



***SACAJAWEA, POCAHONTAS, AND CRAYONS:  
REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN  
IN CHILDREN'S COLORING BOOKS***

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**Abstract**

Children develop social understandings through interactions with toys, books, and craft activities, including coloring books. This article presents a study of representations of Native American women and girls in Euro-American produced children's coloring books commercially published during the past 75 years. This content analysis focuses on appearance and character activities from a gender-based lens of representations of social expectations held and perpetuated by dominant Euro-American productions of Native American masculinity and femininity. The study found that Native women are insufficiently and inaccurately presented. These findings are consistent with analysis of children's books in general, indicating a need for authenticity from Native American lived experiences and perspectives in the content and presentation of women and girls, to enrich children's understandings of Indigenous people and culture learned through coloring books.

*Keywords:* coloring book, Native American, representation, stereotype, women

**Coloring Bias**

For 500 years, Native American peoples, both real and imagined, have been presented to the European and American public in theatrical plays, Wild West Shows, advertising, romance novels, newspapers, magazines, paintings, television, and films, while books, holiday costumes, cartoons, and toys have presented ideas about Native Americans to children (Bird, 1996; Ono & Buescher, 2001). As a child in the 1960s, living in Iowa, my own understandings of U.S. history and Native cultures were undoubtedly influenced by mass media and popular culture materials featuring cowboy and Native American themes. As an anthropologist and cultural historian, teaching Native American Studies courses to university students, I have had to examine biases acquired in my youth. While my research focuses primarily on the history and culture of Southern Plains tribal communities, as recalled in the life histories of Native elders, I also explore representations of Native Americans in movies, photographs, postcards, and magazine advertising (Stokely, 2015; 2004). This paper extends my analysis of representation in diverse media formats by considering Native American women and girls in children's coloring books.

Many scholars have examined and discussed the representation of both gender and Native Americans in children's literature and picture books (Gooden & Gooden, 2001; Grauerholz & Pescosolido, 1989; Hamilton et. al. 2006; Hirschfelder, 1999; McCabe et. al. 2011), as well as graphic novels and comic books (Johnson, 2014; Sheyahshe, 2008). Researchers have also considered gendered images in coloring books (Fitzpatrick & McPherson, 2010; Rachlin & Vogt, 1974), but there has been no examination of Native Americans, men or women, in coloring books. To contribute to these investigations, I assembled a collection of 53 commercially-published coloring books with a Native American theme and analyzed the illustrations. The project's main goals are to better understand how Native American women and girls have been represented in

coloring books by considering frequency of gender images, associated activities, and aspects of personal appearance. I also analyzed whether these elements have persisted or changed over time.

### **Native American Representations in Popular Culture and Mass Media**

Native American representations have a long and complex history in European and Euro-American literature, theater, newspapers, photographs, films, cartoons, and educational materials. Interestingly, several themes constructed in the early 20th century media have persisted in the 21st century, despite changes in society and the advent of new technologies. One of the most powerful themes characterizes Native people as being either noble or savage (Berkhoffer, 1979). The savage is typically presented as an aggressive and sexual Native American, who is an impediment to progress. Alternatively, the noble Native is represented in popular culture as attractive, kind, wise, generous, and helpful. Euro-Americans constructed these noble and savage characters to explain and justify aspects of colonialism, as well as the need to tame the Native savage in order to advance civilization. Pragmatically, the noble Native, in the Euro-American representations, willingly stepped aside in an act of self-sacrifice for the greater good of [White] America (Mithlo, 2009).

Representations of Native American men and women continue to be represented and constrained by the Noble/Savage duality. The noble Native woman is personified as a beautiful and wise princess, an essential aide to Euro-American men, personified by both Pocahontas and Sacajawea, while her less civilized counterpart is characterized as either a sexualized vixen or an unattractive squaw and domestic drudge (Bird, 2001; Valakakis, 2005). While there had never been much room for the Princess in the Western film or television genres, the overall visibility of Native women has declined in many of the popular media formats. As Bird (2001) observed, “without the Princess stereotype, white culture had only the Squaw; and she was by definition unimportant and uninteresting” (p. 82). In many Westerns, the female characters are often dramatically removed from the story, motivating men to action and enabling them to return to a state of undomesticated individualism (Marubbio, 2006). Accordingly, in Euro-American narratives, the Native woman either steps aside willingly or is swept away by other events; in

both scenarios, she becomes less visible in the American saga.

