

Native American Barbie: The Marketing of Euro-American Desires

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Native Americans are the only racial group that today consistently appears in a negative light in large toy-manufacturing lines. A lot of American Indian toys still depict semi-naked figures living in teepees. These stereotypes freeze, in the minds of children, images of American Indians as racial groups that still live in a pristine past unaffected and unchanged by the 20th century.

—JoAllyn Archambault, *Standing Rock Dakota/Creek*, (1992)¹

Native Americans have been misperceived and stereotyped for decades. Native American children are receiving the wrong impression of their cultures and how society views them. Ethnic dolls, such as those in the Barbie line, only add to the problem because they are dressed in stereotypical clothing associated with “Indians” and their physical features are nothing like those of Native Americans. Such images give non-native children a politically incorrect impression of Native

Americans and hurt the larger Native American community
by giving its children a poor self-image.

—Selene Phillips, Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake
Superior Chippewa, (2001)²

Toys as a form of material culture are everywhere a source of cultural data; thus, mass produced American toys meant to depict people of color have a story to tell. Nineteenth-century American notions of play were not intimately bound up with toys. The limited playthings that children did have were made in small local craft industries or constructed by either children themselves or their family members out of paper, wood, fabric, wrought iron, or tin. In these circumstances, activities for boys and girls mimicked the gender-specific behaviors of parents. Girls played at domestic and child-care tasks with dolls made to look like them while boys busied themselves with balls, wooden rocking horses, and tin toy soldiers. The potential for mass-produced toys was not convincingly demonstrated to manufacturers until the popularity of the yo-yo in the 1920s.³ The 1930s brought recognition of the symbolic aspects of play and the significance of play fantasies to the development of children.⁴ After World War II, the production of mass-marketed toys exploded. Since the 1950s, toy makers have become a leading consumer industry, introducing five to six thousand new products annually through a complex promotional undertaking that includes, but is not limited to, designers, filmmakers, writers, animators, manufacturers, distributors, discounters, retailers, wholesalers, advertisers, character licensing agents, and direct marketers.⁵ This marketing machine resulted in hegemonic representations: dolls were predominantly blonde and blue-eyed with narrow, European features, and most superheroes were “lily-white.”⁶ In the 1980s, doll manufacturers turned their attention to collectors, developing specific series aimed at that market share in addition to their lines for children.⁷

On the heels of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, African-Americans and other minority segments of American society made it clear that they would no longer tolerate overtly negative images of people of color.⁸ Ever ready to produce toys for a new market, minority-owned toy companies as well as mass-marketing manufacturers, in collaboration with major retailers, developed products to fill this niche in the market.⁹ As they are marketed by Mattel, Inc., Barbie dolls hold a special importance among toys that invite children to imagine themselves in the dolls’ image, “to transport themselves into a realm of beauty, glamour, fun, success, and conspicuous consumption.”¹⁰ In 1967, Colored Francie was released. She was not a Barbie but she was the first mass-marketed African American doll in the Barbie pantheon. In 1980 Mattel released the first Black Barbie with Afro-style hair—a breakthrough in representation.

As the spending power of African-Americans and many other ethnic groups reached an all-time high in the 1980s and 1990s, toymakers’ efforts at ethnic playthings were met with great enthusiasm and soaring profits.¹¹ Not to be left

out of these potential markets, Mattel released Teresa, a Latina friend for Barbie in 1988, and Kira, an Asian friend for Barbie in 1990. Nevertheless, despite decades of intense effort on the part of Native American activists and their non-native supporters to raise general awareness about the realities of their lives and to improve conditions for American Indians, Native Americans were soon the only racialized group still depicted predominantly in time-worn stereotypes as primitives from the past by large toy manufacturers, as JoAllyn Archambault's opening epigraph to this essay suggests.

At the time of this writing a total of seventeen Eskimo, Native American, Arctic, American Indian, Native Spirit, and Inuit Barbie dolls have been released.¹² The first Barbie doll that represented the indigenous peoples of North America was Eskimo Barbie, released in 1981 as part of the Dolls of the World International Series.¹³ She stood alone for over a decade. Beginning with Native American Barbie #1 in 1992, a steady stream of American Indian Barbies followed in various Dolls of the World, American Stories and other series, including exclusives for Toys 'R' Us, at an average of roughly one per year. Because most Native American parents and educators have not wielded the buying power and political clout of other minorities in the United States until quite recently, creation of these dolls might best be considered a nod on the part of toy manufacturers and marketers toward political correctness in an era when multiculturalism was often posed as an answer to critical questions about inclusion, diversity, and equality.

This essay is concerned with the trivialization and commodification of Native American material and non-material culture by mass market toy manufacturers. It analyzes nine Native American Barbies produced between 1981 and 2003—some for children and others for adult collectors. Scrutiny of packaging materials and accompanying texts illustrates that, while Mattel presents many of these dolls as tribally generic, others have been couched within contexts supposedly representing specific Native American cultures or regions. As Rayna Green pointed out in her now classic study of historic depictions of American Indian women, the two standard images are squaw-drudge and Indian Princess.¹⁴ The former is characterized as “a drudge . . . at the beck and call of her savage Indian husband, who produces baby after baby, who has sex endlessly and indiscriminately with whites and Indians alike.”¹⁵ The squaw-drudge stands in marked contrast with the forever popular “Indian Princess,” the virginal female counterpart of the male noble savage, who is “deeply affectionate, yet maidenly” and can always be counted on to provide “a sentimental tear or two by aiding her White brethren, often at the sacrifice of her own life.”¹⁶ In most cases, this ultimate sacrifice is for “the love of a white man.”¹⁷ In the examples under consideration no squaws are found; rather, most Indian Barbies have been presented in various incarnations of the classic Indian Princess stereotype. A shift has recently occurred, however, toward presentation in a form I believe is best described as a contemporary spiritual-guide. In either case, as noted by Archambault, these dolls have almost always been represented as “primitive.”

It is important to contextualize the toy manufacturer's representations of Indianness in the material objects they produce and sell within the role Indians play in the U.S. national imaginary. Since their arrival on this continent, Euro-Americans have perpetually struggled to connect to the North American land and attain a finished national identity. The contradictions embedded in what has come to be labeled noble savagery—the simultaneous urge to lionize or desire and the need to dispossess or exterminate the indigenous peoples of the Americas—have been the preconditions for the formation of North American identities separate from European roots.¹⁸ The collection of practices termed alternatively as “playing Indian” or “going native” are long-standing traditions intimately linked with an American fixation with identity building, which explains how and why Indians have come to be viewed as belonging to all Americans, while Americans continue savoring both civilized order and savage freedom.¹⁹ North American fascination with Native Americans, including play-acting in all its historical and contemporary variations, is part of a capacious enthrallment with primitive otherness.²⁰ Particular insight into why dolls produced in the last five years appear as spiritual-guides can be gained through consideration of Euro-American desires to reconnect to a form of life perceived as having been lost through the process of modernity and to have access to nature-based spirituality.

As Jeanne Brady found in her insightful analysis of the dolls and books in the American Girl Collection, the informational accounts accompanying Native American and American Indian Barbies—text on the boxes in which they are packaged or in companion books—“encode the cultural values of their creators.”²¹ As such, they can be read critically for how the politics of nostalgia often works to conceal fundamental ideological principles used to legitimate a dominant one-dimensional view of history written as an unchanging narrative. In other words, they can be viewed as texts that construct meanings amid diverse social struggles and modes of contestation. Admittedly, reality is not the intended focus of any Barbie playthings, and profit is the corporate objective. Nevertheless, these dolls, as well as the packaging and textual materials used to market them, particularly the American Stories Collection, invite scrutiny precisely because they claim to educate about Native Americans.

Importantly, they do not convey the experience of oppression and identify structures of domination that cause it. Instead, these written accounts normalize diversity as a marketing strategy, marking differences as nothing more than fashion and consumerism.²² These texts can, therefore, be insightfully analyzed for unacknowledged “exclusions, repressions, and privileges” that can all-too-easily go unchallenged.²³ In addition, these dolls, their packages, and the texts accompanying them embody more than white notions of Indianness; they also reveal much about European American notions of an ideal, enchanted, or wished-for re-enchanted world and those who inhabit it.

