IN-GROUP/OUT-GROUP DYNAMICS OF NATIVE AMERICAN MASCOT ENDORSEMENT (NAME)

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This dissertation meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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Abstract

The use of Native American names and mascots by professional and college sports teams has become a controversial issue. However, very little research has investigated attitudes towards Native Americans, regarding relationships between team names and mascots on prejudice and discrimination. This study proposed that the multiple social categories created by manipulating the endorsement/opposition of Native mascots by Native and White college students at a university with a Native mascot, would allow for the identification of possible prejudice and discrimination based on race and the mascot issue. It was hypothesized that the manipulation of Native American Mascot Endorsement (NAME) in Native and White confederates would create a multiple in-group/out-group dynamic that would influence discriminatory behavior.

A series of 2 (Race) X 3 (NAME) between groups factorial ANOVA's were conducted on ratings of the confederates by White college students. In addition, MANOVA's were conducted on the ratings of the Native confederate by White college students. Results indicated that Native students at the University of North Dakota received prejudice and and possible discrimination and this varied as a function of the confederate's opinion of the Fighting Sioux name and logo. The results indicated that students at UND are engaging in racial prejudice and possible discrimination of Native students. This suggests that the continued use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo by the University of North Dakota may indirectly promote racial stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, and possibly leading to racism. Implications are discussed and future studies are suggested

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, and racism are phenomenon that occurs between cultural groups. Most of the research studying prejudice and discrimination has focused on European American's attitudes towards African Americans (e.g. Flemming, 1984; White & Sedlacek, 1987). This is understandable given the deep-rooted history of conflict between these two groups (Jones, 1997) However, considering the history of conflict over land, resources, and culture between Native Americans and European Americans, it is surprising that little relevant research exists on this group dynamic. While several studies have investigated attitudes towards Native Americans (e.g. Ancis, Choney, & Sedlacek, 1996; Bennett & Simons, 1991; Hanson & Rouse, 1987; Sandefur & Lam, 1985), the results are inconsistent. In addition, little research investigating the effects of stereotypes and attitudes regarding Native Americans and how this relates to discrimination has been conducted.

Specifically, no empirical research exists investigating the effects of stereotypes and prejudice on discriminatory behavior towards Native Americans when a particular conflict exists between Native Americans and European Americans. One such contemporary conflict involves the use of Native American images, logos, and names by athletic teams. Although a few survey studies have investigated sentiment for keeping or banning the use of Native mascots (Fenelon, 1999; Jollie-Trottier, 2002, LaRocque, 2002, Segilman, 1998), empirical research investigating the effects of Native mascots on attitudes and discrimination towards Native peoples is absent. The primary question addressed in this study is this:

"does opposition to Native American team names and mascots place Native people at greater risk of prejudice and discrimination?" Before examining this issue in more detail, definitions of key terms are provided and a brief history of Native American and White contact is necessary.

Definition of Key Terms

Native American or American Indian, Native Peoples. These terms refer to "(a) any group or individual who can demonstrate blood quantum or ancestral lineage to any federal, state, or locally recognized tribe and/or (b) any person who becomes a member of such a tribe through ceremonial adoption and strives to live in a traditional Indian fashion (McDonald, Morton, & Stewart, 1993, p. 438).

Stereotyping. Refers to "generalizations about a group or class of people that do not allow for individual differences" (Brislin, 2000, p. 36).

Prejudice. Defined as "a positive or negative attitude, judgment, or feeling about a person that is generalized from attitudes or beliefs held about the group to which the person belongs" (Jones, 1997, p. 10).

Discrimination. Defined as "the behavioral manifestation of prejudice –those actions designed to maintain own-group characteristics and favored position at the expense of members of the comparison group" (Jones, 1997, p. 10).

Racism. Brislin (2000) states that "racism centers on the belief that, given the simple fact some individuals were born into a certain out-group, those individuals are inferior on such dimensions as intelligence, morals, and an ability to interact in decent society. Jones defines racism in a number of ways. He indicates cultural racism can generally be defined as

"the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one race's cultural heritage over that of another race" (Jones, 1997, p. 14).

An Historical Perspective

To understand the impact of images and stereotypes on the prejudice, discrimination, and racism directed toward contemporary Native Americans a historical perspective is helpful. These social issues result from centuries of social relations and policies that were oppressive and dehumanizing, shaped by the hostile attitudes of European Americans (Barrett, 2003; Berkhofer, 1979; Collier, 1947; LaDuke, 1999, Venables, 2004). As Berkhofer suggests in his writings, an almost insidious relationship exists where the images and stereotypes of North American indigenous peoples have impacted Indian-White relations and government policies and the relations and policies have impacted the images and stereotypes. For example, early European settlers saw and interpreted Native peoples and cultures through a Christian lens and civilization and thus the Indigenous populations were labeled as "wilde" and "savage". This influenced social and governmental policies that subjugated Natives to such positions in society. In response to, and because of such policies (westward expansion, relocation, allotment, boarding schools), Native peoples have "fulfilled the prophecy" of the White man's image. Although a thorough review of Native American history is beyond the scope of this paper, several historical periods of Native-White relations and government policies are important to highlight. The most significant historical periods and social polices include English and French colonial times and the policies of extermination, exclusion (relocation), assimilation, and self-determination (Edwards & Smith, 1979; Nagel & Snipp, 1993).

Early relations between Europeans and Natives were reached by collaboration. Within the worldview of many Indigenous nations, a humanistic ideology existed that is still present today (Gonzalez & Bennett, 2000). This ideology views all people as being similar regardless of race or ethnicity. Therefore, most tribes were initially helpful and welcomed the Europeans with generosity and friendship. However, as time progressed, conflict over resources (land) occurred and an atmosphere of distrust grew. At the point when tribes began to realize they were being exploited, they would begin to withdraw their support. This resistance was met with swift and sometimes sweeping punishment. Entire bands and tribes were exterminated (Nagel & Snipp, 1993; Venables, 2004).

Inducing disease was a maliciously effective means of extermination against Native Americans, as they lacked the immunity to many illnesses. For example, it is suggested that Sir Jeffery Amherst, commander of the British forces in North America, intentionally introduced smallpox to a band of Delaware Indians during Pontiac's Rebellion (Gill, 2004; Mullin, 2003). Other means of extermination included putting bounties on Native American scalps and killing them for land and property (Nagel & Snipp, 1993; Venables, 2004). During these colonial periods, the image of the "savage Indian" and "uncivilized man" developed which fueled the conflict and skewed the future relations.

Post-colonial times saw the ever-growing expansion of White settlers into Native lands. Manifest Destiny provided the holy and legal rationale for the westward expansion. The Indian Relocation Act of 1830 marked the beginning of a series of laws and treaties aimed at controlling and quashing Indian resistance and assimilating them as quickly and quietly as possible. This act empowered the federal government to forcibly relocate "friendlies" and punish "hostiles" who resisted relocation. Being forced to leave territory

that many groups had roamed for centuries was devastating. Treaties were made, but consistently broken by the drafters. By the time of the last major battle between the U.S. Army and a band of starving and freezing Brule Lakota (Sioux) at Wounded Knee, South Dakota (1891), most tribes had been decimated by wars, disease, and limited resources of reservation life.

Soon after forcing Natives onto reservations, the Federal policy shifted to one of assimilation in an attempt to "civilize" the Native. This assimilation process included teaching and expecting Native Americans to become farmers rather than the hunters and gatherers many of them were (Collier, 1947; Edwards & Smith, 1979). One of the first policies enacted to force assimilation was the Dawes Act or the Land Allotment Act of 1887, which provided for the allotment of plots of Native American land to "competent" Native Americans. The Dawes Act was disastrous for Native Americans. Because they were unable to properly farm their land and ended up selling it to Whites, the act resulted in the loss of three-fifths of all Native American lands (Meyer, 1994, LaDuke, 1999). Life on the reservation became very difficult for Native peoples as the use of their language, participation in cultural ceremonies, and fulfilling traditional roles were restricted, if not prohibited (Collier, 1947; Duran, 1995). In addition, the transfer of the culture to the next generation was denied when the Federal Government established the boarding school system. The main objective of the off-reservation boarding school was to assimilate Native American children into "American" culture by teaching them in a closed environment and not allowing them to speak their languages or practice cultural traditions (Churchhill, 2004; Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, & Robbins, 1995). The effects of this policy on Native communities have lingered for generations, as one Ojibwe man recalls:

> …when I was sent away to the boarding school in Pipestone *(MN)*, I only spoke Ojibwe and a little French. Now I can only speak a little in my own language and no French. They took that away from me, I was beaten and whipped with a belt if spoke Ojibwe or French…if I did anything in my own *(Ojibwe)* way (James Weaver, personal communication, August 17, 2001).

Native American culture is an integral part of many Native American people's lives. Native Americans and their culture did not disappear; instead, it has experienced many adaptations and modifications to fit the changing times. So too have the images and stereotypes of the Native American, and as Berkhover (1979) suggests, the social and government policies enacted on the first Americans created conditions that did not allow Native people to deny the stereotypes held by Whites and society. For example, westward expansion and an influx of White settlers into native lands "forced" the Native peoples to defend their territories thus, the "bloodthirsty savage" images was fulfilled. Relocating tribes to small plots of land and expecting them to be farmers resulted in disintegration of Native culture creating severe social problems thus, the "uncivilized Indian" image was fulfilled. In recent decades, many:

> …Native Americans are asking for the right to be 'Native' in a society that has generally not permitted or even tolerated differences. If they are to reach this goal, all Americans will have to acknowledge and forsake the myths and distortions they have accepted about Native Americans for centuries and permit them (Native Americans) to be themselves (Edwards & Smith, 1979, p. 63).