### **Popular Culture and Coloring Books**

Before the era of film or television, most Europeans and Americans encountered Native people and cultures primarily through print media. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, new technologies, social changes, and economic shifts led to the increased production and consumption of printed products, including newspapers, magazines, books, photographs, postcards, and advertising materials, as well as children’s toys, games, and craft materials. During the 1880s, publishers in the United States developed an early form of coloring books using pre-inked paper that could be rubbed with a wet brush to reveal a colored image (Jacobs, 2009). Publishers also created books that could be enhanced and enjoyed using colorful wax sticks, including those made by the Crayola Company, producers of chalk and slate pencils. By the 1930s, commercially-produced coloring book themes included cowboys, historical events, cartoon characters, and advertising logos. Characters seen in movie and television programs were promoted by coloring books produced from the 1940s through the 1960s, a period often referred to as the Golden Age of coloring books (Jacobs, 2009). Whitman and Golden Publishers became the leading distributors of inexpensive coloring books, printing many with scenes of cowboys and Native Americans, as well as farm animals, space adventures, and circus life. Today, Spizzirri and Dover are the principle publishers of coloring books that feature Native American themes. Small specialty publishers also offer printed materials to consumers, while governmental agencies, museums, and historical societies create and distribute coloring books that focus on regional history and natural resources. Internet websites also offer a variety of printable pages, and new software programs can transform photographs into illustrations, expanding the diversity of images available for coloring.

### **Gender in Coloring Books**

While children have enjoyed coloring books for many decades, some art educators have questioned the influence that preprinted images have on children’s creativity (King, 1991). Another concern has been the close association of coloring books to films, television, breakfast cereals, and other products, encouraging consumption of products and their associated messages. A recent example of this

powerful phenomenon can be seen with Disney's *Pocahontas*; this animation film has been successfully marketed using a variety of materials including toys, puzzles, coloring books, and school supplies (Ono & Buescher, 2001). These items present the cartoon Native princess romping with furry animals and singing in the wind, reaffirming the film's message that Native women are attuned with nature, gentle, playful, and happy to help English colonists.

In contrast to the analysis of gender and ethnicity in children's literature and picture books, academic examinations of coloring books have been more sporadic. In their 1974 study, Susan Rachlin and Glenda Vogt explored the presentation of gender and social roles in coloring books, finding that boys were drawn as farmers, bus drivers, policemen, firemen, and astronauts. In contrast, girls were primarily depicted as dancers, nurses, teachers, and salespersons. Illustrated girls were also presented engaging in domestic activities such as doll care, shopping, cooking, cleaning, and laundry. Additionally, girls were shown sitting in front of a mirror, fixing their hair, and trying on clothes, while boys played outside. Significantly, the study's authors noted that

as early as age five, children have already formed rigid stereotypes concerning occupations open to men and women. ... By contributing to a child's formation of the idea that certain behaviors and attitudes are sex related, the producers of coloring books are effectively eliminating opportunities for later choices. (Rachlin & Vogt, 1974, p. 554)

Twenty-five years after Rachlin and Vogt's (1974) study, Chris Boyatzis and Julie Eades (1999) examined gender preferences for art activities as portrayed in children's coloring books, considering whether boys and girls preferred masculine, feminine, or gender-neutral subjects to color. In this study, children in different age groups were first asked to draw pictures, and later were offered a variety of coloring book pages; both the production and the preferences were subsequently examined for gender association. The authors concluded that children of different ages consistently create and prefer topics affiliated with social expectations of their own gender. Boys in the study associated with machines, aliens, soldiers, and sports; and used darker colors and bolder lines in their artistic expression, while girls preferred animals, hearts, and ballet dancers, and opted

to use lighter colors and more delicate lines. The authors suggested that bedroom décor and toys had likely influenced children's choices, socializing them from a very early age.

A more recent study examined coloring books produced after 1974 (Fitzpatrick & McPherson, 2010). Here, the researchers examined 56 coloring books for associations of gender to activity; gender of non-human characters; the relative size of male and female characters; and the illustrated character's age. The study's authors observed that coloring books contained more active male characters. Additionally, they found that 60% of the representations of animals, adults, and super heroes were male characters. In contrast, female characters were often presented as static (standing or not engaged in any activity) and portrayed as children rather than as adults. Curiously, the authors found that these gender stereotypes appeared more often in coloring books targeted toward girls at a developmental stage when many of their social understandings of femininity were being formed. Based upon their findings, the authors cautioned "both the prevalence of males and the fact that they are portrayed in more active roles may suggest ... that girls are the lesser sex and not as important as boys;" and they added "we suggest that rather than a concern about creativity, the larger concern should be the messages" (p. 136).