Identity

Initial questions that arise when perusing examples of American Indian Barbies have to do with the issues of naming and the classic lumping versus splitting controversy that surrounds any such political appellation: How is the terminology used to refer to specific dolls determined? Why are some called Native American and others called American Indian? Why, for example, did Mattel, Inc. decide to call the first Native American doll “Eskimo”? This latter choice of terminology remains an especially intriguing mystery given that, as a designation originally used by hostile outsiders, the term Eskimo carries pejorative connotations.²⁴ In 1977, a full four years before this doll was released, participants at the Inuit Circumpolar Conference officially rejected the name Eskimo and adopted the native term Inuit as the preferred self-identifier for all indigenous peoples in the area. This decision signified both the reversal of the colonial power to name and part of a political platform aimed at self-determination. Given this, Mattel’s use of the term in 1981 is problematic.

Furthermore, as Shirley Steinberg has previously noted, “[s]uch an appellation is only one example among many of hegemonic control” in the realm of identity. She points out:

Throughout Mattel has defined ethnicity as other than white. Blonde, regular Barbie is the standard from which the “other” comes. As it emulates the dominant culture, the norm is Barbie: without a title, all other Barbies are qualified by their language, foods, and “native” dances. Attempting to engender multiculturalism, parents buy these dolls for their children to teach them about “other” people. No “regular” Barbie ever talks about her regular diet, the personality of “her” people, and what her customs are. Only the designated “ethnic” dolls have those qualifications. Mattel has otherized dolls into dominant and marginal cultures. Barbie’s whiteness privileges her to not be questioned: she is the standard by which all others are measured.²⁵

Each of the Native American Barbies discussed here has brown eyes, medium brown complexions, and flowing long straight brown or black hair. And, regardless of attire, all Native American Barbies have the classic, unattainable, ideal Barbie body type—which, as revealed by Jacqueline Urla and Alan Swedlund, when scaled to 5'4", would have chest, waist, and hip measurements of 32"-17"-28".²⁶ Given these dimensions, it is understandable why many women—whatever their ethnicities—see Barbie as the embodiment of “an oppressive and unattainable ideal for female beauty.”²⁷ Despite the temptation to put the responsibility for American beauty ideals on her shoulders, it is important to remember that Barbie and other dolls like her are both products and

purveyors of the dominant white ideals of beauty and femininity. These paragons operate so effectively in contemporary society only because they are overdetermined by advertising, by the media, and other technological and ideological elements of commodity culture.²⁸

Indeed, as noted by Selene Phillips in one of the epigraphs opening this essay, no effort seems to have been made to develop an appropriate Native American facial type; instead, facial molds from a variety of previous ethnic and non-ethnic dolls were used.²⁹ Eye shape varies among the Native American Barbies, but each has high cheekbones, a long, straight nose, and thin lips. In actual fact, only a collector could distinguish the minute differences among the various dolls when they appear without their accoutrements.³⁰ Moreover, each American Indian Barbie has her feet permanently arched into the high-heeled position, even when camouflaged within “moccasins” or other “traditional” Native American or Inuit leggings or footwear.

In Mattel’s scheme, Barbie’s racial, cultural, and ethnic heritage changes with her hairstyle, clothes, and accessories. Thus, whether a doll is intended to be African American, Latina, Native American, or something else, ethnic Barbie is primarily distinguishable by consumers through these visible signs. The contrast between Barbie and any of Mattel’s fashion dolls of color is never presented as if it is between two individuals of specific ethnic origins, dialects, or cultural traits; rather, the contrast is consistently between a person representative of a norm who needs no explanation and a person who deviates from that norm.³¹ This is demonstrated by the fact that whereas the classic blonde Barbie is mute regarding her own ethnicity, each ethnic Barbie describes her own heritage on the exterior of the boxes in which she is sold. In the majority of cases, the textual accounts found on Native American Barbie boxes or in stories about American Indian Barbie are written in first person—that is, they are presented “as if out of the mouths of native informants.”³²

On the front of her box, for example, 1981 Eskimo Barbie declares: “Chimo! Hello! Meet *Barbie* from the Arctic and learn about the region!” (Figure 1) Use of such personalized narration lends both a “stamp of approval” and a “voice of authority” to the item, convincing consumers that they have not only acquired a toy or a collector’s item to display but direct “access to another culture,” and most significantly, “inside knowledge of an exotic, foreign other.”³³

Access and connection are further emphasized by the fact that, in addition to the doll, the package includes the following pieces to be cut out of the back of the box to suggest play for Eskimo Barbie and her new playmate: parka, boots, a ring, a scenic poster, tour tickets, a map of the Arctic, a passport, money, a pair of cruise tickets, and importantly, a speak Eskimo “book.” To reinforce the sense of intimacy with a particular cultural other, Eskimo Barbie’s narrative closes with the following: “We have our own language with very complicated grammar. Would you like to know a few words?”



Figure 1: Eskimo Barbie.

Kringmerk	Dog	AnAnak	Mother
Nanuk	Polar bear	Iglu	House
Pingo	Mountain	Kayak	One-man boat
Mukluks	Boots	Nugeuksuk	Girl
Chimo	Hello! I'm friendly. Are you friendly?		

As with Eskimo Barbie, so with each doll that followed: specifics about ethnic languages, foods, and practices come to purchasers by means of two primary forms of textual accounts—information on the exterior of the doll's box and narrative contained in books accompanying dolls in the American Stories series, which prompts particular forms of play.

In similar manner to her Eskimo counterpart, Northwest Coast Native American Barbie, which was issued in 1999, greets consumers with a Tlingit salutation of “*Yake'ixw sateeni!* (It's good to see you!) I'm Northwest Coast Native American Barbie doll from Alaska, land of the last frontier” and later declares “I am a Tlingit, sometimes called *Totem Pole People*” (Figure 2). Despite this proclamation, however, Helen McNeil, a Juneau-born Tlingit artist, points out that “We never call ourselves ‘the Totem Pole People.’” Members of the Sealaska Heritage Foundation, who served as advisors to Mattel on the development of Northwest Coast Barbie, fought without success to have this phrase stricken from the text.³⁴

Although Eskimo and Northwest Coast Barbies place themselves within cultural groups with their greetings and use of the native language, subsequent Native American dolls place themselves only within a general culture area or region, rather than within a specific tribal group. For example, in marked contrast to Eskimo Barbie's specificity, Native American Barbie #1, which was issued in 1992, greets potential buyers with what can only be seen as a generic Indian identity—that is, a non-descript non-Indian's construction (Figure 3). She declares: “Hello! I'm Native American Barbie, part of a proud Indian heritage, rich in culture and tradition!” Native American Barbie #3, issued in 1994, emphasizes her regional affiliation when she greets consumers with “Hello from the *Southern Plains* of North America. . . . I'm getting ready for a genuine *Native American Powwow*, and you're invited to come join the fun!”

While in most cases cultural identity remains muted, the greeting materials on the exterior of virtually all Native American Barbies' boxes include geographic information about the doll's homeland that serve to demonstrate a strong connection between Native Americans and place. These subtly reinforce pre-existing notions about an inextricable link between American Indians and the Earth as well as the stereotype of the Indian as One-with-Nature.

The relationships portrayed between Native American Barbies and their environments are not unproblematic, however. Consider, for example, 1981 Eskimo Barbie, whose box includes a poster showing a polar bear family on picturesque icebergs and a map of the Arctic. The box text proclaims: “We live



Figure 2: Northwest Coast Native American Barbie.



