respondents disagreed that Indian societies displayed a crude culture with a few simple languages, 85 percent disagreed that Indians were culturally the same from one tribe to the next, and 73 percent disagreed with the statement that American Indians were savage and warlike before being civilized. On the other hand, 81 percent agreed that Indians have displayed wide cultural and linguistic diversity. These data suggest that the vast majority of respondents in this study tend to reject homogeneous, typological lumping of Native Americans in favor of a more heterogenous perception.

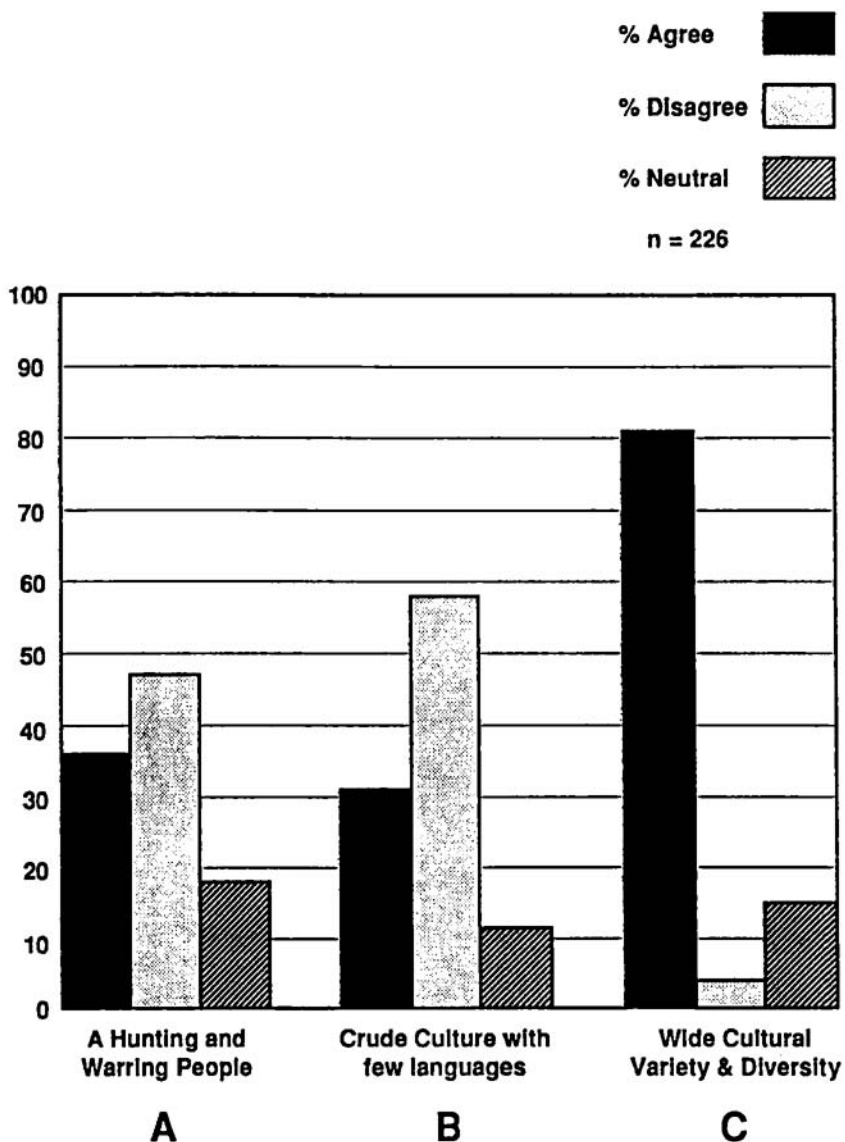


FIGURE 3.a: Responses of Students to Questions Pertaining to Native American Homogeneity.