### **Native American Women and Girls in Coloring Books: Study Methods**

While the previous studies of coloring books have been important and informative, they did not discuss the presence or absence of Native American representations. For this project, I examined 53 Native American-themed coloring books, published between the 1930s and the 2000s. I have collected these books through retail stores, museum gift shops, and Internet sources. No attempt was made to acquire specific books; rather, they were purchased simply for their overall Native American themes. The sample contained fewer older titles as a result of their limited availability and high price. Consequently, the project examined books that were primarily published by commercial companies, including Western, Golden, Dover, and Spizzirri, from 1950 to 2005. I also acquired and analyzed coloring books printed by the Illinois Department of Natural Resources, Indiana Department of Natural Resources, Texas Historical Commission, and the

Minnesota Historical Press.

I created my own survey instrument and coded illustrations for gender frequency in any scene, typically an entire page. Gender was identified by clothing (dress, pants, loin cloth) and physical attributes, although small figures placed in the background were occasionally indistinct and not included in my tabulations. Drawings of characters that were identified as women and girls were further examined for dress type (animal hide, cloth), hair style (braids, loose), and ornamentation (beads, headband, feather). Drawings of women and girls were also analyzed for associated activities such as food gathering, cooking, childcare, making craft items, performing household chores, travel, and play. I also examined scenes in which women were presented as static or inactive.

### Findings and Analysis of Depictions of Native American Women in Coloring Books

The 53 books examined in this study provided 1046 illustrated scenes of Native American representations, a sufficiently large sample size to generate ideas regarding representations of women and girls. I adapted the methods and categories of gender frequency and activities used in earlier coloring book studies to help organize my findings and to guide the analysis. I also applied Erving Goffman's (1979) study of gender in advertising analysis as I evaluated the size and placement of women and girls in the illustrated scenes. Additional categories of tribal regalia and objects of material culture were examined to assess if tribal identity was specific or generalized. I also considered how time and geographic location were indicated by the images.

By adding additional categories for examination and analysis, my project expands the study of coloring book content beyond gender to also include ethnicity. I am interested in the role that coloring books and other children's materials play in the creation and perpetuation of stereotypes of Native Americans in general and Native American women in particular.

### Gender Frequency

My first goal was to determine the frequency of women and girls in the

materials. More than half of the scenes examined, a total of 626 scenes, depicted only men or boys; approximately a third, 222 scenes, featured women or girls; and only 198 scenes included a mix of male and female characters together. Table 1 identifies the data regarding the frequency of gender presentation by decade. I found that these presentations varied slightly in different decades: scenes that contained only men and boys occurred most often in coloring books published during the 1930s and 1950s, while the percentage of illustrations featuring women and girls was highest during the 1970s, 1990s, and 2000s. In general, men and boys appear twice as often as women and girls in all decades.

Decade	Men/Boys	Women/Girls	Mixed
1930s	45	18	4
1940s	6	2	3
1950s	123	32	11
1960s	15	6	14
1970s	102	40	26
1980s	109	24	47
1990s	147	68	59
2000s	79	39	34

Table 1. Frequency of Illustrated Gender Characters by Decade.

The predominance of men and boys in children's books has been observed by other researchers. For example, in their examination of children's literature produced from 1900 to 1984, Grauerholz and Pescosolido (1989) found that male characters outnumbered females by a ratio of almost three to one. Hamilton et. al. (2006) observed that while males appeared twice as often as females in children's picture books published from 2001 to 2008, ratios vary in other time periods. Female book characters appear more frequently when women have an active role in society and the economy, while stereotyped images of women are seen during periods of backlash (Hamilton et. al., 2006). McCabe et. al (2011) has identified distinct time periods of feminist activism (1900-1929 and 1970-2000) and gender traditionalism (1930-1969). The social milieu also corresponds to passive and active roles of women as portrayed in coloring books (McCabe et. al, 2011).