Figure 3: Native American Barbie #1.

in the beautiful, cold lands of the Arctic, which includes Alaska, northern Canada, Siberia and Greenland.” This is not unlike Native American Barbie #3, who glibly tells consumers that the Southern Plains “include Oklahoma and parts of Nebraska and Kansas.” In contrast, Northwest Coast Native American Barbie, like Eskimo Barbie before her, speaks about her homeland simply as the “last frontier,” which could take on countless meanings for children but would call up for parents, educators, and grandparents purchasing the dolls images of Frederick Jackson Turner’s mythic West—the fictitious geographical site where civilization (Europeans or in this case Euro-Americans) met and ultimately conquered savagery (Indians). Significantly, this is the all-important encounter that helped forge the unique character and traditions of the United States and Americans—including notions of Indianness and a burning fascination with Playing Indian.³⁵

Importantly, none of these dolls ever credits her indigenous group with having lived in the aforementioned areas for thousands of years, delineates the size of the Native Nations’ original homelands, or labels these tracts of lands as contested. As a result, the Alaska Native Land Claims Act of 1971, which had been relatively recently negotiated at the time of Eskimo Barbie’s release, the virulent fight for the return of the Black Hills in what is now known as South Dakota that continues until today, as well as countless other contemporary Native American land claims, are more than simply glossed over—they are *effectively made invisible*. While such topics might not be appropriate for young children, notions of sovereign nations living on homelands or in contested areas and other more complex subjects can be introduced as the age groups for which the particular topic is appropriate are reached. Although these greetings are written in the present tense, for the most part, as Archambault has noted, these Native American Barbies are represented in a timeless past.

Time

The Native American Barbies depict the “Indians” and “Eskimos” of the North American imagination, not of the real world. While the mainstream Barbies have allowed mainstream North American women to change and grow, the Dolls of the World Collection has done exactly the opposite. They have marginalized the Native American Barbies and restricted them to what we call the “ethnographic present,” that fictive, timeless past, before Native Americans had begun to transform their cultures in response to the opportunities and restrictions imposed by the coming of the United States and Canadian nation-states

—Patricia McCormack, (2002)³⁶

Denial of coevalness, or acknowledgement of living contemporaneously, is reinforced in the snippets of ethnographic context accompanying most dolls. Eskimo Barbie tells consumers, for example: "In winter, Eskimos fish through the ice. In summer, Eskimos hunt on the sea in a kayak, a one man boat. Snow houses called igloos are built when Eskimos go hunting, but we live in wooden houses. Eskimos live in small groups and believe in sharing. Only the most personal property is considered private." One is left with a clear image of cultures and peoples trapped in a static past, that is unchanging and unresponsive.

Shifting to past tense, Native American Barbie #1 tells potential buyers,

Long ago, Native Americans each belonged to a tribe, a group of people who shared ancestors and customs. There were many different tribes, each with its own customs and dress. Some of us lived in pueblos (villages), slept in teepees (tents), and sewed clothes from buckskins (leather). We made many dishes with maize (corn), and were the first to dry strips of meat, which made jerky. For fun, children liked to play games of challenge, like wrestling and running, and rolling hoops with sticks (1992)!

This fact-ridden narrative implies that Native Americans no longer make dishes out of corn or enjoy running. Moreover, it intimates that Native Americans no longer belong to tribes, which subtly undermines contemporary political authority and struggles to maintain and assert tribal sovereignty.

Rather than focusing on the everyday lives of people in these communities, emphasis is implicitly or explicitly placed on special occasions such as powwows and potlatches. For example, without specifying the exact context, Eskimo Barbie tells consumers: "We like to sing and dance. Each dance tells a story, just as Hawaiian hulas do, through hand motions. The only musical instrument used is a drum shaped like a giant ping pong paddle (1981)."

Northwest Coast Native American Barbie brings consumers squarely into the ceremonial realm, when she informs them that:

The totem, carved from cedar trunks and often decorated with animal crests, tells stories about our family history and important cultural events. The totem pole is raised at gatherings called *potlatches*, events marked by gift-giving, feasting, singing and dancing, and most importantly, honoring our ancestors. You can see many totem poles at the Sitka National Historic Park (1999).

Although no information about current circumstances is furnished on 1981 Eskimo Barbie's box, in several cases Mattel breaks out of the chronic static timeframe Archambault mentioned by attempting to provide information about

contemporary Native American life. For example, in her farewell Native American Barbie #1 states: “We Native Americans of today still proudly keep alive the ways and wisdom of our ancestors, the first Americans. Good-Bye (1992)!” Native American Barbie 1994’s box informs consumers that: “Today, tribes gather from all parts of North America for the powwow. A traditional feast is followed by friendly competition between tribes as they perform songs and dances from their past.” And that of Northwest Coast Native American Barbie points out. “Today, our lives are a blend of the modern and traditional. Our dinner may be salmon or seal meat . . . or pizza! For fun, we play basketball or two-foot kick, a traditional Inuit game (1999).” Helen McNeil notes that, as for recreation, Mattel was half right for although two-foot kick is a traditional Inuit game not played by Tlingit, “we do play basketball.”³⁷

The time factor with its overemphasis on the past is most clearly evidenced by Mattel’s choice of attire for Native American Barbies. In nearly every case, the doll is dressed in what can only be described as non-Indian popular conceptions of Indian or Inuit “traditional garb.”³⁸ Since these are after all, first and foremost fashion dolls, a detailed description of the doll’s attire is featured prominently on the boxes of most Native American Barbies.³⁹

The 1992 Native American Barbie #1’s generic Indian identity is reinforced, for example, by her presentation in all the stereotypical trappings of America’s Noble Savage—that is, a Plains Indian.⁴⁰ She begins by telling consumers: “I’m wearing a traditional outfit, inspired by one of the tribes with Indian artwork and beaded fringe, and soft leather moccasins (*boots*). Sometimes women wore braids just like mine, and men wore fancy feather headdresses.” This glib statement implies that tribal affiliation is of no real consequence.

Native American Barbie #3’s description of her wardrobe (Figure 4) uncharacteristically liberates her from the static past:

My dancing outfit is an updated version of a tribal princess costume. It’s a mix of traditional style with the latest colors and accessories of today! I’ll be pretty in my pink tunic and skirt with geometric patterns, white fringe, and ribbon trim. My *moccasins*, beaded necklace, turquoise earrings, and ring complete my modern-day powwow look (1994)!

Claiming her attire as an “updated version of a tribal princess costume,” is, however, inappropriate, for no such social category as “princess” existed in any of the egalitarian Plains societies. This is classic ethnocentrism, whereby Euro-Americans superimpose European-derived notions of social order onto another’s cultural world.

Northwest Coast Native American Barbie’s detailed description of her attire again has to do with a ceremonial realm, which includes singing and dancing. As she explains:

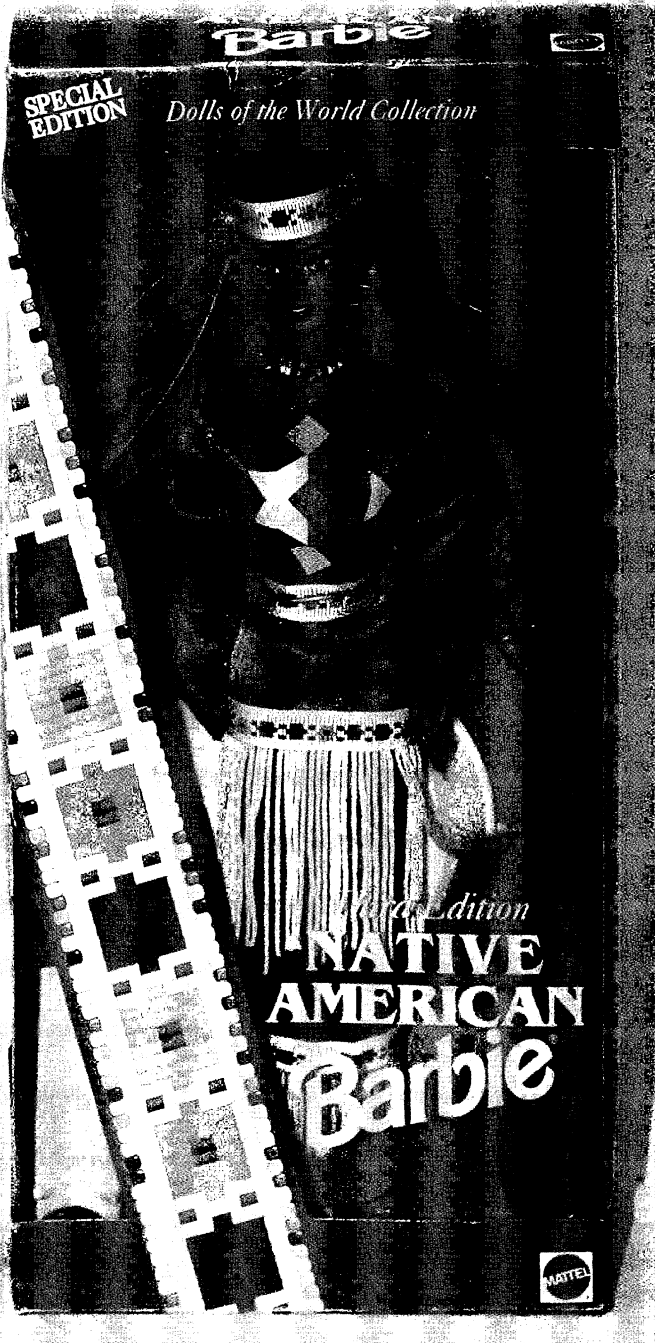


Figure 4: Native American Barbie #3.

I am wearing our beautiful ceremonial dress with a *Chilkat Robe*, traditionally woven from cedar bark and mountain goat hair. Now, I'm ready for the *Winter Ceremonials*, where we sing and dance, feeling close to the spirits of nature, as our ancestors did (1999).

The notion of being “close to the spirits of nature” expressed by Northwest Coast Native American Barbie, links Mattel’s idol to the timeworn image of Native Americans as One-with-Nature, which is reinforced by the company’s decision to substitute earth tones for the traditional red and black of Tlingit dance attire.⁴¹

A marked shift in textual scope and format is evident on boxes for the Native American Barbie dolls released after Northwest Coast Barbie in 1999. As Gillian Beck notes, the Fantasy Goddess Series dolls designed for Mattel by Bob Mackie, “takes the exoticization of women of color to a new extreme.”⁴² In contrast to all previously discussed Barbies, the Fantasy Goddess of the Americas™ released in 2000, which was third in the International Beauty Collection series, is presented without the aid of text (Figure 5); that is, no information is contained on the back of the box and no storybook accompanies this doll.

Fantasy Goddess’s jet black hair falls in floor-length braids accented with gold cord. This doll’s attire epitomizes Mackie’s extravagant fashion style featuring ornate beadwork and embroidery in gold, aqua, and white. A criss-cross top, exposing a bare midriff, and a dual split skirt with golden train make up her gown. An eagle-inspired headdress with geometric angles that extend down her back completes her ensemble. Without the assistance of supportive narrative, Fantasy Goddess of the Americas simply remains a silent enigma in a timeless place.

Dolls and Books

Just beyond the beach, trees rustled in the wind. What’s that noise? Thought Barbie! Fear raced down her back as she thought of stories she’s heard. She suddenly imagined savages and wild beasts everywhere! But when she remembered how her people, the Pilgrims, longed for a new home and better way of life, she felt her courage return. They were here at last—in this beautiful land of hope and promise.

—Marilee Nyman, *Feast of Friendship*, (1992)⁴³

An Indian as One-with-Nature theme resurfaces repeatedly in the texts accompanying dolls in the American Stories Collection, which includes a Civil War Nurse Barbie, a Pilgrim Barbie, a Pioneer Barbie, and two American Indian Barbies. The texts on the exteriors of boxes in this grouping set the stage for good, clean, educational fun by proclaiming: “American History Comes to

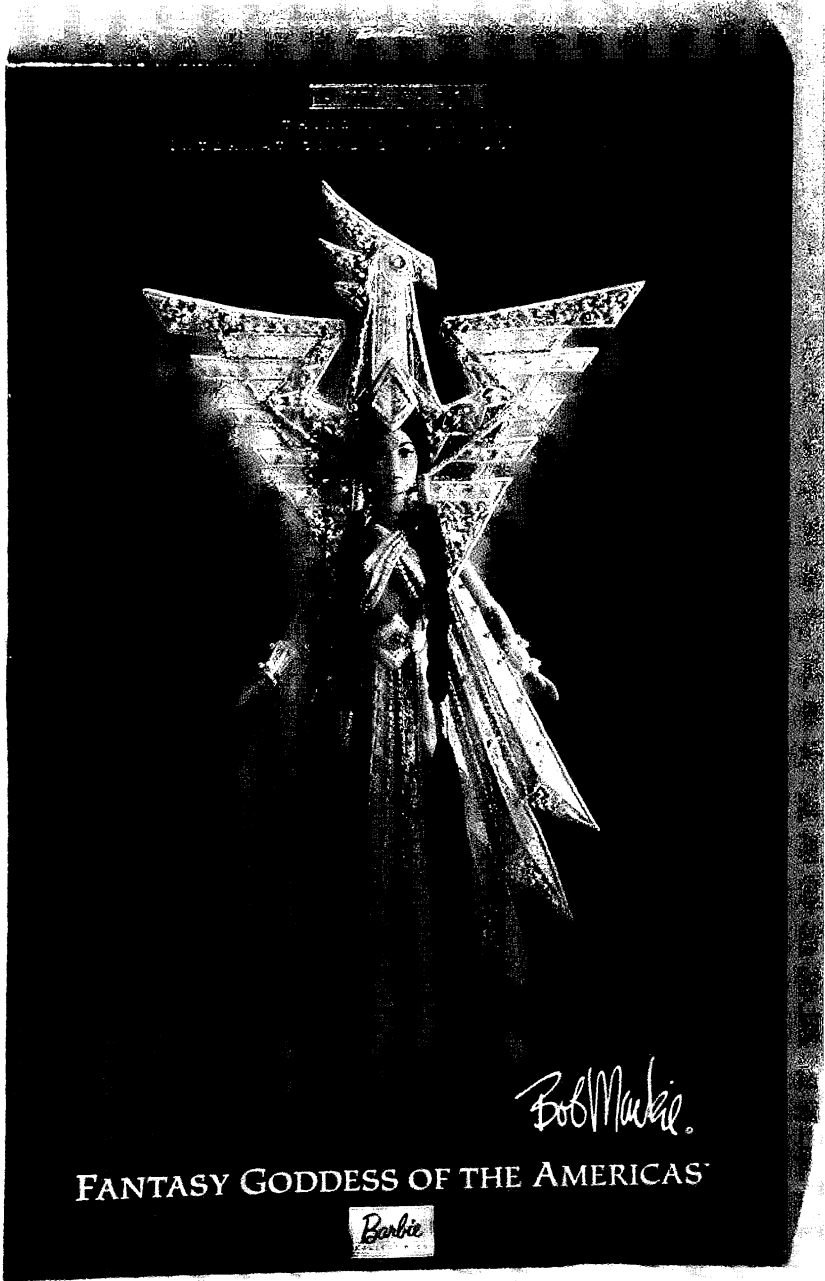


Figure 5: Fantasy Goddess of the Americas.

Life with Barbie! Recreate the past! Read and play out unique stories from America's beginnings." Each doll comes with a storybook that places Barbie in the midst of the historical action and ends with Barbie saving the day and changing history for the better.⁴⁴ As a case in point, consumers are invited to "Be there as Pilgrim Barbie comes to America on the Mayflower. Read about her exciting life in the New World, and what happened at the first Thanksgiving celebration."

After identifying the historical moment under consideration, the text of *Feast of Friendship* by Marilee Nyman (1994) calls to mind all-too-familiar images of Native Americans as the classic "enemy" or hostile foe whose sole purpose in life is to fight white men, as the epigraph opening this section indicates.⁴⁵ Images of such ignoble savages are quickly replaced by representations of noble savages. As the narrator explains:

Three months passed before an Indian man walked right into the village of Plymouth! "My name is Samoset," he said.

"He speaks English!" Barbie whispered. Everyone was excited to finally meet a real Indian.