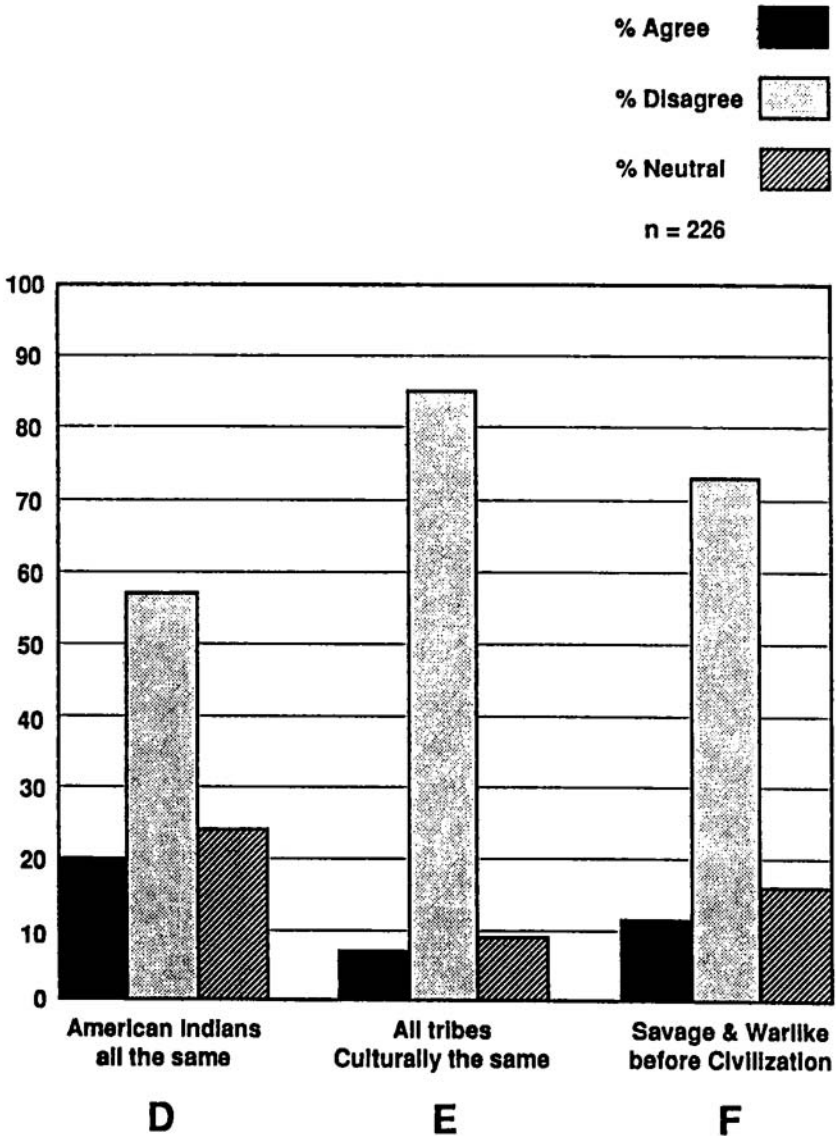


FIGURE 3.b: Responses of Students to Questions Pertaining to Native American Homogeneity.

Assimilation

There were three items in the “statements” portion of the questionnaire which dealt with assimilation. These were:

- Indians should forget about their tribal ways and learn to live like the white man (Q21).
- Indian tribes should be encouraged to retain their cultural heritage even if it differs from that of non-Indians (Q46).
- Indians should learn to assimilate into the mainstream of American society (Q56).

Response frequencies for these statements are presented in figure 4. As can be seen there, the responses obtained were not entirely consistent. While 88 percent of the respondents disagreed that Indians should forget their tribal culture and learn to live like the white man, and 85 percent agreed that Indian tribes should be encouraged to retain their heritage despite being different from white society, only 38 percent disagreed and 40 percent agreed with the statement that Indians should learn to assimilate into the American mainstream. The apparent contradiction disappears, however, if this statement is interpreted to mean that Indians should *be able* to assimilate (as opposed to being forced to). All together, responses to the three items concerning assimilation may suggest that the majority of students in this sample believe Indians should be *bicultural*—in other words should retain their tribal heritage, culture and language *and* be able to participate in the larger mainstream.