Native American Images and Stereotypes

Although many non-Natives have had minimal contact with Native Americans, non-Natives still have some image or opinion of Native Americans. In recent years, traditional depictions of Native Americans have come under critical examination because of their overt or implied racist connotation. Much of the misleading and flawed imagery derives from stereotypic portrayals of Native Americans in comic books, film, literature, history books, television, and general hearsay (Trimble, 1988).

Hansen & Rouse (1987) posit that stereotypes of Native Americans appear to be multidimensional, that is, "they refer to an array of characterizations of Native Americans regarding their culture, history, physical appearance, status and role, psychological makeup, motivation, and capabilities"(Hanson & Rouse, 1987, p.33). Early descriptions of Native Americans were generally categorized dichotomously. First, there is the image of the good Native American, often termed the "noble savage". In this way, Native Americans appeared to be "friendly, courteous and hospitable. Modest in attitude, if not always in dress, the noble Indian exhibited great calm and dignity in bearing conversation… Brave in combat, he was tender in love for family and children. The Indian, in short, lived a life of liberty, simplicity, and innocence" (Trimble, 1988, p. 182). Conversely, the "bloodthirsty savage" Native American persists. Savagism refers to existence outside the borders of civilization, deficient and devoid of the so-called positive traits of European American society (Hansen and Rouse, 1987).

It is further noted that Native American stereotypes appear in a variety of areas within American culture such as sports, art, literature, mass media (movies and television), and education. There have been some analyses examining Native American stereotypes in

literature, novels, and textbooks used in history classes across the United States. Trimble (1988) reports that a 1975 analysis found that books reviewed were built on traditional and historical images of the "dirty, drunken, cruel and warring savage" and "the glorified but naïve native" (p. 189). Another analysis reported that Native Americans were described as noble savages when helping non-Native Americans and "treacherous or filthy savages" when fighting against non-Natives (Trimble, 1988, p. 189).

A comprehensive review of the literature by the American Indian Historical Society (AIHS) examined more than 300 books related to history and culture that were then used in schools across the United States (Hansen & Rouse, 1987; Trimble, 1988). The reviewers concluded that not one book could be considered a reliable or accurate source of Native American history and culture. In fact, most books were found to contain misinformation, distortions, omissions, and were derogatory to Native Americans. Frequent references were made to Native Americans being "primitive, degrading, filthy, warlike, savage, hostile, fugitives, runaway slaves, riffraff, and bold" (Trimble, 1988, p. 189).

The mass media has also played a significant role in promoting Native American stereotypes, particularly the motion picture and television industries. They have produced a large number of films that convey another version of Native American culture and history that are often biased, unflattering, or distorted. Films have both created and perpetuated many negative and culturally inaccurate images of Native Americans. Vrasidas (1997) argues that for many people, movies and television are their two primary sources of information. Many contemporary negative attitudes and stereotypes about Native Americans persist because television and film played a significant role of internalizing and eternalizing these misconceptions. His strongest argument comes from the mythology of the Western genre.

These films (Westerns) often focus on the conflict between settlers and Native Americans. Vrasidas posits when mythologies exist in a society they are indicators of the national character and because the Western was highly favored among the masses, he suggests it perpetuated a myth on which a whole nation was built.

Native Americans were often depicted in Westerns as brutal and evil, raiding settlers, scalping them and whooping at the same time (Aleiss, 1995; Trimble, 1988). At the end of the movie, the Natives were seen as defeated and vanishing (Aleiss, 1995; Churchill, Hill, & Hill, 1978). When Native characters were "good guys", they were often a scout, helper, or sidekick of the non-Native, but still inferior (Trimble, 1988). Often these earlier movies were nonspecific in identifying specific tribes, and when they did, tribes were often inaccurately represented. For example, Native Americans in these movies almost always wore feathers or war-bonnets, cloth headbands, rode horses, and communicated by using nonverbal signals (smoke signals, birdcalls, beating a drum) (Churchill et al, 1978; Trimble, 1988), characteristics which are specific to only a few plains tribes. In addition, if a Native American did speak, it was a fabricated language or broken English (Churchill et al, 1978; Trimble, 1988). Furthermore, until recently, non-Natives that looked Native American such as Hispanics, Greeks, or Italians (Churchill et al, 1978; Trimble, 1988) played these roles, such as Sal Mineo, Robert Blake, Charles Bronson, and Barbara Carerra.

After WW II, the film industry started to portray Native Americans somewhat more as heroes than villains (Alleiss, 1995). The image went from the "hostile warrior" stereotype toward an image of interracial harmony. Vrasidas (1997) acknowledges that in recent years television and film have portrayed Native Americans in a more realistic fashion, but argues Hollywood has a long way to go before changing four centuries of misrepresentations.

Edgerton (1994) conducted an analysis of the movie the *Last of the Mohicans*, which many suggested as representing a step in the right direction. He found there were still many Native American stereotypes endorsed in the movie, including tensions between Native Americans and Europeans, and the previously discussed paradoxical portrayal of Native Americans as being both the "good Indian" and the "bad Indian". It could be argued that this is true to life, in that there are good and bad people in all cultures, However, the "good Indian" – Hawkeye played by Daniel Day-Lewis, is only half-Native, and possesses qualities of belonging with nature, noble, brave, and sensitive. The "bad Indian" – Magua played by Wes study, is shown as savage, brutal, and barbaric. According to Edgerton, when looking at good and bad character types and traits, there was a composite that was deeply conflicted and contradictory that is often common with racial and ethnic stereotyping.

Tan, Fujioka, and Lucht (1997) attempted to ascertain if stereotypes towards Native Americans were effected by television portrayals, along with personal contact. They sampled 191 Euro-American students at two northwestern universities located within 30 miles of a Native reservation. The authors hypothesized that the more contact subjects had with Native Americans, the less likely they were to have negative attitudes about them. This contact could either be personal or vicarious (television). In addition, they hypothesized that positive information would lead to positive attitudes and negative information would lead to negative attitudes (Tan at al. 1997). The dependent measure used in the study was a survey dealing with racial images. The scale asked respondents to rate whether Native Americans were closer to one of two polar adjectives on a 7-point scale. Items included were, wealth, work ethic, intelligence, dependency, patriotism, crime, trust, drugs, family ties, tolerance of other races, and alcohol use.

Tan et al. (1997) concluded that frequency of contact consistently predicted stereotyping of Native Americans. In particular, frequent personal contact lead to positive stereotypes. These data offer limited support concerning vicarious contact. Specifically, it was shown that positive TV attributes led to positive attitudes and negative TV attributes led to negative attitudes, but the effects were weak and each only predicted one stereotyping factor out of four. The authors suggest the scarcity of television portrayals about Native Americans, reported by the subject's recent recall, may have diluted the possible effects (Tan at al. 1997).

Trimble (1988) examined the hypothesis that stereotypes of Native Americans appear to be changing with the times. A series of studies were conducted in 1970, 1973, and 1976 to see if differences in stereotypes of Natives American traits existed across a seven-year time span. Both Native Americans and non-Natives listed as many words as they could to describe Native Americans. From these lists, a 38 word list was compiled and a separate group of subjects were administered the 38 word list of traits. From this list, subjects were asked to choose 15 words from the list and rank them from 1-most typical to 15-least typical. The 1970 study found that non-Natives rated words differently than the Natives and saw Native Americans in a stereotypical fashion. Traits non-Natives endorsed were distrustful, drunkards, ignorant, lazy, proud, and suspicious. Native Americans saw themselves as being defeated, mistreated, proud, drunkards, and quiet. The most commonly picked traits from the 1970 study were compiled into a 15-word list. In 1973, the 15-word list from 1970 was used, and subjects were asked to add more traits if they wanted. Another group of subjects were then asked to rank the 15 traits. This time non-Natives tended to view Native Americans as defeated, drunkards, ignored, mistreated, and poor. Native

Americans endorsed themselves as being ignored, mistreated, faithful, and proud. The same procedure was done in 1976, and non-Natives saw Native Americans as being mistreated, militant, and stubborn. Native Americans also saw themselves as being militant, but also as ignored, and faithful. Words that continued to be on the list at all three points in time were artistic, defeated, drunkards, lazy, mistreated, and shy. Although the results of the three studies suggest stereotypes can change with the passage of time, certain stereotypes have remained and continue to remain.

Additional research investigating stereotypes and attitudes towards Native Americans has produced mixed findings. For example, Hansen and Rouse (1987) also conducted a study examining Native American stereotyping. The study included 226 college students enrolled in sociology and anthropology courses at a large southwestern university. Seventy-five percent were European American, 9% African American, 7% Hispanic, and 1.3% Native American. The study consisted of three sections. In the first section, subjects were presented with a list of 10 dichotomous (positive/negative) pairs of adjectives asking them to choose which were characteristic of Native Americans. (Subjects were given the option of saying Native Americans were not characterized by the pair and therefore neutral). Overall, 50% of the subjects characterized Native Americans with the positive term, 24% characterized them with the negative term, and 26% chose the neutral option. The second part of the study consisted of background information and questions pertaining to exposure to Native Americans, with the final section consisting of a 40-item opinion and knowledge survey about Native Americans. Results showed that concepts conceived as traditional cultural stereotypes received only mixed support such as; simple, primitive, traditional, warlike, hunters, and "as the past". More subjects saw Native Americans as part of the past

and saw them as more traditional. When examining personal stereotypes, the majority of subjects did not view Native Americans as negative, but saw them as strong, hardworking, and patriotic. Subjects also tended to reject homogenous lumping of Native Americans in favor of a more heterogeneous perception. However, subjects believed that Native Americans should be bicultural, and received most of their information about Native Americans from television, movies, and books.