A little later that day, Samoset returned with a friend. "I am Squanto," the friend smiled.

He speaks English, too, thought Barbie, and he doesn't seem savage at all (1994).⁴⁶

Given that the Pilgrims arrived in America not knowing how to speak any American Indian languages, it was fortuitous for them that Squanto and Samoset spoke English, but how they came to know this language is left completely unaddressed in Nyman's text.

Instead of attending to this issue, Nyman introduces two familiar stereotypes of Native Americans into the storyline. First she casts Squanto as a Wise Elder by stating, "Squanto wasn't savage. He was wise, wiser than anyone Barbie had ever known."⁴⁷ Then, following the lead of proponents of the 1960s-1970s American environmental movement, she quickly makes him One-with-Nature, advising that "My people believe that *if you take care of the soil, it will take care of you*. When you plant your corn, feed the soil one or two small fish and your corn will grow big, Barbie (1994)."⁴⁸

Once the corn was grown and harvested Governor Bradford suggested a Harvest Festival, just as in England. "Please may we invite Squanto?" asked Barbie. The story continues,

"That's a wonderful idea, Barbie," he said. "We'll invite all our Indian friends!"

On the chosen day, delicious smells of roasting meats, turkey and fish filled the air. . . .

Just before the feast began, she hurried home to grab the basket she had made.

When she returned, Barbie found herself amidst smiling Pilgrims and Indians happily celebrating together.

“But where is Barbie?” asked Squanto, looking around for his special friend.

“Here I am!” she said, hurrying to the front. “And I have a present for you. Thank you for teaching us to grow corn and for being with us today. I saved the very first ears we picked just for you,” she said, handing him the basket.

“Thank you, Barbie, but you have the gift for growing things. I just pointed the way.” . . .

The eating, dancing, singing, and merriment went on for three days and nights, the beginning of the tradition we Americans now celebrate every November. We call it Thanksgiving (1994).⁴⁹

Although Native Americans are featured prominently in the story, *Feast of Friendship* is only about the white people; it fails to truly consider the American Indians. This account of the establishment of a famous American holiday closely follows the traditional historical view in which Squanto is portrayed as a “friend of the Pilgrims” who kindly “points the way.” Issues of “struggle, conflict, imperialism, and repression are conveniently missing from this view of history.”⁵⁰ We are misled by this version of history to believe that the Pilgrims arrived in a previously untouched wilderness in which they effortlessly established homes and then befriended the previously un-contacted local Natives. In actual fact, various forms of interaction took place between Native Americans and Europeans throughout the 1600s—fishing, trading, as well as slaving and the exchange of deadly pathogens.

Starting with swine influenza in the Antilles in 1493, the diseases introduced by Europeans had devastating effects because, having had no prior exposure to them Native Americans had no immunities to them, nor did they have any knowledge of how to treat them.⁵¹ With further European contact, swine influenza was followed by wide-ranging epidemics such as bubonic plague, cholera, scarlet fever, and smallpox. Because pathogens traveled in advance of Europeans, many native communities were overwhelmed by cyclic waves of pathogens on an average of every three to four years, during what is referred to as the “protohistoric period.”⁵²

Contrary to Nyman’s claim then that, “Although many were weak after their long voyage, *the Pilgrims found a good place to settle and quickly built simple houses for shelter;*” the Pilgrims did not carve out a home for themselves in the wilderness; rather, they appropriated the abandoned Patuxet settlement.⁵³ Because they immigrated to America from cities and towns in Europe rather

than from the countryside, the Pilgrims arrived not knowing how to grow crops. They moved into the houses deserted by the Patuxet when they had been taken away as slaves or had succumbed to European-introduced diseases, used the food in their storehouses, and the following spring planted in fields that had been cleared and prepared by Patuxet. After which, Squanto and the other Native Americans patiently taught them how to grow pumpkins, beans, squash, and corn in a new climate and terrain, in what was to become Massachusetts.⁵⁴

A Magical World

American Indian Barbie sits high above her village on a huge rock where her grandfather used to tell her his magical stories. She closes her eyes remembering his wise words. “If an animal or bird appears in your waking hours or in your dreams, it means he has shown himself so that you can learn what he has to teach,” *His voice whispered in her head*. “Each creature carries his own special lesson—it’s like a powerful ‘medicine’ that fills each story with wisdom and magic.”

—Kathryn Smithen, *Baby Blue Feather*, (1995)⁵⁵

As with Pilgrim Barbie, the “American History Comes to Life with Barbie!” claim is featured prominently on the exterior of this Indian Barbie’s box, but the story accompanying Baby Blue Feather deals more with magic and spirituality than with history (Figure 6). The story that accompanies this doll demonstrates the commodification of the special relationship between Native Americans and the environment, which frequently includes the use of kinship terms in reference to natural features and a focus on animals as mentors.

The opening passage of the story, presented in this section’s epigraph, sets the tone for the narrative, in which Native American medical and religious beliefs are trivialized. Indian Barbie’s grandfather is portrayed as a Wise Elder in control of *magic*, rather than medical knowledge. As the story continues, American Indian traditions are further demeaned by the manner in which Indian Barbie’s oratory style is described. Her voice is said to have been “*lyrical and sing-songy*” while “her hands would fly this way and that as she made the stories come to life!”⁵⁶ Indian Barbie is having difficulty selecting a story because she is troubled that her infant cousin, Baby Blue Feather, is ill. When “a blue feather floated down from the sky and landed in her lap,” she interpreted it as “a sign!” Leaping to her feet, she ran to place it on her ill nephew. Suddenly, she knew exactly which story to tell the gathered children—the story of the blue feather. The first time she went out to gather berries by herself, she searched for hours, to no avail. Just when she was about to give up, a beautiful bird—that was completely white except for one blue feather—fell from a tree. Seeing that its wing was injured, she put her berry hunting aside and went to gather the healing herbs found deep in the forest. Barbie went on:



Figure 6: American Indian Barbie.

When I returned the poor little bird was barely able to lift its head.

I gently scooped her up, *tended to her wounds the way my grandmother had taught me*, then I placed her in my lap and we both slept.

I don't know how much time passed, but even without looking I knew the beautiful bird was gone! I felt so sad! I wanted to keep her, yet my heart was happy that she could fly away—that her wing was healed.

Brother Sun was nearly gone and I had no berries to show for my big day in the forest. . . .

Then, just as I turned to go, I saw at my feet three baskets filled to the top with the juiciest, rosiest berries I'd ever seen. And lying just on top was the beautiful blue feather. It was magic! My heart was full!

All the way home I gave thanks for the kindness of the white bird, the full baskets of rosy berries and the magical blue feather.

"Look!" shouted one of the children. "There's Baby Blue Feather!"

Everyone looked up to see Baby Blue Feather in his mother's arms wearing a crooked grin on his face and looking as healthy as could be!

"It's just like in the story," said one little girl excitedly. "See, your aunt wears a feather from a white bird and she carries Baby Blue Feather (1995)!"⁵⁷

At this point in the story, Barbie takes Baby Blue Feather into her arms, telling readers that she knew in her heart that one day "he, too, would learn of his rich American Indian heritage by listening to the lyrical, sing-songy voice of the storyteller."⁵⁸ This account is particularly destructive because whereas Indian Barbie heals the injured white bird with herbal remedies and medicinal practices regarding bone-setting passed down from her grandmother, she treats Baby Blue Feather's illness with a magical feather. This effectively reduces Native American medical beliefs and practices based on use of indigenous pharmaceuticals and an intimate understanding of anatomy to the level of make-believe.

She is One-with-Nature Again

Barbie doll pays tribute to the majesty and romance of *the Native American culture* as Spirit of the Earth™. Her long brown hair in braids, she wears a beautiful tan faux suede dress, fringed and accented with a brown belt. A full-length

coat, trimmed with faux fur, continues the earth-toned theme. A colorful, beaded necklace completes the captivating ensemble inspired by the First Americans (emphasis added) (2001) (Figure 7).