Victim Blaming

Six items were designed to elicit beliefs and attitudes concerning victim blaming. They were:

- American Indians have made important contributions to American civilization (Q18).
- The conquest of American Indians by the United States was justifiable because the Indians stood in the way of American progress (Q25).
- American Indians “can’t handle their liquor” compared to non-Indians (Q40).

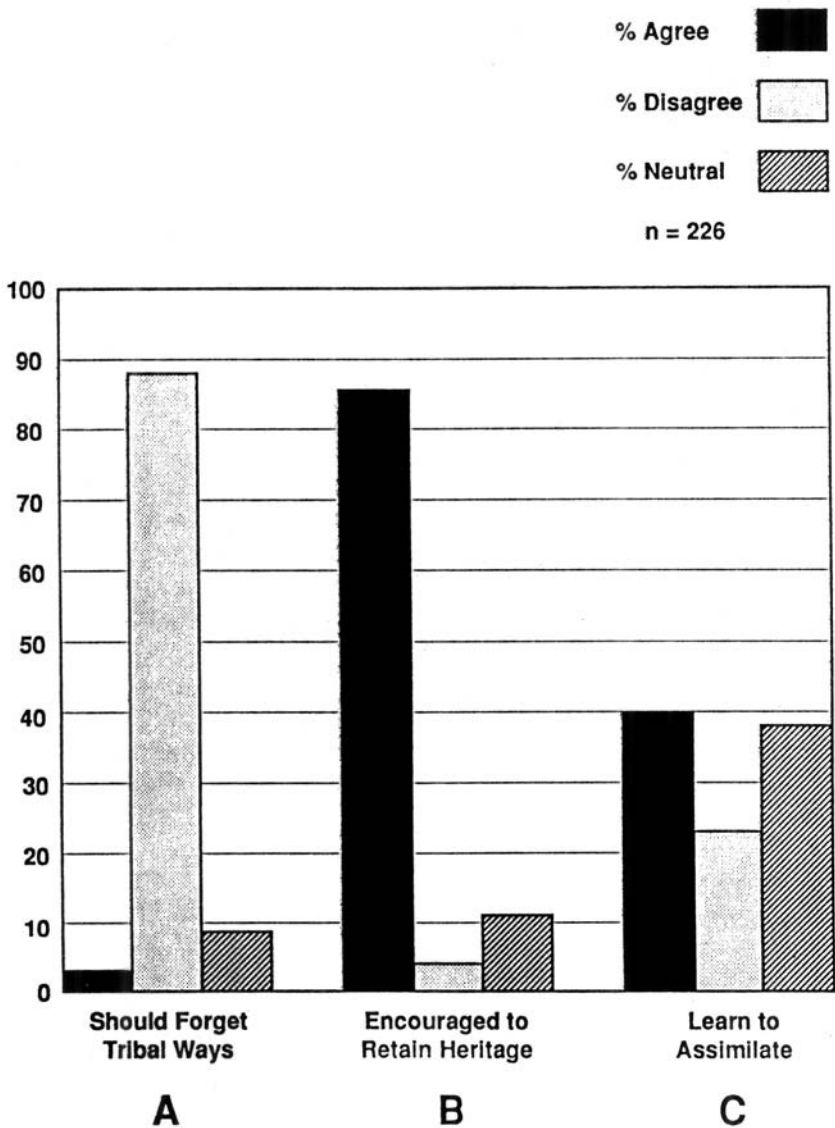


FIGURE 4: Responses of Students to Questions Pertaining to Native American Assimilation.

- American Indians have only themselves to blame for their social and economic position in American society today (Q43).
- Indian people are competent to handle their own affairs and should be allowed self-determination (freedom to decide their future) (Q49).
- Modern Indian children come from a culturally deprived environment (Q44).