Ancis et al. (1996) examined college student's attitudes towards Native Americans in various social and educational situations and found an overall positive attitude towards Native Americans except for the case of a Native person receiving free health care. The authors suggest that the overall positive attitudes may be indicative of the increased attention recently given to the historical and current conditions of Native Americans (Ancis et al., 1996). Sandefur and Lam (1985) randomly sampled residents of Oklahoma City in an attempt to assess their stereotypes of African Americans and Native Americans. Using a Likert scale format, subjects read five statements about Native Americans and five statements about African Americans and completed a social distance measure for each group. Results from this study indicated Euro-Americans in Oklahoma City perceived more social distance between themselves and African Americans than themselves and Native Americans, and stereotypes of African Americans were more negative than stereotypes of Native Americans.

Bennett and Simons (1991) studied attitudes towards Native Americans in the Upper Midwest, where negative perceptions existed. The authors cite these above studies and suggest these findings are inconsistent with their findings because of the diverse methodologies used in each study. Moreover, comparisons with studies of stereotypes and

attitudes of other ethnic groups are therefore difficult. In order to address this issue, Bennett and Simons (1991) used a well-established stereotype measuring methodology conducted on three generations of Princeton University students (e.g. Katz & Braly, 1933; Gilbert, 1951; Karlin, Coffman, & Walters, 1969). This stereotype measurement consists of an adjective checklist in which subjects rate how descriptive an adjective is for both European Americans and some other group. Bennett and Simons (1991) administered this checklist to college students who had a permanent address that was located within the boundaries of a reservation. It was hypothesized that living on a reservation would have given subjects a more real-life impression of Native American people than what is seen in the media, thus, obtaining a more valid measure of stereotypes and prejudice that exists through actual intergroup interaction. They found, using the adjective checklist methodology that a distinct, negative stereotype of Native Americans existed. In addition, this negative stereotype was comparable to those held towards African Americans in the late 1960's (Bennett & Simons, 1991).

One possible explanation for this discrepancy in findings of attitudes towards Native Americans could have to do with the nature of the studies. For example, social psychological theories would suggest that ethnocentrism is more likely to occur in the Bennett and Simons (1991) study than in the other studies. For non-Natives living on a reservation, ethnic biases are more salient based on a cultural perspective. The conflict that occurs over real and tangible resources has progressed for generations in and around Native American reservations. Attitudes held by participants in the studies by Ancis et al., (1996) and Hanson and Rouse (1987) may have been based on images presented through media in which the actual participants have not had real contact with Native people. In other words,

there was no real conflict or history of personal conflict between participants in the studies and Native Americans, therefore any ethnic biases were not salient.

In the last decade or so, blockbuster Hollywood productions such as, *Dances with Wolves, Last of the Mohicans,* and *Geronimo,* have presented, for the most, a romanticized account of Native American people and their struggles. However, in areas where Native people constitute the largest minority group, conflict over real life issues continues to exist, maintaining stereotypes and prejudice. One issue creating tension is the use of Native American team names and mascots. This is especially true in college communities with Native team names and images where Native Americans are the largest minority group.

Native Americans as Sport Team Mascots

College/university and professional sports team's symbols and mascots are highly visible. Most often, fans take the values attributed to sport symbols seriously. A certain symbolism is projected by athletic team nicknames in general. In most cases, athletic team's names are animals, objects, or natural phenomena. Symbols can be positive such as bravery, courage, and strength, or negative such as brutality, fury, violence, and viciousness. However, most often Native Americans mascots and team names are symbolized with the more negative traits (Nuessel, 1994; Fuller and Manning, 1987). Nuessel (1994) states that the "traditional image of Native Americans in the print and non-print media depicts the indigenous population as brutal, savage, inhumane, and uncivilized" (p. 109). This negative reflection of Native American people and culture results in a highly controversial issue.

Two of the ten most popular college and university team nicknames and mascots refer to Native Americans; Indians and Warriors (Nuessel, 1994). Although Franks (1982) found the most common college and university nickname was the Eagles, all nicknames

associated with Native Americans in combination far outnumber the Eagles. The most frequently used Native names are Indians, Redman, Warriors, Savages, Braves, and Chiefs (Nuessel, 1994). Even though the nickname Warrior can be associated with others besides Native Americans, the logos that accompany this nickname typically depict a caricature of a Native American. In addition, many team nicknames relate to specific Native American groups such as the Illini, Hurons, Choctaws, Apaches, Pequots, Sioux, Chippewas, Blackhawks, and Mohawks (Nuessel, 1994). According to Davis (1993), Native American mascots emerged in the early 1900's at a time when Native Americans civil and legal rights were ignored. Despite the efforts of various groups (e.g., American Indian Movement (AIM) & White Earth Land Recovery Project) to end the depiction of Native American images by athletic teams, these names remain popular around the country.

Awareness has increased recently among colleges and universities concerning the reactions to their Native-related athletic team nicknames and a number of universities/colleges have changed or are considering changing their nickname (Fuller and Manning, 1987; Nuessel, 1994). For example, Native American students at Stanford University and Dartmouth College were successful in getting their former school nickname "Indians" changed. Native American students at Dartmouth College declared the name "Indians" was an "offensive distortion of Indian culture and history that was sometimes sacrilegious" (Fuller and Manning, 1987, p. 61). Dartmouth officials were persuaded by their Native students and no longer wanted to perpetuate a negative and stereotypical distortion of Indigenous peoples.

Some verbal and even nonverbal behavior displayed by team fans and game attendees, such as the "tomahawk chop", are examples of stereotyping perpetuated by

Native mascots. Many generic or cartoonish Native American paraphernalia are sold to fans such as plastic tomahawks and turkey feather war bonnets or ceremonial bonnets. Many Native American tribes and individuals find such items and behavior offensive. The use of plastic toys and inappropriate gestures mock ceremonial objects and spiritual rituals that Native people hold in deep respect. Nuessel (1994) suggests the most offensive mascot to Native Americans may be Chief Illiniwek of the University of Illinois. Nuessel writes "this derogatory, stereotypic personification of American Indians, always interpreted by a white male, often employs facial kinetic gestures (menacing waves of a tomahawk, war dances), and paralinguistic utterances (war whoops) to mimic an American Indian chief (p.109)." The official position of the University of Illinois is that the chief honors Native Americans, asserting that the mascot's costume is hand made by Native Americans and that the dance is authentic. University officials stated "the chief is not an invention, mascot, or caricature, or sacrilegious, but an honorable, authentic reproduction" (Slowikowski, 1993, p. 26). However, Slowikowski reports the University of Illinois' Chief Illiniwek never existed in any Native American tribe, nor does his dance "replicate any authentic dance that a specified tribe would've performed" (p. 26).

In 1991 and 1992, large groups protested against the use of the term "Redskins" and "Braves" during the Super Bowl and World Series, respectively. Davis (1993) analyzed the protests, investigating the media coverage related to this movement. A list of arguments for and against the use of Native Americans as nicknames, logos, and mascots was presented. Anti-mascot proponents argue the use of mascots, logos, paraphernalia, and related fan actions perpetuate racist stereotypes of Native Americans and their respective cultures. For example, as noted above, the Native American as the "bloodthirsty savage" who holds traits

such as wild, aggressive, and violent is perpetuated by the use of Native's as mascots (Davis, 1993). LaDuke (1999) argues the "invention" or depiction of Native Americans as aggressors is particularly offensive because it distorts the historical reality. Many Native people view the European Americans as the aggressors, raiding Native American lands and oppressing indigenous people. Another argument against the use of team mascots suggests that Native Americans are only part of the past, thus obscuring the lives and issues of contemporary Native Americans. Davis states that, "according to some of the activists, recognizing and understanding the lives of present-day Native Americans both challenges the stereotypes and in some ways provides evidence of past oppression (p. 13)." Other arguments include the offensive nature of imitation or misuse of symbols that have religious significance to some Native American people. Perhaps the most common argument though, is that they negatively influence the self-image and self-esteem of Native Americans, especially Native American children (Davis, 1993).

Individuals supporting the continued use of Native American symbolism as mascots, argue the use is an honor and tribute to Native Americans, because they are viewed as people associated with bravery, strength, pride, and a fighting spirit (Davis, 1993). Additional arguments cited by Davis include the idea that the use does not intend to offend Native Americans, that not all Native Americans object to their use, and that there are other mascots modeled after other ethnic groups such as the Vikings and the Irish and that people from these groups do not find these offensive. Some individuals also stated that because they support Native Americans in general, it is acceptable for them to use a Native mascot.

Sigelman (1998) investigated public attitudes toward the Washington Redskins professional football team. Telephone surveys were completed in the Washington DC area

and nationally. Sigelman reported that very few members of the public felt a need to change Redskins name. However, significantly higher numbers of ethnic minorities, those more educated and those who were not Washington Redskins fans supported a name change. Washington Redskin officials defended the name claiming it "reflects positive attributes of the Native American such as dedication, courage, and pride" (Sigelman, 1998, p. 318). Supporters of the Redskins name and logo further suggested the name implied positive elements such as bravery, wisdom, and spirituality. Based on the survey, Sigelman suggested supporters were blindly engaging in racial stereotyping and if they did realize their participation was discriminatory, they downplayed the significance.

A similar study by Fenelon (1999) was conducted in the Cleveland, OH area regarding the Cleveland Indians baseball team's mascot "Chief Wahoo". There were distinct European American, African American, and Native American trends seen in the results. Despite continued protest by Native Americans, European Americans agreed that the symbol should remain under all conditions, whereas African American responses were generally neutral. More than half of the European Americans refused or failed to empathize with the Native American perspective and did not recognize "Wahoo" as offensive. Additionally for Euro-Americans, the mascot was not associated with racism (Fenelon 1999).