This observed predominance of male character may be the result of authorship, intended audience, publishing decisions, parental shopping preferences, and broader social trends. In my study presented here, Native women make a

stronger appearance in coloring books produced during a time of feminist activism, with the exception of the 1980s, which can be classified as a conservative era in U.S. politics, and are less present during the decades of gender traditionalism. However, Native women and girls remain underrepresented in coloring books produced in all decades.

### Native American Women's Appearance: Clothing, Hair, and Ornamentation

Although Native Americans express themselves with a wide variety of clothing, hair styles, and adornment choices, I found the Native women and girls depicted in coloring books to be similar. Contrary to Native American women's various modes of dress and hairstyle, most coloring book portrayals show one look: Native American women wearing a fringed animal hide dress and a single strand bead necklace, with their hair arranged in long braids, augmented by a headband or single feather at the back of the head. Figure 1 shows this stereotypical style, as presented in a 1939 paint book. Table 2 indicates the frequency of these features in books produced during the 1950s and 1970s. Minimal changes have appeared over time; books published in the 1970s retained the deer hide dress and hair braids, although fewer individuals were depicted with a headband or feather.



Figure 1. Illustration of a Native woman with fringed animal hide dress, hair braids, headband, and a single upright feather. From *Indians, Wet the Brush and Bring out the Colors* (Saalfield Pub. Co, 1939).

	1950s	1970s
Hair in braids	21	34
Headband	18	8
Single feather	14	3
Loose hair	3	0

Table 2. Representation of Native Women's Hairstyles and Ornamentation in the 1950s and the 1970s.

### Tribal Identity

In an effort to reduce complexity, popular culture and the media may generalize the appearance of ethnic group members, presenting one Native group as indistinguishable from another. The coloring books examined in this project generally represented Native American people as non-tribally specific. Many of the illustrations offered a mix of Plains and Southwestern attributes, including horses, hide clothing, feather headdresses, clay pottery, and plant fiber baskets.

In his insightful discussion of popular culture representations, Robert Berkhofer (1979) noted that cultural elements are typically combined together to create a stereotypical Native American identity, one that is immediately understood by the audience without complex negotiations of individuals, distinct tribal groups, or variations in expression. For many Euro-Americans, semi-nomadic, bison-hunting peoples living on the Plains have become the stereotype of Native American culture (Ewers, 1999), an understanding reinforced by paintings made by 19th Century artists such as George Catlin (Slivka, 2017). As a result, popular culture and mass media depict Native American characters wearing hide clothing and feathers, and living in tipi villages. I found that coloring book illustrations were consistent with this representation.

### Activities and Social Roles

Earlier studies of children's books included analysis of gender-associated occupations and activities, finding patterns of stereotypical behavior. Rachlin and Vogt's (1974) coloring book study found that girls were presented as being less

active than boys and more focused on aspects of personal appearance. Gooden and Gooden (2001) observed that while men were depicted with a greater variety of occupations, women were often portrayed in the traditional roles of mother and grandmother. Hamilton et. al. (2006) found that female characters were usually situated indoors, engaged in some type of nurturing activity. Fitzpatrick and McPherson's (2010) study of coloring books noted that females were often shown sitting, while males run and climb.

The coloring books that I examined for this project situated Native Americans in a variety of outdoor settings, interacting in the natural landscape of gardens, mountains, forests, prairies, and lakes. Adult women were generally presented as active: working around their homes; gathering wild foods; and gardening. Additionally, women were often shown preparing, cooking, or serving food. Young women were represented as mothers, holding babies in cradleboards and interacting with toddlers. Native children, both boys and girls, engaged in leisure activities such as running along forest paths, investigating nature, talking with small woodland animals, and playing with toys, including dolls. Several books featured Pocahontas as an attractive teen girl. She was frequently presented sitting, kneeling or lying down, engaging with small woodland creatures such as birds, bunnies, deer, and fish, as well as horses and a puppy. She was also shown playing with a girlfriend and having her hair combed by her mother. Pocahontas's life was consistently presented as happy and idyllic.

Native women were presented making pottery and baskets, as well as weaving rugs or blankets. They were not shown processing animal hides, decorating items with glass beads, or sewing cloth. Curiously, women making craft items were not depicted working in the presence of family members or social groups.