The frequencies for responses to these items are presented in figure 5 (a,b). For most of the victim blaming statements, a large majority of the respondents disagreed. For example, 72 percent disagreed that the conquest of Indians was justifiable because they stood in the way of progress; 58 percent disagreed that Indians cannot handle their liquor compared with whites; and 88 percent disagreed that Indians have only themselves to blame for their economic and social position in American society today. On the other hand, 90 percent of the respondents agreed that Indians had made important contributions to American civilization, and 87 percent agreed that Indians were competent and should have self-determination. Opinion is more divided on whether modern Indian children come from a culturally deprived environment. Apart from a small minority who do not recognize the contributions American Indians have made (11%) and who may believe that Indians themselves are to blame for their current circumstances (12%), respondents in this study as a whole do not appear to have a victim blaming orientation with respect to American Indians.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Several dimensions of Indian stereotyping have been examined using a three-part questionnaire completed by a sample of 226 undergraduate students at the University of Texas, located in the metropolitan Dallas-Fort Worth area. These dimensions were: cultural stereotypes, personal stereotypes, perceived degree of homogeneity, attitudes toward assimilation, and victim blaming. While it is important to stress that results of our survey cannot be generalized beyond the present sample, our findings do lend support to Berkhofer's general hypothesis that an emergent Indian stereotype is evident among non-Indians. The emergent

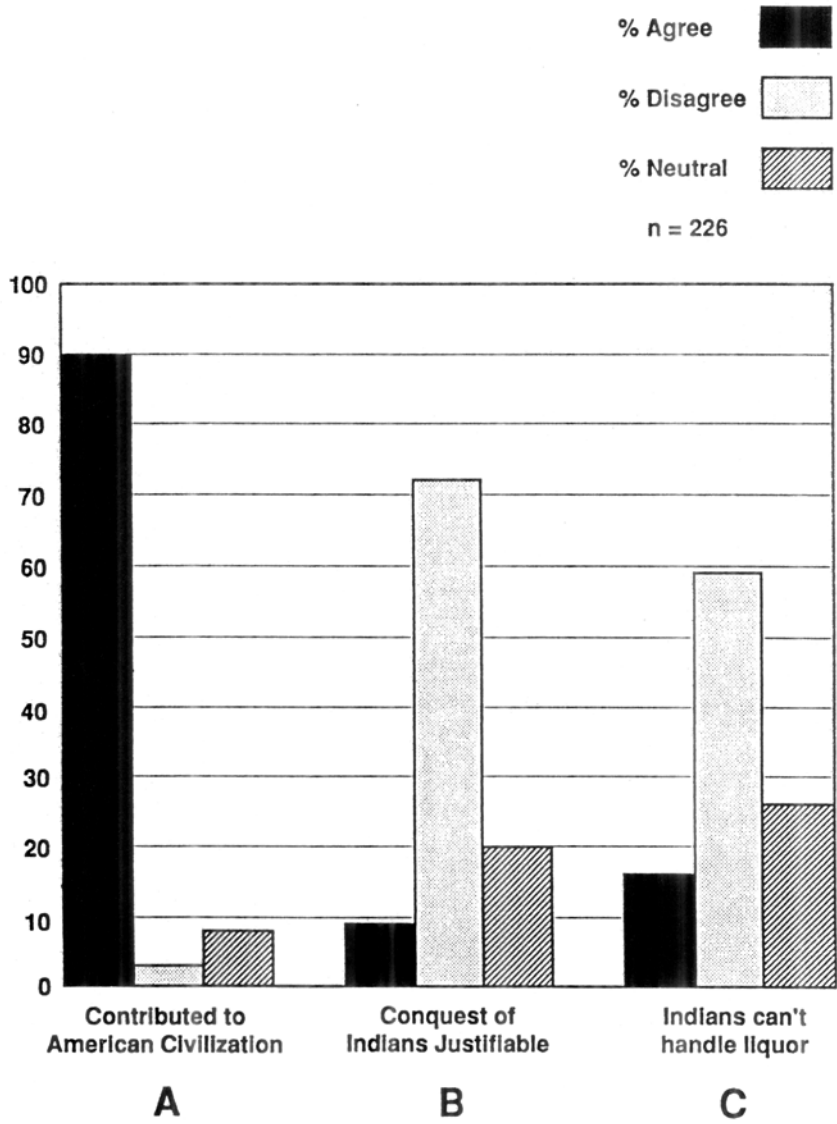


FIGURE 5.a: Students Responses to Questions Pertaining to "Victim Blaming" of Native Americans.