More recently, a national telephone survey was conducted that was published in Sports Illustrated (Price & Woo, 2002). The poll conducted by the Peter Harris Research Group for Sports Illustrated interviewed 351 Native Americans (217 living on a reservation and 134 living off) as well as 734 "sports fans". The results of the poll indicated that 83% of Native Americans responded that professional teams should not stop using Native nicknames, mascots, or symbols, and 79% of "sports fans" also agreed with that statement.

The pollsters further report there is a difference in opinion between Natives on or off the reservation. It was reported that only 67% of Natives living on the reservation agreed that professional teams should not stop using Native names and mascots, while 87% of Natives living off the reservation agreed that pro teams should not stop using nicknames and mascots that represent Native Americans. In response to the question regarding the use of Redskin (as in Washington Redskins), it was reported that 57% of Natives living on the reservation did not object to the name and 72% of Natives living off the reservation did not object.

With such large percentages of the Natives polled in this study apparently supporting the use of Native American nicknames and mascots, or at least not finding them offensive, the authors suggest there is a near "total disconnect" between Native American activist and the general Native American population. However, interpretation of the poll may not be so straightforward. Using race (Native American) as an independent variable investigating individual differences is not good science (Dole, 1994; Fairchild, 1991; Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Zuckerman, 1990), which nearly nullifies the results at worst and calls for extreme caution at best. This relates to the methodology of how Native Americans were identified on or off the reservation. How were the participants identified as Native American, through census reports, by surname, or self-report? This information was not reported in the Sports Illustrated article. However, any method is questionable and does not provide enough information into the cultural characteristics of the sample.

Additionally, the external validity is further questioned because of the lack of information about the sample regarding geographical location of those living on the

reservation or off. More question arise such as how many reservations were polled? Where was/were the reservation(s) located? Which tribal affiliation were the "Native Americans"? What was there acculturation level or cultural identification? The authors implied that Natives living on the reservation were more attached to the culture, but this may not necessarily be true. Further related to the polling of Natives on or off the reservations is the issue of economic status and who may or may not have telephone services. Another concern relates to the cultural appropriateness and competency of a phone poll. Many Native American people have a mistrust of research in general and therefore may have provided affirming responses to such questions. These are just a few issues that need to be addressed before a real interpretation of the poll can be made of whether or not Native Americans in general find the use of Native team names and mascots offensive.

The Fighting Sioux Nickname/Logo

The Fighting Sioux name has been used by the University of North Dakota (UND) since 1930. Around 1970, Native people began to question the appropriateness of the nickname and logo. Since then, several surveys inquiring about a name change have indicated the majority of the student body and alumni want to keep the name and logo, but Native American students, and the majority of faculty are in favor of a name change. Because of this, previous university presidents, officials, and the current president have debated the issue and promoted university policies to support cultural diversity and cultural sensitivity toward Native American students. In recent years, controversial decisions were made regarding the use of the Fighting Sioux nickname and logo. For example, in 2001 the North Dakota State Board of Higher Education preempts the current UND president's (Charles Kupchella) decision to form a commission and seriously consider a name change:

deciding to keep the Fighting Sioux Nickname and adopt a new logo that is similar to the Chicago Black Hawk logo. More controversy followed. It was suggested the decision was based on financing of the new Engelstad Arena when a letter from Ralph Engelstad surfaced indicating threatened withdrawal of the $100 million in funding. Local Native leaders also pointed the new logo is not representative of the Lakota/Sioux Nation. (For a detailed discussion of the history and use of the Fighting Sioux Nickname and logo, see Vorland, 2000; Appendix A).

There have been numerous protests against its use by a number of Native American students, some faculty, and non-Indian students who find the name and logo offensive. In addition, a history of racial incidents on the UND campus has occurred in relation to the Fighting Sioux nickname and logo. For example, banners were found hanging in Merrifield Hall with statements "If the name has to go, so should your funding" in bold letters, and "go back to the Rez, or work at the casino PRAIRIE NIGGA". The second banner carried a similar message (Bridges, 2003). Incidents like these suggest a hostile environment and atmosphere for Native Americans on the UND campus and speak to the effects of stereotypes towards groups.

Effects of Stereotyping

In nations with histories where ethnic minorities were victims of persecution, oppression, slavery, or genocide, the dominant culture typically creates prejudicial attitudes toward the minority group as a justification for the actions of the oppressor group. Stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination, and racism towards Natives exist in this context, a nation's history built because of oppression and genocide (Cox, 1948; Trimble, 1988). As noted above, research on racism against Native Americans has received very little attention.

Furthermore, little research exists on the role racial prejudice and stereotyping play as a barrier in the American Indian educational experience. Some research has demonstrated that when one group of experimental subjects is directed to inflict pain or harm to members of another experimental group of subjects, the "victim" group is routinely derogated and dehumanized verbally by the "oppressor" group (Davis & Jones, 1960; Glass, 1964; Worchel & Andreoli, 1978). By developing such negative attitudes toward their own victims, "exploiters can not only avoid thinking of themselves as villains, but they can also justify further exploitation" (Franzoi, 1996, p. 394).

Negative stereotypes and attitudes toward Native Americans have served precisely the same function. To protect the historical oppressors from a sense of guilt over the atrocities committed on Natives and to justify further exploitation. Native Americans as well as other ethnic minorities in America today "become acutely aware of the [negative] evaluations of their ethnic group by the majority white culture" (Santrock, 1997, p. 402). In a study of identity formation among minorities, Phinney (1989) reported that African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans all suffer from negative stereotypes imposed by the dominant American culture, which denigrates precisely those aspects of ethnic culture that minorities most prize.

Zakhar (1987) investigated the experiences of Native American in higher education. Archival, survey, interview, and observational data were used in the analysis. The study revealed that Native American college students encountered stereotyping and racism early in their formal school experiences. Students in the study confronted personal, institutional, and other forms of indirect racism throughout their college experience. The study clearly

indicated that the emotional and academic tolls were heavy for Native Americans at an urban university where they were the minority.

Huffman (1991) conducted a study on the experiences, perceptions, and consequences of campus racism among a sample of Northern Plains Native Americans. Huffman used both a quantitative and qualitative approach, with college students attending a small Midwestern university. Huffman obtained information on cultural, social, academic, and financial problems encountered by Native American students. In addition, information was gathered on the experiences of cultural conflict, relationships with other Natives and non-Natives, evaluation of the positive and negative nature of the college experience, and major concerns/problems encountered in college. Huffman reported that racism toward Native American students was most often expressed in the form of verbal attacks. Huffman noted that the more traditionally oriented Native American students were more sensitive to racial comments. Non-Natives most often used name-calling and racial slurs arising from prevalent stereotypes. Although a small sample, the majority of the Native students interviewed (16 of the 22) related a perception of the campus setting as being in some way a hostile environment. Some students related feelings of being an outsider and unwelcome by their college community.

Research regarding the adverse outcome of such negative stereotypes on the functioning of minorities in America is voluminous (see Spencer & Dornbusch, 1990, for an overview). Nowhere are such negative appraisals of minority groups more blatant than in the mascots and Native American names of sports teams that proliferate in the American education system. While other minority groups in America must endure negative stereotypes, Natives are the only minority group that <u>continues</u> to have these stereotypes

advertised in federally and state funded colleges and universities. It is argued that Native American mascots help to promote and perpetuate the dehumanizing stereotypes that developed among European colonizers centuries ago. As such, they are harmful to both Natives and non-Natives. Natives endure the psychological damage of seeing cartoon-like caricatures of themselves embodied in the mascots, perhaps the ultimate in dehumanizing victims. Native American mascots may also harm non-Natives, for they perpetuate stereotypes that impair students from learning accurate accounts of American history and Native/European American relations throughout the post-contact era (Pewewardy, 1999).

From a Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993, 1999) perspective, it can be postulated that the continued use of the Fighting Sioux logo and other Native mascots constitute a form of social dominance; acting as an "hierarchy-enhancing" force to maintain the inequality between the dominant group of European Americans and the subordinate group of Native Americans. As SDT posits, the dominant group controls the allocation of resources, here the use of the "Sioux" name. The core premise of SDT states that organized hierarchies of socially constructed groups exist in societies and one or more dominant group enjoys disproportionate levels of power and status relative to one or more subordinate group. This inequality is maintained through a psychological mechanism termed social dominance orientation (SDO), the degree to which group-based forms of dominance and inequality are favored. SDO is considered to manifest itself through common factors, such as psychological tendencies for prejudice, cultural ideologies, and discriminatory behaviors, which combine to maintain social group hierarchies (Pratto, Liu, Levin, Sidanius, Shih, Bachrach, & Hegarty, 2000; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). SDT and the mechanism through which it operates, SDO, is theorized to account for

social statuses and academic achievement gaps between groups (Van Laar & Sidanius, 2001; Van Laar, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Sinclair, 1999), ethnic and cultural inequalities (Pratto et al., 2000), favoritism for high-status groups (Levin, Frederico, Sidanius, & Rabinowitz, 2002), and personal and institutional discrimination (Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius, & Siers, 1997; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996; Sidanius, Pratto, Sinclair, & Van Laar, 1996).

Native American activist groups have called on professional and college teams to change their names referring to them as pejorative, derogatory, offensive, and racist, citing that the names themselves create more negative stereotypes and acts of discrimination against Native people (National Coalition on Racism in Sports & Media, 1999). Professional and college teams often attempt to counter this with the argument that the names promote positive attributes of Native Americans such as pride and courage, the names and mascots honor Native people and help educate the public about Native American tribes (Sigelman, 1998). However, no published empirical research exists investigating if or how Native team mascots affect stereotyping, prejudice, or discrimination in either direction. In addition, how the endorsement of team names and mascots by some Native people affect stereotypes, prejudice, and the in-group/out-group dynamics has not been investigated. In an area where cultural in-groups and out-groups exist, concepts derived from Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) namely the in-group bias (Mullen, Brown and Smith 1992) and out-group homogeneity effect (Judd & Park, 1990; Linville Fischer, & Salovey, 1989; Park & Rothbart, 1982) allow for the empirical study of prejudice and discrimination surrounding the team mascot issue.