Barbie is beautiful in a brilliant turquoise outfit trimmed with white fringed sash and white faux fur. She carries a traditional “rainstick.” *The splendor of nature* and the glory of a proud culture are reflected in Spirit of the Water, an exquisite tribute to Indian heritage (emphasis added) (2002) (Figure 8).

By 2001, the connection between Native Americans and the entire North American environment takes center stage with the release of the first doll—Spirit of the Earth—in the Native Spirit Series. She was quickly followed by Spirit of the Water, who was subsequently followed by Spirit of the Sky. The latter wears a two-piece white skirt and shirt ensemble adorned by a single horse on the front and an intricate multi-colored pattern around the neck, midriff, and hem, which is further embellished with tan faux suede fringe at each location. She wears matching tan suede boots. Not surprisingly, her hair is adorned with feathers and styled into two long, thick braids, each held in place with an intricate silvery accessory. Finally she wears a dramatic bone-hair-pipe-choker necklace and holds a dream-catcher over her left wrist and a miniature Pendleton blanket over her right arm to complete her generic American Indian look (Figure 9). The very name of each doll in this series connotes its direct connection to an individual aspect of the environment simultaneous with her Oneness-with-Nature as a whole.

As is evident in the epigraphs opening this section, box texts for this series are neither geographically nor tribally specific. Phrases such as “the Native American culture” or “a proud culture” clearly portray Native America as a singular reality. This effectively denies the uniqueness of the hundreds of actual societies, philosophies, and worldviews that make up these diverse communities—past and present—providing nothing more than an imaginary generic Indian heritage.

In contrast to the previously mentioned Native American Barbies, texts accompanying dolls in this series are not written in first-person, but are narrated in a descriptive, authorial tone marked by a distinct form of detachment. Spirit of the Earth makes no overt greeting; instead, with the use of trite clichés associated with the White Man’s Indian, Native Americans’ integral connection to their environment is trivialized and commercialized by language such as “the journey of life” and “the harmony of nature,” and, with a prominent religious overtone, the narrator pontificates about her ability to commune with Nature:

A beautiful Native American woman walks in the sacred land that has sustained her people for centuries. A generous bounty,



Figure 7: Spirit of the Earth.

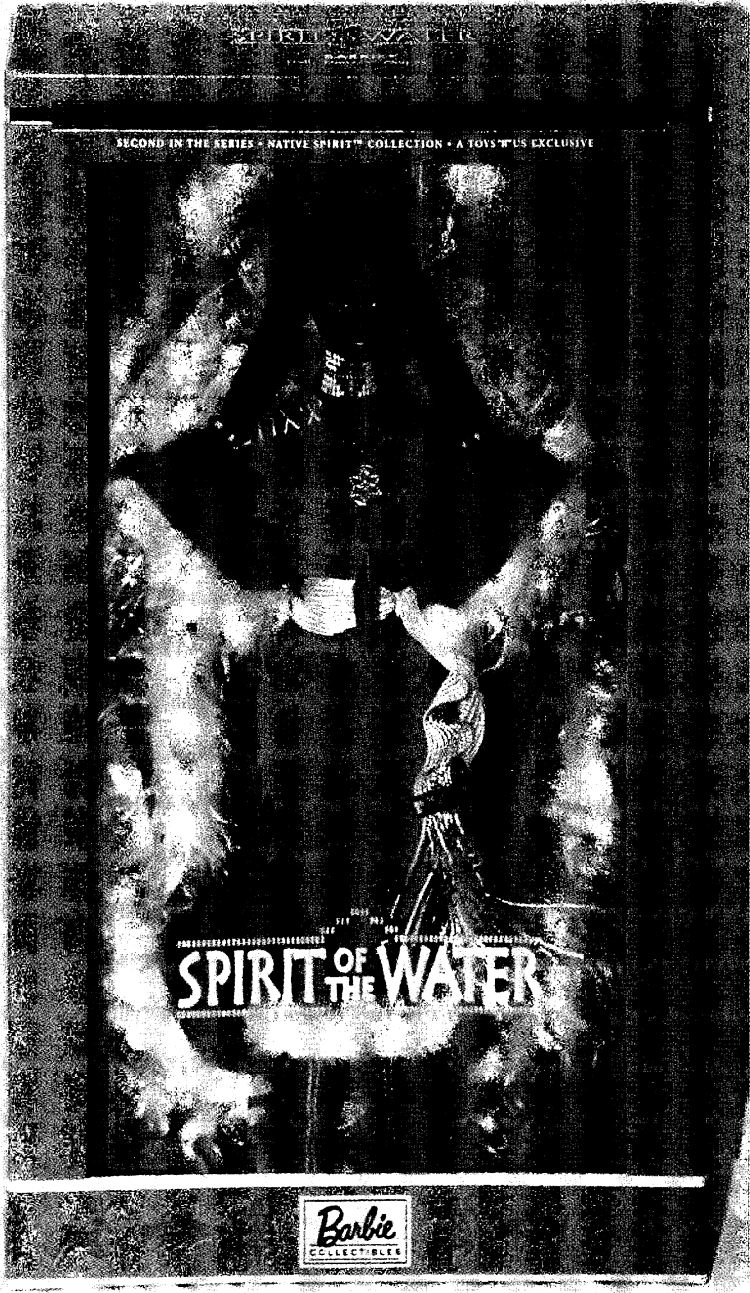


Figure 8: Spirit of the Water.



Figure 9: Spirit of the Sky Barbie.

the rich soil quietly shares its hidden mysteries: the fresh green forests, endless brown plains, the rocky mesas. Here, close to the good earth and below the vast blue sky, she delights in her journey of life. Reverent of the eternal earth, joyful in the harmony of nature, she lives with the awesome power and mystery of the everlasting land. This ancient soil reveals the harmony of nature and reflects a world rich in traditions: The Spirit of the Earth™ (2001).

Careful attention to this text reveals that the “generous bounty,” “hidden mysteries,” and “awesome power” she and those in her cohort are offering constitute spiritual guidance capable of world re-enchantment.

Many North Americans from all walks of life today seek in other cultures a “different” kind of knowledge, one “more spiritual than practical and less corrupted by industrial capitalism.”⁵⁹ These individuals use their conceptions of “the primitive” to explore the self and to locate examples that for them contrast favorably with key aspects of Euro-American society that they value least, such as an obsession with progress or materiality and an emphasis on the individual over community. Essential to this use of the primitive is an understanding of the narrative of progress as one of loss. They seek a cultural universe “more harmoniously fulfilling of the potencies of the human spirit.”⁶⁰

This is the context in which the overworked stereotypes previously labeled “Noble Anachronism,” “Indian Princess,” or “Noble Savage,” have been retooled and now appear as modern versions of persons out of time:⁶¹ sentimental warriors or, as in the examples here considered, princesses who, as possessors of esoteric, sacred knowledge, are able to offer alternative consciousness and enlightenment, making them ready-made spiritual-guides for alienated non-natives seeking fulfillment. As Jone Salomonsen has written,

[T]here is a growing interest in the alternative knowledge, spirituality and ritual practices represented by religions other than the biblical faiths, including shamanism and long-dead ancient paganism. Furthermore, many third-world Christian congregations are attempting to gain new theoretical insights about the *givenness of life* through, for example, closer contact with the abandoned pagan religiosity of their ancestors, dead and living. An important aim in this rapidly spreading inclination to reorient oneself toward the past in order to improve or transform the human conditions of the present is to restore a felt loss of a living cosmos and a magical, spiritual ground of being to human existence.⁶²

Intended primarily for adult collectors rather than children, these dolls hold the potential to appeal to those seeking connection with an earth-centered femi-

nist spirituality through worship of a goddess who embodies “the divinity immanent in the world and represented through the earth, sea, and moon.”⁶³ This potential is evidenced by the text that described Spirit of the Water Barbie when she was released in 2002:

Beneath brilliant blue skies, a Native American woman dances, calling forth the Great Spirit. Centuries of tradition bring the promise that water will fall again upon the ancient lands and bestow a fruitful harvest. Now, clouds gather above, darkening the landscape to a soft dove grey. As precious raindrops fall, the beautiful woman celebrates the circle of life. Her “rainstick” answers the rhythm of the rain, its delicate music joyful as the wonder of nature. The splendor of nature and the glory of a proud culture are reflected in Spirit of the Water Barbie doll, an exquisite tribute to Indian heritage (2002)!