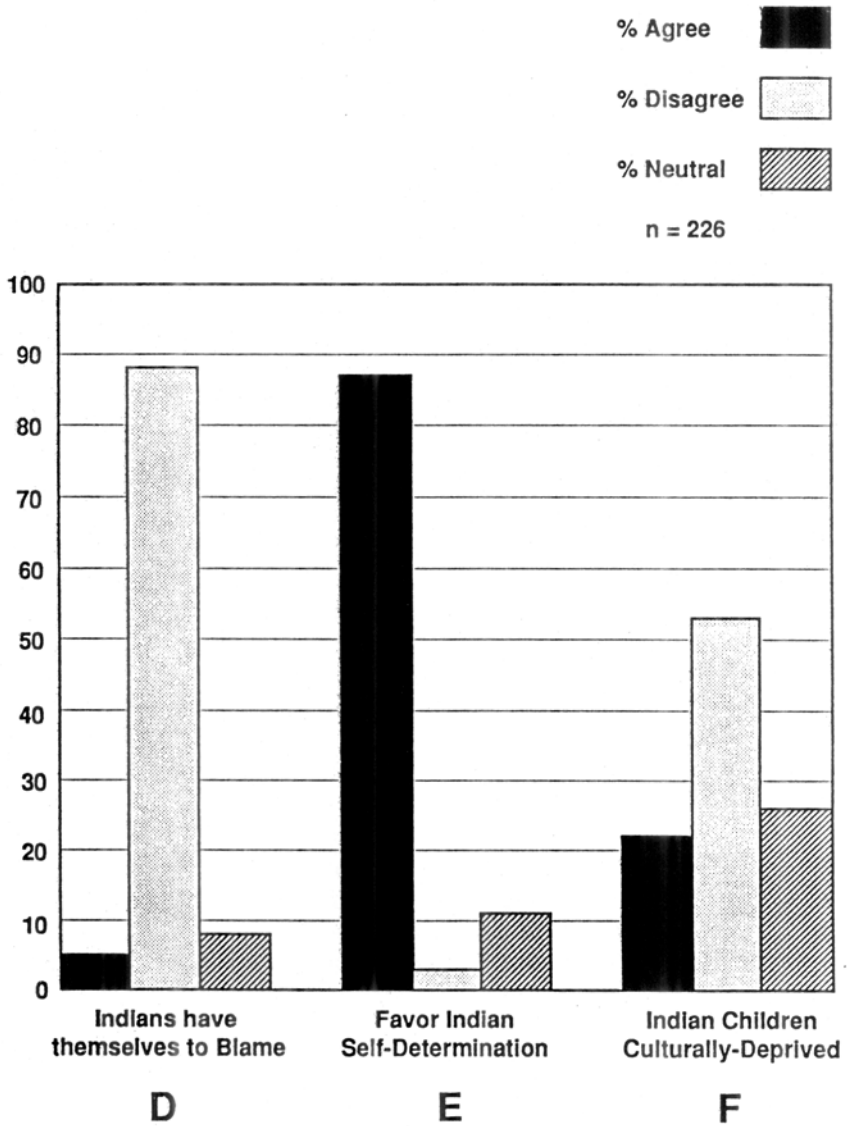


FIGURE 5.b: Students Responses to Questions Pertaining to "Victim Blaming" of Native Americans.

paradigm is based on perceptions of Native Americans through the philosophical and attitudinal lenses of cultural pluralism and cultural relativism. In our sample, the emergent stereotype appears to coexist with, but is more prevalent than, the traditional stereotype paradigm. Thus, there is variation in the stereotype dimensions embraced by this sample, but on the whole the respondents conform to Bataille's and Price's contention that the traditional "melting pot" statement stereotyping is breaking down and being re-oriented to one based on cultural pluralism.²¹

What are the educational implications of this research? What forces have been responsible for the apparent re-orientation of Indian stereotyping as reflected in our sample? We asked our respondents to rank, in order from most to least influential, the following sources of information about Native Americans: TV/movies; magazines; books; newspapers; conversation; and lectures. The majority of respondents ranked TV/movies as the most influential source of information, followed by books and lectures. Price's observation that the motion picture industry has recently increased its production of documentaries and is treating Native American cultures and peoples in a more sympathetic light may be relevant. However, much more research is needed to examine specific educational media (current textbook examinations, high school curricular content, college courses, the impact of PBS, National Geographic specials, and cable TV networks like "Discovery") and their specific impact on stereotypic beliefs.