The in-group bias refers to the tendency for groups to show favoritism toward members of their own social group over other groups. SIT posits that people are motivated

by the need to feel positive self-esteem, which leads to the belief that the groups we belong to are better than other groups. It follows that people will evaluate in-group members, and by proxy themselves, more positively than members of other groups. Several studies have consistently provided evidence that individuals provided more rewards and resources in the form of tokens to members of in-groups over members of out-groups (Allen & Wilder, 1975; Ng, 1982). Mullen et al. (1992) found that individuals tend to evaluate in-group members more favorably than out-group members. There is also evidence that in-group members are more likely to remember negative behaviors of out-group members (Howard & Rothbart, 1980). These studies suggest that individuals favor members of their own groups over members of other groups relating to interpersonal evaluation and in terms of resource allocation.

Out-group homogeneity refers to the tendency for group members to see their own group as more diverse and variable than members of other groups. Two current conceptualizations of the out-group homogeneity effect are mentioned here. Linville et al. (1989) propose a multiple exemplar model suggesting that variability judgments are formed in a process of recalling examples of group members they have encountered over time. The out-group homogeneity effect occurs because of the greater range and degree of contact with in-group members; therefore, people have more in-group exemplars than out-group exemplars. Park and Judd (1990) propose that individuals estimate the variability of groups both on the degree in which members differ from the group mean and the degree in which members fit the stereotype of the group. Thus, when they see all members of an out-group as similar to their stereotype for that group or when all out-group members are seen in the same way the out-group homogeneity effect occurs.

Based on these concepts within SIT predictions can be made on what the effects of these social categorizations (i.e. non-Native vs. Native *or* pro-mascot vs. anti-mascot) will have on the level of prejudice and discrimination for these in-group/out-group dynamics. According to SIT, in simple categorization situations (non-Native vs. Native) perceivers engage in social comparison processes, based on assessing perceived in-group/out-group similarities, while seeking positive distinctiveness for the in-group and thus obtaining a positive self-evaluation. This process, in which individuals engage in social comparison, accounts for the discrimination that occurs when evaluating members of other groups. In a multiple categorization situation (non-Native vs. Native *and* pro-mascot vs. anti-mascot) SIT would predict an additive combination of tendencies to discriminate, with double in-groups receiving the most positive rating, double out-groups the most negative, and partial groups somewhere in the middle. While social comparison maintains that the degree of similarity between the groups leads to the additive tendency to discriminate, partial group members are still discriminated against because they include at least one out-group factor (Crisp & Hewstone, 2000; Gardner, MacIntyre, & Lolonde, 1995).

Furthermore, Social Dominance Theory (SDT) extends the idea that the in-group bias and out-group homogeneity effect are an attempt to achieve positive group distinctiveness; positing there may also be a desire for group-based forms of inequality and dominance. Thus, patterns of in-group bias also may serve the function of perpetuating existing group-based hierarchies (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993, 1999). If use of the Fighting Sioux logo were indeed a form of social dominance, then it would be predicted that supporters of the logo would have higher levels of SDO, suggesting forms of personal and institutional discrimination.

Hypotheses

It is hypothesized Native American Mascot Endorsement (NAME) will increase the ratings of Native students in social situations, therefore decreasing prejudice and discrimination. Endorsement or opposition of the Fighting Sioux name and mascots will create multiple social categories and influence if applicants are viewed as in-group or out-group members.

Specifically, it was hypothesized:

1. The European American student endorsing the use of Fighting Sioux name and logo (double in-group) would receive the highest set of ratings.
2. The Native American student opposing the use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo (double out-group) would receive the lowest set of ratings.
3. The Native American student endorsing the use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo (partial group) would receive higher ratings than the Native student opposing the Fighting Sioux name and logo, but lower than the European American student endorsing the Fighting Sioux name and logo does.
4. The European American student opposing the Fighting Sioux name and logo (partial group) would receive ratings lower than the European American student endorsing the Fighting Sioux name and logo, but higher than the Native American student opposing the name and logo.
5. The Native American student whose position on the Fighting Sioux name and logo was unknown would be rated less than the partial group but higher than the double out-group would.

6. The European American student whose opinion on the Fighting Sioux name and logo was unknown would be rated less than the double in-group would but higher than the partial group.

In terms of main effects and interactions of the independent variables, SIT predicted there would be a main effect of Race/Ethnicity and NAME. In other words, the main effect of Race/Ethnicity would show the Native confederate receiving lower ratings than the White confederate overall across conditions of NAME. The confederates (Native and White) who endorsed the Fighting Sioux name and logo receiving higher ratings than the confederates who opposed the Fighting Sioux name and logo would indicate the main effect of NAME. Figure 1 below is a visual representation of the predicted relationships between Race/Ethnicity and NAME across dependent measures.

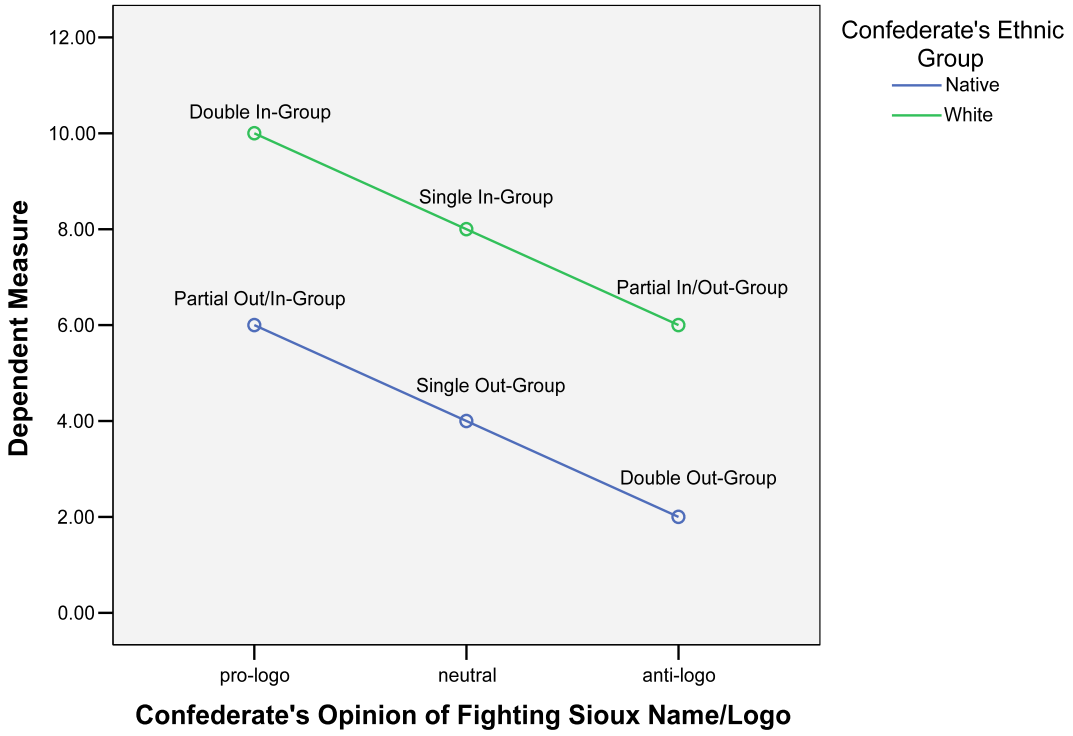


Figure 1. Predicted In-group/Out-group Dynamics based on Social Identity Theory

Finally, it was hypothesized that Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) will be positively associated with Native American Mascot Endorsement (NAME) in the UND participants. More specifically, participants who endorsed keeping the Fighting Sioux name and logo would have higher scores on the Social Dominance Orientation Scale.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

Participants

There were 268 undergraduate students enrolled at the University of North Dakota who participated. Sixteen students identified themselves other than European American (White) and were excluded from further analyses. This study was conducted to determine if the Native students, because of their opinion regarding the Fighting Sioux name and logo, experience differential prejudice and discrimination from the student majority. Because the majority of the student body is European American descent, only these students were used in the analyses. This resulted in a final sample of 252 students (87 males, 152 females, and 13 who failed to list gender) ranging in age from 18 to 34 (mean = 19.61). Students received extra credit in their psychology course for their participation. A diverse set of majors were represented in the sample ranging from accounting and aviation to Spanish and speech. Only 12% of the sample were psychology majors.

Materials

Materials in the research packet (Appendix B) consisted of the following items in this order: the research protocol, a demographics sheet, and the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDOS: Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen, 2003).

Research Protocol

The first part of the research packet included a protocol similar to one used by Lambert, Cronen, Chasteen, and Lickel (1996), investigating the expression of racial

prejudice and discrimination. This protocol contained a one-page instruction sheet, indicating the purpose of the study is to investigate how people form impressions of others. This was followed by a one-page description of an "imaginary" student (confederate) that described the events and actions of a recent day of the student which had a photograph of the student attached (described in detail below). Next, the research protocol contained a questionnaire assessing the participant's responses to the following questions: how much they would like to meet this person if given the chance; overall reaction to the person; if they were in a managerial position how likely would they be to hire this person; and if they were applying for scholarship, how worthy would they be to receive it? Response format for the previous questions were a 10-point Likert scale anchored by "not at all" = – 5 and "very much" = + 5. Finally, the research protocol ended with a second questionnaire that was identical to that used by Lambert et al., which asked the participant to rate the confederate on 22 attributes. The response format for the 22 attributes were on an 8-point Likert scale anchored by "not at all" = 0 and "extremely" = 7.