In 2003, the environmental circle was nearly complete when the Spirit of the Sky Barbie was released with the following text:

Brilliant sunlight pours down from the endless blue sky, warming the ancient lands. A magnificent beauty stands, her black hair and dark eyes shining brightly. She holds a shimmering dream catcher. This talisman of legend promises to bring good dreams and trap the bad. She watches now as wild horses gallop fiercely, their manes flying as they soar past, racing the winds, as free as the clouds. Like a dream, they run faster and faster until they seem to become one with the skies. Spirit of the Sky™ Barbie® doll captures the powerful magic and proud heritage of a Native American woman (2003).

These dolls offer precisely what alienated individuals and other consumers seeking release from what they consider to be the confines of modernity desire: connection with so-called primitives, such as American Indians, who are believed to hold the key to what some have called the “enchantment” or “re-enchantment” of the world.⁶⁴ As Morris Berman points out, the understanding of nature that predominated throughout Europe and America until the eve of the Scientific Revolution was of an ecological paradise in which no separation existed between self and nature, and where humans looked to nature as a guide for conduct,⁶⁵ where:

Rocks, trees, rivers, and clouds were all seen as wondrous, alive, and human beings felt at home in this environment. The cosmos, in short, was a place of belonging. A member of this cosmos was not an alienated observer of it but a direct par-

participant in this drama. His personal destiny was bound up with its destiny, and this relationship gave meaning to his life.⁶⁶

Modernists accepted a morality devised upon the self-interested reason of a world that justified the destruction of much of our natural world. As Zygmunt Bauman argues, however, it could not silence the moral intuition governing our inner senses of justice that transform our living *with* others into a living *for* others. Rather, postmodernity re-enchants the world after modernity's attempt to dis-enchant it.⁶⁷ For Euro-Americans, American Indians and the special relationship they are believed to have with the North American environment are crucial to successful re-enchantment.

Conclusions

Certain aspects of the ways in which North Americans, particularly those in the United States, understand themselves create a space in which an imagined primitive has become a vehicle for thinking about alternative social orders. This is so because past and present understandings of the primitive derive their authority from deeply rooted conceptions about what society is and how it functions. According to Johannes Fabian, primitive, as a category of Euro-American thought, is essentially a temporal concept, wherein time is secularized, evolutionary, and specialized.⁶⁸ Within this framework, persistent denial of coevalness places and maintains such so-called peoples in an ahistorical time, other than the present.⁶⁹ Representing the polar opposite of European Americans living in a capitalist society, the dwellers of these purported primitive worlds are considered to be “unscientific,” “uncivilized,” un-businesslike, and “spiritually centered” on “beliefs that are rooted in an intuitive relation to the natural world.”⁷⁰

This trend has held true in the marketing of mass produced dolls meant to represent American Indians. On the heels of the Civil Rights Movement, large mass-marketing toy manufacturers and major retailers originally began producing alternative playthings that specifically targeted the African-American market. Ethnically appropriate toys, representative of other minority groups quickly followed, eventually including a variety meant to depict Native Americans. These dolls were not originally intended for American Indian consumption, however, because, unlike other ethnic minorities such as African Americans and Latinos, until relatively recently, Native Americans have not controlled a significant share of America's disposable income; therefore, these dolls instead filled the ever-growing European American appetite for all things multicultural. Collectively, these books and dolls consistently maintain that life in the past was simple, changeless, and complete. These accounts ignore the real threat and consequences of European colonization, and, despite occasional forays into the present, leave American Indians living outside of reality in a static, calm, pristine past.

As a result, these texts do not provide the opportunity to name the experience of oppression and identify structures of domination that function to cause the persecution. This denies Native Americans their true histories—including conflicts with European invaders or the devastation by European-introduced diseases and the resultant cultural upheavals. Moreover, such presentation conveniently minimizes or eliminates Euro-American guilt over their ancestors' involvement in the atrocities that occurred after contact. Consequentially, these textual accounts and books normalize diversity as a marketing strategy, marking differences as nothing more than fashion and consumerism.

The intent of Barbie dolls is for children to pretend to be the persona of the doll while working out adult roles and fantasizing about a life of glamour; it goes without saying that as with all Barbies they are embodiments of an unattainable ideal for female beauty, rail thin, with enormous breasts, a tiny waist, and hips too narrow to bear children. In the case of Native American Barbies, children are encouraged to pretend to be American Indians.

This objectifies “Indianness” and presents a false illusion, encouraging children to think that “Native Americans are nothing more than a playtime activity rather than an identity that is often fraught with economic deprivation, discrimination, gross injustice, and powerlessness.”⁷¹ Such depictions consciously and unconsciously reinforce systems of social control and perpetuate damaging stereotypes. These images are not innocent; rather, they freeze American Indians in a static time, reinforcing notions that the only true Indians were of the past. Within the safety of this timeframe, Native American traditions, day-to-day activities, or acts of heroism can only be appreciated as reminders of vanquished peoples posing little threat to European American hegemony. This denies American Indians their actual history and a present of their own choosing.

Moreover, who are these children or adults when they pretend to be these dolls? Unlike when playing with their regular Barbie counterparts, they are passive Indian Princesses or Spiritual-Guides—presumably capable of connecting with otherworldly spirits, including feminine goddesses, or the infinite powers of the Earth—but who are ultimately trapped in static tradition with only limited connections to the real world. As such, these dolls—especially those in more recent series made for adult collectors—appeal to those seeking connection with the essence of Indianness, which they believe to be the key to “re-enchantment” of the world.

Notes

1. JoAllyn Archambault, as quoted in Jo Ann Webb, “American Toy Makers Respond to the Call for Positive Ethnic Products,” *Los Angeles Times*, 16 August 1992.

2. Selene Phillips, as paraphrased in Emily Kobak, “Selene Phillips Speaks at Convocation,” *The Dynamo Online*, 14 November 2001.

3. Stephen Kline, “Toys, Socialization, and the Commodification of Play,” in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, eds., Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, Matthias Judd (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 343-345.