Finally, it should be stressed that our research is preliminary and our conclusions are based on only one sample in one region of the country. American Indians are not a highly visible minority in our immediate geographic area, and this is likely to be a factor influencing non-Indians' attitudes and beliefs. We are in the process of collecting comparative data from a college student sample (using the same instrument) in an upper Midwest area where Indians are a more prominent group and Indian rights issues are more controversial. There is also a need for survey-type studies of broader populations, since college students typically represent a relatively well-educated and liberal segment of the community. The results of this analysis may not be generalizable beyond the type of individuals studied (*viz.*, white, young, middle-class). Evidence of greater enlightenment about Indians in other portions of American society remains to be presented.

It is clear from other cultural domains (such as commercial iconography) that inaccurate and negative images of Native Americans continue to be present in our society. Far less certain is the precise connection between the familiar caricature of the generic Indian and the more complex set of beliefs and attitudes that individuals actually hold concerning Native Americans. This connection is of fundamental importance for understanding the relative strength of the two opposed paradigms discussed in this paper. The "partisan" literature is correct in calling attention to the continuation of negative traditional stereotypes (which, in themselves, are offensive to Native Americans). There were students in our own sample for whom the concept "American Indians" still connotes a warlike primitive people, who agree that Indians are all pretty much the same, attribute negative personal traits to American Indians, and blame them for their current economic and social position—but *they were the minority*. More students were neutral than were negative, and, as detailed in earlier sections, the majority expressed positive attitudes on many items, consistent with Berkhofer's thesis of a more favorable emergent stereotype paradigm. Thus our results are encouraging, though they are tentative and need to be tested further.

NOTES

1. Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, *Puritans, Indians and Manifest Destiny*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977).

2. *Ibid.*, 53.

3. Roy H. Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953).

4. *Ibid.*, vii.

5. *Ibid.*, 48-49.

6. Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978).

7. *Ibid.*, 3, 11, 13, 25, 27, 29.

8. *Ibid.*, 62.

9. Darcy McNickle, "American Indians Who Never Were," *The Indian Historian* 3, no. 3(1970): 4-7.

10. See, for example, Ward Churchill, Norbert Hill and Mary Ann Hill, "Media Stereotyping and Native Response: An Historical Overview," *The Indian Historian* 11, no.4(1978): 45-56. See also Richard L. Haan, "Another Example of Stereotypes on the Early American Frontier: The Imperialist Historians and the American Indian," *Ethnohistory* 20, no.2(1973): 143-152.

11. American Indian Historical Society, *Textbooks and the American Indian* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1970), 11.

12. Arlene B. Hirschfelder, "The Treatment of Iroquois Indians in Selected American History Textbooks," *The Indian Historian* 8, no.2(1975): 31-39.

13. Jesus Garcia, "From Bloody Savages to Heroic Chiefs," *Journal of American Indian Education*, January (1978).

14. Lowell J. Bean, "The Language of Stereotype, Inaccuracy, and Distortion," in *The American Indian Reader: Education* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1972).

15. Gretchen M. Bataille, "Education and the Images of the American Indian," *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* 1, no.1(1978): 37-49.

16. Gretchen M. Bataille and Charles L. P. Silet, "Economic and Psychic Exploitation of American Indians," *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* 6, no.2(1983): 8-23.

17. Raymond W. Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).

18. John A. Price, "The Stereotyping of North American Indians in Motion Pictures," *Ethnohistory* 20, no.2(1973): 153-171.

19. *Ibid.*, 153, 170.

20. Tim Shaughnessy, "White Stereotypes of Indians," *Journal of American Indian Education*, January (1973): 23.

21. Bataille, "Education and Images of the American Indian," 49; Price, "The Stereotyping of North American Indians in Motion Pictures," 53.