Photographs and NAME

One Native American confederate and one European American confederate posed as "students" being evaluated in a social perception study. The confederates were recruited from another university to avoid being personally identified by UND participants. In order to establish the distinct racial and ethnic out-group condition and in order to ensure that the confederate was unambiguously recognized as Native American, a focus group was conducted prior to the selection of the two confederates. This was also used to match the Native American and European American confederates on characteristics of likeability and attractiveness. The focus group inspected photographs of 20 possible confederates (10 of

each ethnicity) and were asked to identify the person's race/ethnicity, attractiveness, and likeability. Following this, one Native American and one European American were selected who were similarly rated as being average on attractiveness and likeability.

To establish the in-group/out-group dynamic of NAME and ethnicity, each confederate (Native and European American) posed for three photographs. In the first photograph, each confederate wore a green Fighting Sioux t-shirt, which prominently displayed two Fighting Sioux logos on the front, suggesting endorsement of the Fighting Sioux logo and name. This created a double in-group status for the European American confederate and a partial in-group status for the Native confederate. In the second photograph, each confederate wore a white t-shirt that had two Fighting Sioux logos covered by the NOT symbol and contained the phrase "CHANGE THE NAME!" in red letters, suggesting opposition to the use of the Fighting Sioux logo and name. This created a double out-group status for the Native confederate and a partial out-group status for the European American confederate. For the third photograph, each confederate wore their own casual dress containing no endorsement or opposition regalia to the Fighting Sioux team logo and name, which created a naturally occurring single in-group/out-group social category based on race/ethnicity.

Demographic Sheet

The demographic sheet asked the participants to provide their age, gender, year in school, major, and race/ethnicity followed by three items regarding sports at UND. The first question asked what their opinion was regarding the proposed switch to Division I athletics for all sports at UND. The second question asked the participant's opinion

regarding the use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo. Finally, the participants were asked to list any sports they followed at UND.

Social Dominance Orientation Scale

Finally, the SDOS was included which measures social dominance orientation (SDO) using 10-items developed by Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen (2003). The 10-item scale was developed through factor analysis and contains five items used by previous researchers and five items created by Schmitt et al.. An alpha coefficient of .91 is reported for this scale and it was found to be highly correlated ($r = .89$) with a 16-item version of the SDO scale (Schmitt et al., 2003). The response format for the SDO scale will be a 6-point Likert scale anchored by "strongly disagree" = 1 and "strongly agree" = 6.

Procedures

Data Collection and Management

Participants were solicited through a sign-up sheet located in the Psychology building. Once arriving at the specified location and time, participants were randomly assigned to one of the six possible in-group/out-group dynamic conditions. After being read a consent form and asked to sign it participants were given two manila envelopes containing the materials described above. Participants were instructed to complete the "social perception" study and rate the individual described in the photo before opening the second envelope and providing their own demographic information, opinion of the Fighting Sioux, and responses to the SDOS. All data was coded, entered, and analyzed using SPSS version 13.0 by the primary investigator. All consent forms and participant responses were separated and stored in a secure location of the psychology department.

Independent Variables and Coding

The following variables of interest were coded and entered according to these guidelines and scales. The confederate characteristics were entered as such. Ethnicity: Native American = 1; European American = 2. NAME for confederate: Endorsement of Fighting Sioux = 1; Neutral/Unknown = 2; Opposed Fighting Sioux = 3. The characteristics of the participants were coded as such. Ethnicity: African American = 1; Asian American = 2; European American/White = 3; Hispanic = 4; Native American = 5; Other = 6. NAME for participant: Keep the Fighting Sioux name/logo = 1; Neutral/No opinion = 2; Change the Fighting Sioux name/logo = 3.

Dependent Variables and Scoring

The items in the research packet were designed to assess possible prejudicial and discriminatory attitudes. Thus, five types of responses toward the target confederate were of interest, namely: 1) general ratings of prejudice, 2) ratings of discrimination, 3) ratings of intellect and aptitude, 4) ratings of positive affect, and 5) ratings of aggressiveness. To this end, five composite scores were formed which represent these five classes of reactions. Specifically, the general ratings of prejudice toward the target were based on the average of their overall reaction to the confederate, and their desire to meet him. The participant's discriminatory attitudes toward the target were based on the average of their willingness to give the confederate a scholarship or hire the confederate.

Composite scores of intellect and aptitude, positive affect, and aggressiveness were obtained through a factor analysis of the 22-attribute scale used by Lambert et al. (1996). The intellect and aptitude composite consisted of average responses to the attribute items *hard worker, ambitious, successful, responsible, competent, intellectual, unmotivated, incompetent, bright,* and

lazy. The positive affect composite is based on the average responses to attribute items of *easy to get along with, polite, cooperative, likeable,* and *patient*. Finally, the aggressiveness composite is the average of attribute items *argumentative, aggressive, hostile,* and *unfriendly*. The composite scores were coded such that higher scores indicate more favorable impression of the confederate.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

The sample represented a diverse section of the UND student body. There were 45 major areas of study represented. Forty-nine percent of the participants were freshmen, 27% sophomore, 13% juniors, and 4% seniors. The mean number of sports followed by the sample was 2.2 with hockey being the most frequently followed at UND (42.90% listing hockey as their number one sport followed). The majority of the sample (77.40%, n = 195) was in favor of keeping the Fighting Sioux name and logo, with 13.50% (n = 34) endorsing a neutral position, and 4.0% (n = 10) in favor of changing the name. There were 87 males (34.50%), 152 females (60.30%), and 13 who omitted their gender (5.2%).

Native American Mascot Endorsement (NAME), Prejudice, and Discrimination

Initially, a 2 X 3 X 3 (Native vs. White confederate (Race) X NAME for confederate X NAME for participant) between groups design was proposed to investigate the interaction between the participants' and confederates' opinion regarding the Fighting Sioux name and logo. However, this design was not statistically possible given the small number of students who endorsed changing the name (n = 10, 4% of White students). Therefore, a 2 X 3 (Native vs. White confederate X NAME for confederate) between subjects design was utilized. To determine if any prejudicial or discriminatory effects occurred against Native American students on campus based on their public opinion of the Fighting Sioux name and

logo, several 2 X 3 (Race X NAME of confederate) between subjects Factorial Analyses of Variance (ANOVA's) were conducted on the composite scores described above. Table 1 provides the group means and standard deviations for the composite scores.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for the Dependent Variables by Groups

Dependent Variable	NAME for Confederate	Native			White		
		Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
Prejudice Ratings	Pro-Logo	7.21	1.22	30	7.22	1.26	34
	Neutral	6.87	1.08	33	7.50	1.37	30
	Anti-Logo	6.65	1.47	33	7.17	1.04	35
Group		6.90	1.28	96	7.28	1.22	99
Discrimination Ratings	Pro-Logo	7.22	1.29	30	5.85	1.67	34
	Neutral	6.60	1.51	32	6.85	1.81	30
	Anti-Logo	6.15	1.92	32	6.58	1.56	35
Group		6.64	1.64	94	6.41	1.71	99
Intellect and Aptitude Rating	Pro-Logo	4.41	.89	30	4.13	.78	33
	Neutral	4.09	1.07	31	4.50	1.05	30
	Anti-Logo	4.01	1.13	33	4.46	.88	35
Group		4.16	1.04	94	4.36	.91	98
Aggressiveness Ratings	Pro-Logo	2.63	1.05	30	2.52	1.12	34
	Neutral	2.66	1.38	31	1.98	1.08	30
	Anti-Logo	2.40	1.09	32	2.64	1.42	35
Group		2.56	1.18	93	2.40	1.25	99
Positive Affect Ratings	Pro-Logo	4.26	.88	30	4.57	1.01	34
	Neutral	4.02	.77	32	4.79	1.04	30
	Anti-Logo	4.21	.89	33	4.32	.98	34
Group		4.23	.84	95	4.55	1.02	98

Note: N = the number of participants who rated confederate in that cell.

A 2 X 3 (Race X NAME) factorial ANOVA of the prejudicial ratings indicated a significant main effect of Race, $F(1,189) = 4.53$, $p = .035$. There was not a significant main effect of NAME, $F(2,189) = 1.22$, $p = .30$ or a significant interaction between Race and

NAME, $F(2,189) = 1.12$, $p = .33$. The main effect of Race indicated that the Native American confederate ($M = 6.90$, $SD = 1.28$) received an overall lower rating than the White confederate ($M = 7.29$, $SD = 1.22$), $d = -.31$.

The 2 X 3 (Race X NAME) factorial ANOVA of discrimination ratings indicated there was not a significant main effect of Race, $F(1,187) = .95$, $p = .33$, or a significant main effect of NAME, $F(2,187) = .76$, $p = .46$. However, there was a significant interaction between Race and NAME, $F(1,187) = 5.77$, $p = .004$. The interaction between Race and NAME indicated the Native American received lower ratings as his opinion changed from supporting the Fighting Sioux name/logo ($M = 7.22$, $SD = 1.29$) to being unknown ($M = 6.60$, $SD = 1.51$) to openly opposing the Fighting Sioux name/logo ($M = 6.15$, $SD = 1.92$), while the ratings for the White confederate increased from when he supported the Fighting Sioux name/logo ($M = 5.85$, $SD = 1.67$) to being unknown ($M = 6.85$, $SD = 1.81$) and then decreased when openly opposing the Fighting Sioux name/logo ($M = 6.58$ $SD = 1.56$).