Individual women and girls were also presented in non-action scenes, standing or sitting and facing the viewer, while occasionally holding a craft object such as a basket or clay pot. Of the more than 400 scenes featuring women or girls, I identified 87 as being a type of static portrait. In her examination and discussion of images of Lac du Flambeau (Chippewa) women on tourist postcards, Gale Valaskakis (2005) observed that

in the populist images of Indian women ... [t]hese illusory women are alone, alienated from one another and Others in the scenic backdrops of the land and nature they entice Others to occupy, first as settlers, then as tourists. In the parallel representations of tribalized "real Indians," women are equally isolated or grouped among children or material objects of Indian culture that are valued by Others: jewelry and art, baskets and beadwork. (p. 145)

Similarly, Native women in coloring books appear to be offering themselves, their children, and their crafts to the Euro-American consumer's gaze.

While the coloring books in this study depicted individual Native women sitting on the ground, Native men were usually presented as elaborately dressed and standing while engaged in conversation with other men. I observed that in mixed-gender scenes, Native women were frequently positioned at the back, furthest from the viewer, suggesting that they were less important or interesting, while men were placed in the foreground, closer to the viewer. Such presentations are consistent with gender images contained in the magazine advertisements analyzed by Goffman (1979) who concluded that power and authority is visually expressed by the relative size, especially height, of individuals within a picture, while a lowered posture expressed deference. In other scenes, Native women had their backs to the viewer or were hidden behind objects such as their weaving loom, a visual effect described by Goffman as "disengaged withdrawal" (pp. 57, 62, 70).

### **Located in the Historic Past on the Remote Frontier**

Many children's books feature a historic topic, situating the characters in the real or mythic past, but popular culture almost always represents Native Americans as living in a remote time and place, occupying the edge of the frontier or beyond. This appears to be the continuing influence of representations produced during the late 1800s including Wild West shows, early movies, and photography (Valaskias, 2005). Coloring books also situate Native Americans in the past; 51 of the 53 coloring books that I reviewed for this study placed their characters in a non-specific time period, living without Euro-American technology or influences, with the exception of horses. As a result, Native men and women were shown

living in homes made from natural materials; wearing animal hide clothing; using bark canoes or horses for transportation; and making their own crafts. Although some of the books featured scenes of Native men attacking soldiers or cowboys, they generally depicted Native American people living apart from non-Native people. In essence, coloring books present Native Americans as isolated and remote people; they are historically, socially, and politically removed from the present reality experienced by Euro-Americans. As a result, contemporary issues such as employment, health, education, sovereignty, natural resource protection, and cultural maintenance are not incorporated into the coloring books' themes.

However, I examined two coloring books that did provide a contemporary view of Native people. One book featured present-day Hopi Pueblo children who magically travelled back in time to learn about their traditions, returning to the present with profound knowledge. Unfortunately, this story failed to identify the on-going cultural practices of contemporary Hopi people or the ways in which their parents actively teach children about tribal history and culture. Instead, this book suggests that Native American children can acquire cultural knowledge only by returning to their tribal past. The second example depicts Public Television's Sesame Street puppets visiting a contemporary Dine (Navajo) family. The family is shown traveling around the large Reservation in their car; Dine children are seen attending public school; and community members are presented shopping at local stores. This book offers several positive examples of Native women; one is a teacher in the Reservation school, and several generations of Dine women are shown actively participating in family life. While the Dine host family is situated in a contemporary context, they remain geographically apart from non-Natives. The story concludes when the puppets say good-bye to their new Navajo friends and return to New York City, reaffirming the social and geographic distance between Native Americans and the Sesame Street puppets, and presumably the viewers of public television. An interesting addition to this book could present the puppets interacting with urban Native people, demonstrating that contemporary Native Americans do not reside only in remote places, apart from the broader US society.

### Recent Shifts in Native American Representations in Coloring Books

Despite the limitations of older coloring books, my study observed subtle changes in the representation of Native Americans. Coloring books published in the last 20 years by Dover, Spizzirri, museums, and state historical societies appear to be focusing more on specific geographical regions and tribal groups. These coloring books are primarily distributed to a narrow audience of museum visitors, but they provide a valuable alternative to commercial publications. Several of these books use illustrations that are based on historic drawings and paintings made by George Catlin and Karl Bodmer, and feature increased ethnographic detail of clothing, homes, and ornamentation. Two noteworthy examples of this new direction are Chet Kozlak's *Ojibway Indians* (1978) and *Dakota Indians* (1979), published by the Minnesota Historical Society Press. These coloring books provide interesting and detailed scenes to color with a balanced gender mix. They also include bilingual text featuring English and Native languages. Additionally, they include a short list of recommended readings about the tribes.