4. Kline, "Toys, Socialization, and the Commodification of Play," 347.
5. *Ibid.*, 340-341; Brian Sutton-Smith, *Toys as Culture* (New York: Gardner Press, 1986), 54.
6. Lisa Jones, "Toys that Teach," *Ebony* (November 1993), 66.
7. Historical information about Barbie and Barbie lines is available on Barbiecollector.com. According to a study done for Unity Marketing, serious doll collectors are middle-aged women who have household incomes of at least \$45,000 per year, are employed, and spend between \$500 and \$1,000 per year on their collections. Jennifer Fulkerson, "Don't Play with these Barbie Dolls," *American Demographics*, 17 (May 1995), 17-18.
8. Jo Ann Webb, "American Toy Makers Respond to the Call for Positive Ethnic Products" *Los Angeles Times*, 16 August 1992.
9. These include Olmec, Cultural Exchange (Gordon Dillow, "Dolls Like Me," *Los Angeles Times*, 2 December 1993); Shindana (Elizabeth Chin, "Ethnically Correct Dolls" *American Anthropologist* 101 (June 1999):311); Sugarfoots, Groovy Girls, and Portage Pals (Kristin Tillotson, "Children Embracing New 'Ethnic' Dolls," *The Deseret News*, 29 March 2001).
10. Ann duCille, *Skin Trade*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 17.
11. Jones, "Toys that Teach" 56-57.
12. When I contacted the Barbie division of Mattel to ascertain exactly how many Native American, Inuit, or American Indian Barbie dolls have been released over the years, no one in the company's employ was able to supply me with this information. My good faith estimate is based on searches on Google, Barbiecollector.com, and E-Bay. The dolls I found appear in the Dolls of the World International Series, Dolls of the World North America Series, American Stories Series, International Beauty Collection series, Native Spirits Series, and Dolls of the World Princess Series. The two most recent dolls meant to represent Native American women are Princess of the Navajo Barbie, released in 2004, and Inuit Legend, issued in 2005. The latter doll, an exclusive Canadian collector edition with a limited release of only 5,000, was designed by a fashion design student of Inuit ancestry named Christy Marcus. In fact, *ten* of the *seventeen* appear in Collector Editions—each American Indian Barbie in the American Stories Collection; Native American Barbie 1996, an exclusive for Toy 'R Us'; Arctic Barbie 1997; Northwest Coast Barbie 1999; Fantasy Goddess of the Americas 2000; each doll in the Native Spirit Collection 2001-2003; and Inuit Legend 2005. In actual fact, there is no "American" Barbie. See Shirley Steinberg, "The Bitch Who Has Everything," in *Kinderculture: The Corporate Construction of Childhood*, eds., Shirley Steinberg and Joe Kincheloe (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 214.
13. No explanation was offered as to why she was part of the International Series as opposed to the North America Series.
14. Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of the Indian Woman in American Vernacular Culture," *The Massachusetts Review* 16 (Autumn 1975), 698-714.
15. S. Elizabeth Bird, "Savage Desires," in *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, eds. Carter Meyer and Diana Royer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 80.
16. Michael Marsden and Jack Nachbar, "The Indian in the Movies," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. Wilcomb Washburn, 4 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 609.
17. Raymond Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 3-31.
18. Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 3-4.
19. On "playing Indian," see Rayna Green, "The Tribe Called Wannabee." *Folklore* 99,1 (1988): 30-55; Jay Mechling, "'Playing Indian' and the Search for Authenticity in Modern White America," *Prospects*, 5, ed. Jack Salzman (New York: Burt Franklin, 1980), and Deloria, *Playing Indian*. On "going native," see Laurence Hauptman, *Tribes and Tribulations* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995). On linkages to the Euro-American identity building, see Deloria, *Playing Indian*.
20. The contemporary New Age Movement, which presents Native American spirituality with its respect for nature and the interconnectedness of all things as the panacea for all individual and global problems, for example, harks back to at least the Spiritualist/Spiritist movement of the 1850s and 1860s as well as to the 1875 Theosophical Society of Madame Blavatsky and Henry Olcott. The New Age Movement shares with these precursors belief in communication with spirits via mediums, and interests in ritual, magic, astrology, Eastern religions, and reincarnation. See Paul Heelas, *The New Age Movement* (Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); David Hess, *Science in the New Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).
21. Jeanne Brady, "Multiculturalism and the American Dream," in *Kinderculture*, eds. Shirley Steinberg and Joe Kincheloe (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 219.
22. *Ibid.*, 223-225.
23. *Ibid.*, 226.
24. Arlene Hirschfelder, "What's Correct? Eskimo or Inuit?" in *American Indian Stereotypes in the World of Children*, eds. Arlene Hirschfelder, Paulette Molin and Yvonne Wakim

- (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 31; Shari Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 79, note 1.
25. Steinberg, "The Bitch Who Has Everything," 214.
 26. Jacqueline Urla and Alan Swedlund, "The Anthropometry of Barbie," in *Deviant Bodies*, eds. Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 293-298. Mattel has responded to protests against Barbie's classic physique by diversifying Barbie's ethnicity and body types. In 1997 the company announced that future Barbies would have smaller busts and bigger waists ("Barbie Gets a Makeover," *Wall Street Journal*, 19 November 1997).
 27. Gillian Beck, *Girls and Dolls*, A Division III Project (Amherst, Massachusetts: Hampshire College, 2000), 21.
 28. duCille, *Skin Trade*, 28.
 29. Chin's close examination of Shani, Asha, and Nichelle's African American faces revealed that they were based on racialized markers: Asha, the lightest-skinned doll in the series, has the smallest nose and the thinnest lips, while Nichelle, the darkest-skinned doll, has lips that are much wider than the outlines of her stamped-on pink lipstick, and her nose is the largest and widest of the Shani dolls (Chin, "Ethnically Correct Dolls," 313).
 30. Beck, "Girls and Dolls," 33.
 31. Erica Rand, *Barbie's Queer Accessories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 82.
 32. duCille, "Skin Trade," 45.
 33. *Ibid.*
 34. Liz Ruskin, "Mostly Positive Reception for New Tlingit Barbie," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 21 March 2000.
 35. On Turner, see Eve Darian-Smith, *New Capitalists: Law, Politics, and Identity Surrounding Casino Gaming on Native American Land* (Toronto: Wadsworth, 2004), 25-26.
 36. Helen McNeil, "Deconstructing Barbie." Talk given at the School of Native Studies, University of Alberta, 10 February 2002. Unpublished manuscript in author's possession.
 37. McNeil as quoted in Ruskin, "Mostly Positive Reception."
 38. McCormack, "Deconstructing Barbie."
 39. Eskimo Barbie's attire is not described on her box. She is dressed in a stylish white parka and mukluks, "boots," with black and white braid and red trim as decorations above the long, gray fur that trims the hood edge, jacket hem, and sleeve cuffs.
 40. John Ewers, in *American Indian Stereotypes in the World of Children*, eds. Arlene Hirschfelder, Paulette Molin, and Yvonne Wakim (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1999).
 41. Ruskin, "Mostly Positive Reception."
 42. Beck, *Girls and Dolls*, 47.
 43. Marilee Nyman, *Feast of Friendship* (El Segundo, CA: Mattel, Inc., 1992).
 44. Steinberg, "The Bitch Who has Everything," 214.
 45. On the enemy, see Raymond Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).
 46. Nyman, *Feast of Friendship*.
 47. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
 48. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. Brady, "Multiculturalism and the American Dream," 222.
 51. Russell Thornton, "Historical Demography," in *A Companion to the Anthropology of American Indians* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 25.
 52. That is, the months or years between first contact (not necessarily face-to-face) and the creation of full, written records of intercultural contact in any area.
 53. Quotation from Nyman, *Feast of Friendship*, emphasis added.
 54. Lynn Ceci, "Squanto and the Pilgrims," in *The Invented Indian*, ed. James Clifton (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1994); Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970).
 55. Kathryn Smithen, *Baby Blue Feather* (El Segundo, CA: Mattel, Inc., 1995).
 56. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
 57. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
 58. Smithen, *Baby Blue*, emphasis added.
 59. *Ibid.*
 60. Daniel Rosenblatt, "The Antisocial Skin: Structure, Resistance, and 'Modern Primitive' Adornment in the United States," *Cultural Anthropology* 12 (August 1997): 297.
 61. George Stocking, "Ideas and Institutions in American Anthropology." In *Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist 1921-1945*, ed. George Stocking Jr. (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1976), 31.
 62. On Noble Anachronism see Marsden and Nachbar, "The Indian in the Movies," 609-615; on the Indian Princess see Bird, "Savage Desires," 80; Marsden and Nachbar, "The Indian in the Movies," 608-609; and Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian*, 3-31.

63. Jone Salomonsen, *Enchanted Feminism: The Reclaiming Witches of San Francisco* (London: Routledge, 2002), 1.
64. Tanya Luhrmann, "The Resurgence of Romanticism," in *Environmentalism: The View from Anthropology*, ed., Kay Milton (London: Routledge, 1993), 223.
65. Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodern Ethics* (Oxford: Blackwell Press 1993), 33; Morris Berman, *The Reenchantment of the World* (New York: Bantam Books 1989); Roxana Preda, "The Angel in the Ecosystem Revisited," *Critical Studies* 15 (2001): 317-340.
66. Preda, "The Angel in the Ecosystem," 325-326.
67. Berman, *The Reenchantment of the World*, 2.
68. Bauman, *Postmodern Ethics*, 33; Preda, "The Angel in the Ecosystem," 337.
69. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 18.
70. Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 31.
71. Kathryn Shanley, "Lady Luck or Mother Earth?" *Wicazo Sa Review* (Fall 2000), 94.
72. Hirschfelder, "Toys with Indian Imagery," in Hirschfelder, et al., *American Indian Stereotypes in the World of Children*, 159.