While these features are an improvement, the books continue to suffer from the shortcomings of older publications: Native people are presented as living in the past; pursuing traditional activities in a natural setting; and non-Natives are noticeably absent, as are manufactured trade goods. Interestingly, there are no illustrations of conflicts with Euro-Americans or other Native peoples. In his discussion of Native American representations within the museum context, Kevin Slivka observed "within these spaces an all-knowing type of knowledge is proffered; riddled free of confrontation, any differing stance, any criticality at all" (2017, p. 36). While the representation of Native people and cultures has improved, it continues to draw heavily upon the Noble stereotype rather than presenting Native Americans in a more realistic and complex manner. Importantly, Native women and girls have a more prominent place in these publications, but their actions are still focused upon the daily domestic activities of acquiring wild foods, caring for family, and making crafts. In these seemingly idyllic presentations, women work together in the forests and gardens; prepare meals for their families; sew hide clothing; and make regional craft items. In the evening, everyone gathers around a fire. These are positive steps, but more can be done to represent the diversity and specificity of Native American women's lives, to shatter

stereotypes assumed by a contemporary audience.

### Sacajawea and Pocahontas

While almost all of the coloring books examined in this study presented anonymous Native women, several focused on the lives of Pocahontas and Sacajawea. Copeland's (2002) *The Story of Sacajawea* depicts her early life as a Shoshone girl and capture by the Hidatsa; her marriage to a French fur trader and role as a guide to Lewis and Clark's *Corps of Discovery*;<sup>1</sup> and her later life as a mother. Interestingly, this is the only coloring book in my study that placed a Native woman's life experiences into a broader context, offering distinct stages of personal development including her marriage, motherhood, and, finally, her role as a family elder. This approach is similar to the anthropological life-history format and offers a model that other publishers could use to convey the arc of personhood.

Three of the books that I examined for this project focused on Pocahontas' iconic story, although little effort was made to present accurate details about the life of a young Algonquian girl, the essential tasks of adult womanhood, or how contact with the English would fundamentally transform Native American society. For the present, it appears the Disney version of Pocahontas' life story predominates and product marketing will ensure that she remains a precocious animated princess for another generation of Euro-American consumers (Ono & Buescher, 2001).

Other Native American women have also led interesting lives and would make excellent subjects for children's books. Some examples include LaDonna Harris, Comanche political activist; Wilma Mankiller, Chief of the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma; Vanessa Jennings, a respected Kiowa artist; or Maria Tallchief, an Osage ballerina. There are many accomplished Native women, past and present, whose lives and experiences could be translated into children's books and art materials, offering a rich and diverse perspective.

### Conclusion

For more than one hundred years, North Americans have enjoyed coloring in books with themes drawn from advertising, comic strips, movies, and television. Many of these publications incorporated ethnic groups into their stories and reflected the social understandings of the time. A critical review of children's books provides an intriguing view of how diverse populations have historically been represented to United States youth at critical moments in their education and knowledge of others.

Unfortunately, misrepresentations persist with little regard for accuracy or appropriateness. Themes of noble and savage, developed to underpin colonialism, persist and continue to inform future generations. Greater attention to cultural accuracy, as well as the inclusion of different perspectives, is essential to providing children with a rich educational experience of diversity awareness.

Importantly, some interesting publishing trends are emerging. While still under-represented, Native American women and girls are appearing more often in contemporary publications, although not enough to dismantle stereotypes and deepen understanding of contemporary Native American women. Native American publishers and tribal culture programs can, and should, take the lead in creating and distributing accurate and culturally appropriate education and entertainment materials, including coloring books. New technologies offer exciting possibilities for tribes, educators, and parents to create and revise materials needed to teach children about the richness of Native American community diversity and the important contributions made by Native women. I encourage others to explore and analyze representations of Native American women in materials produced by specialty publishers, including tribal enterprises and cultural education programs.

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1. In 1804 American explorers Merriweather Lewis and William Clark met a Shoshone woman living among the Hidatsa, and married to Toussaint Charbonneau, a French trader. The explorers engaged her services as a translator and guide on their journey west. She reached the Pacific Ocean with the company and returned to the Northern Plains in 1806 (Rhonda, 1984).

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