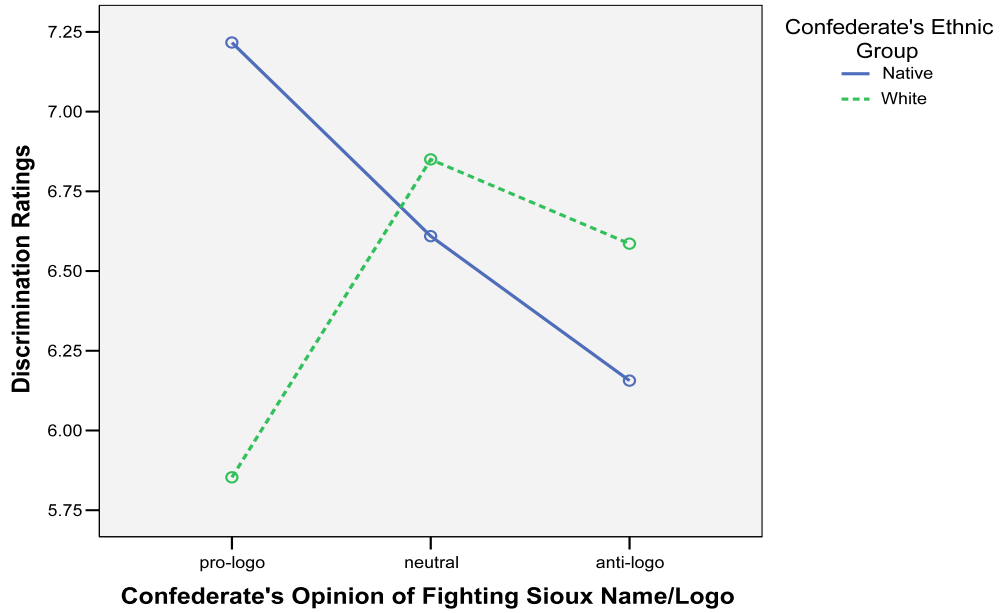


Figure 2. Interaction between Ethnicity and NAME.
Note: Higher scores indicate less discriminatory ratings.

The 2 X 3 (Race X NAME) factorial ANOVA on intellect and aptitude ratings did not indicate a significant main effect of Race, $F(1,186) = 1.83$, $p = .17$, or a main effect of NAME, $F(2,186) = .06$, $p = .93$. In addition, there was not a significant interaction between Race and NAME, $F(2,186) = 2.77$, $p = .06$. A 2 X 3 (Race X NAME) factorial ANOVA on the positive affect ratings indicated a significant main effect of Race, $F(1,187) = 5.87$, $p = .016$. There was not a significant main effect of NAME, $F(2,187) = 1.09$, $p = .33$, or a significant interaction between Race and NAME, $F(2,187) = .95$, $p = .38$. The significant main effect of Race revealed the participants rated the Native confederate ($M = 4.23$, $SD = .84$) less positively than the White confederate ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 1.02$), $d = .34$.

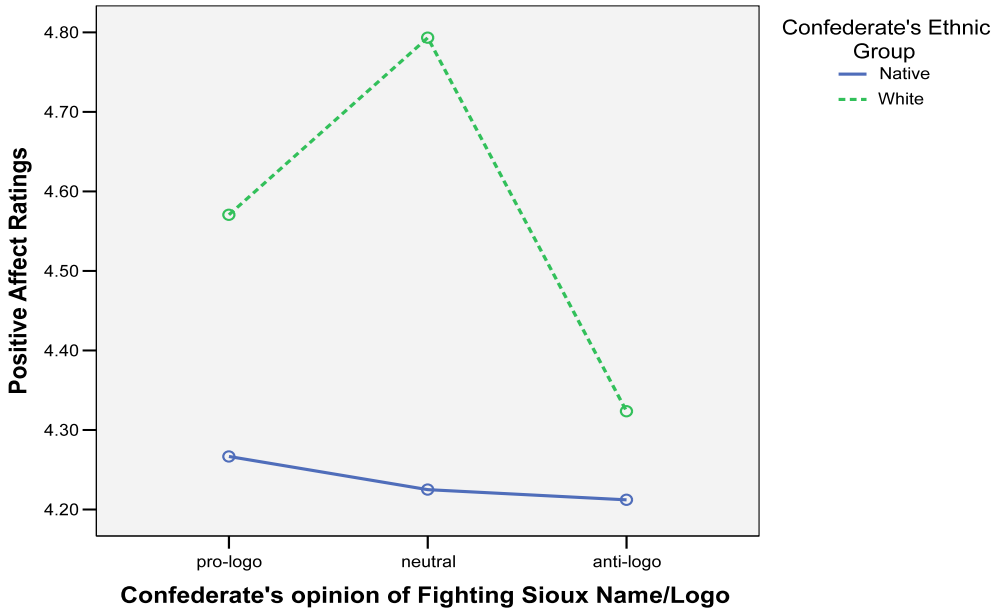


Figure 3. Affective Ratings of Confederates.
Note: Higher scores indicate a more positive affect.

Finally, A 2 X 3 (Race X NAME) factorial ANOVA of the aggressiveness composite did not indicate a significant main effect of Race, $F(1,186) = 1.11$, $p = .29$, or a significant main effect of NAME, $F(2,186) = .76$, $p = .47$. There was not a significant interaction between Race and NAME, $F(2,186) = 2.35$, $p = .09$, for the aggressiveness ratings.

Social Dominance Orientation and Native American Mascot Endorsement

Social Dominance Theory would predict that being in favor of keeping the Fighting Sioux name and logo represents a form of social dominance. To investigate this based on the data; a one-way analysis of variance was conducted on the Social Dominance Orientation scores with a Games-Howell post hoc comparing the participant's NAME position. There was a statistically significant difference in Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) between the groups, $F(2, 232) = 6.036$, $p = .002$. A Games-Howell post hoc (equal variances not assumed) indicated that participants in favor of keeping the Fighting Sioux name and logo ($M = 2.19$, $SD = .99$) scored significantly higher on SDO than those who were neutral ($M = 1.81$, $SD = .89$) and those who endorsed changing the name and logo ($M = 1.23$, $SD = .26$), $d = .40$ and 1.34, respectively. (See Figure 4 below)

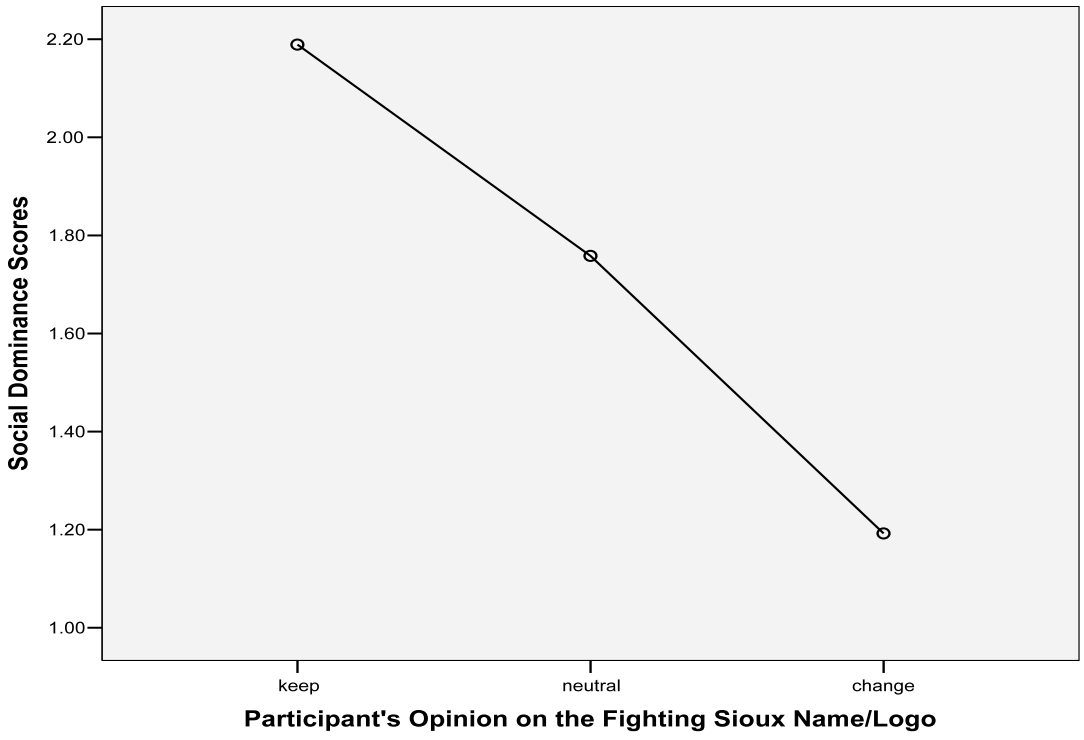


Figure 4. Social Dominance Scores by NAME of Participant.
Note: Cell sizes: keep = 193, neutral = 32, change = 10.

To investigate additional relationships of Social Dominance Orientation, Pearson Product Moment correlations were conducted between SDO scores and the composite scores. A select cases procedure was done in SPSS in order to obtain only correlations for European American students' ratings of the Native American confederate. Significant negative correlations between SDO and prejudice ratings, $r(115) = -.276$, $p = .003$; discrimination ratings, $r(114) = -.226$, $p = .015$; intellect and aptitude ratings, $r(114) = -.316$, $p = .001$; and affective reaction ratings, $r(114) = -.198$, $p = .033$.

Student Characteristics and Composite Scores

To determine if the amount of time (academic standing) or sports fan activity (number and type of sports followed) at UND were related to NAME or prejudice and discrimination, a series of one-way multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA's) were conducted. Because a primary objective of the study was to investigate if Native students are subjected to prejudice and discrimination, the following analyses were conducted with a "select cases" procedure in SPSS that filtered the White students' ratings of the Native confederate. Table 2 (below) provides the cell sizes used in the analyses of after the filter with academic standing as the independent variable.

Table 2

Cell size by gender and academic standing for ratings of Native confederate.

	Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
Female	38	14	8	4
Male	23	14	8	4
Total	61	28	16	8

Academic Standing and Composite Scores

A one-way MANOVA on the ratings of Native confederate indicated there was a significant difference between academic standings at UND on prejudice ratings, $F(3,112) = 4.58$, $p = .005$, and on aggressiveness ratings, $F(3,112) = 2.99$, $p = .034$. There was not a significant difference between academic standing on discrimination, intellect and aptitude, or positive affect ratings. For prejudice ratings, a Tukey HSD revealed that sophomore students ($M = 6.48$, $SD = 1.40$) rated the Native confederate significantly less than freshman students ($M = 7.17$, $SD = 1.10$), p = .046, $d = -.53$ and junior students ($M = 7.67$, $SD = .97$) p = .010, $d = -.99$, (see Figure 5 below). There was not a significant difference between other academic year standings for this dependent variable.

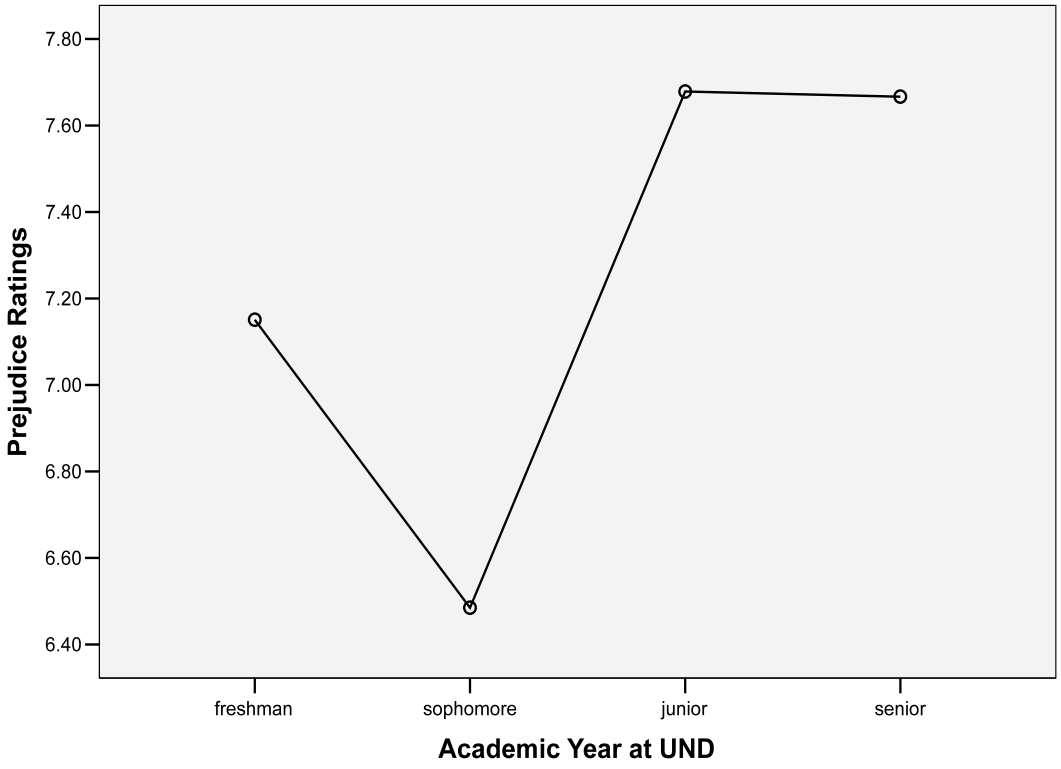


Figure 5. Prejudice Ratings by Academic Standing.
Note: Higher scores indicate less prejudicial ratings.

For the aggressiveness ratings, a Tukey HSD revealed that sophomore students

(*M* = 2.53, *SD* = .97) rated the Native confederate as significantly more aggressive than senior students (*M* =1.41, *SD* = .84), *p* = .040, *d* = 1.23, (see Figure 6 below). There were no other significant differences in academic standing for aggressiveness ratings.

Number of Sports Followed and Composite Scores

A one-way MANOVA indicated there was a significant effect of number of sports followed at UND on the prejudice ratings of the Native confederate, *F*(2,119) = 3.45, *p* = .035, and a significant effect on the positive affect ratings, *F*(2,119) = 3.97, *p* = .021.

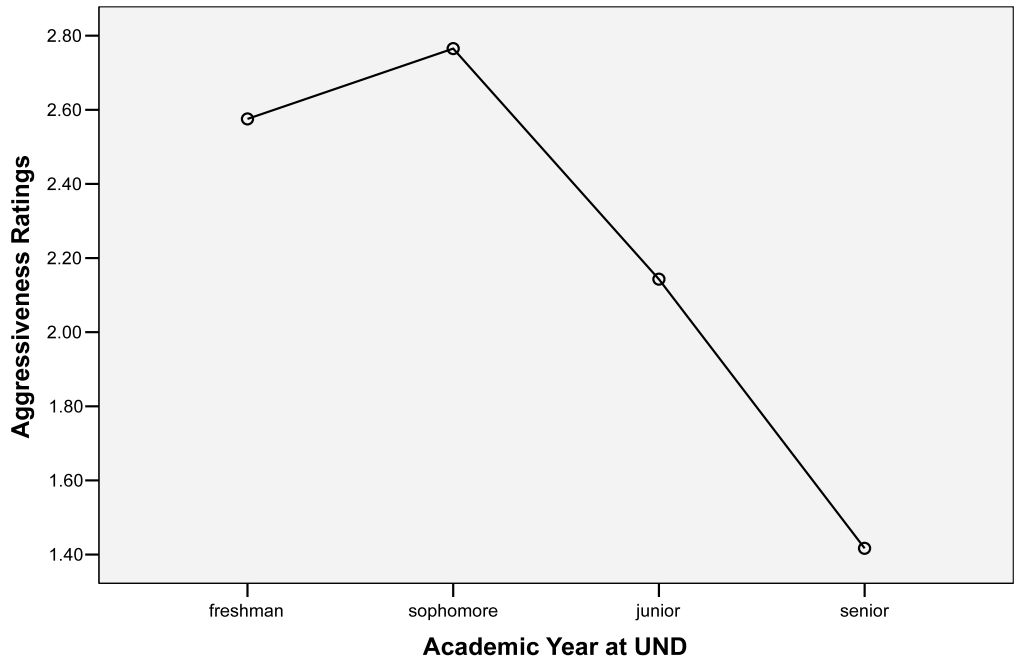


Figure 6. Aggressiveness Ratings by Academic Standing.
Note: Higher scores indicate more aggressiveness ratings.

A Tukey HSD posthoc revealed there was a significant difference in prejudice ratings between students who followed two or more sports (*M* = 6.85, *SD* = .1.30) compared to students who only followed only one sport (*M* = 7.57, *SD* = .98), *p* = .025, *d* = .62, (see Figure 7 below). A Tukey HSD posthoc of the positive affect ratings revealed that students who followed two or more sports at UND (*M* = 4.09, *SD* = .85) rated the Native

confederate significantly less than students who only followed one sport (M = 4.72, SD = 1.00), p = .017, d = .67.

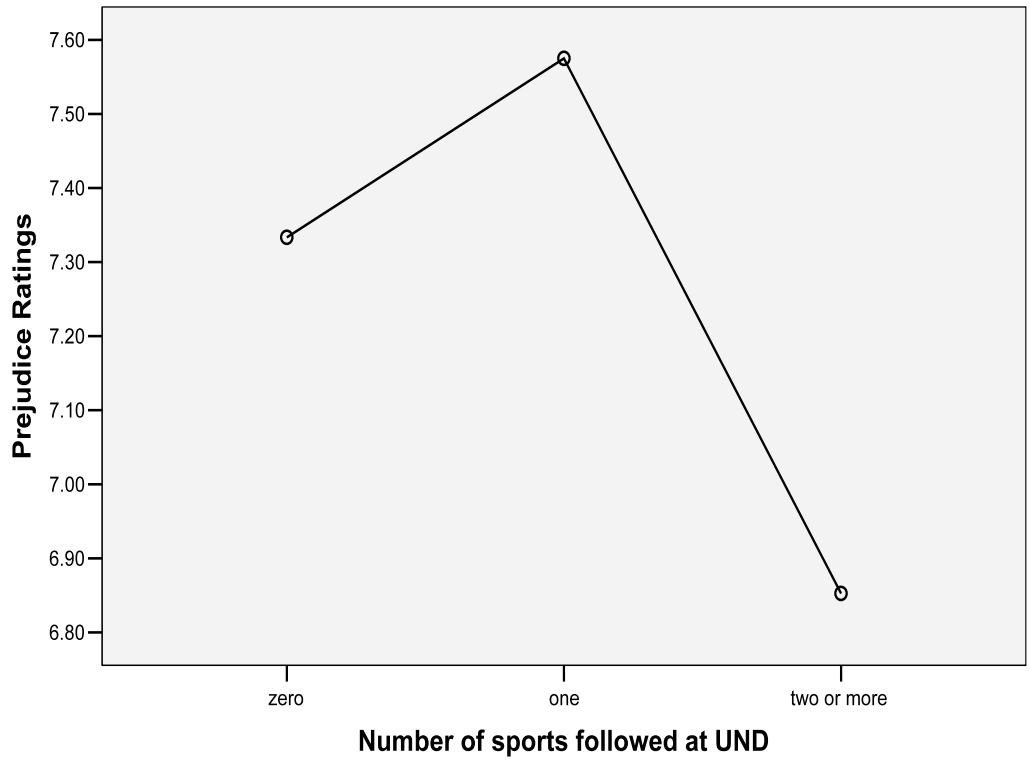


Figure 7. Prejudice Ratings by Number of Sports Followed.
Note: Higher scores indicate less prejudicial ratings.

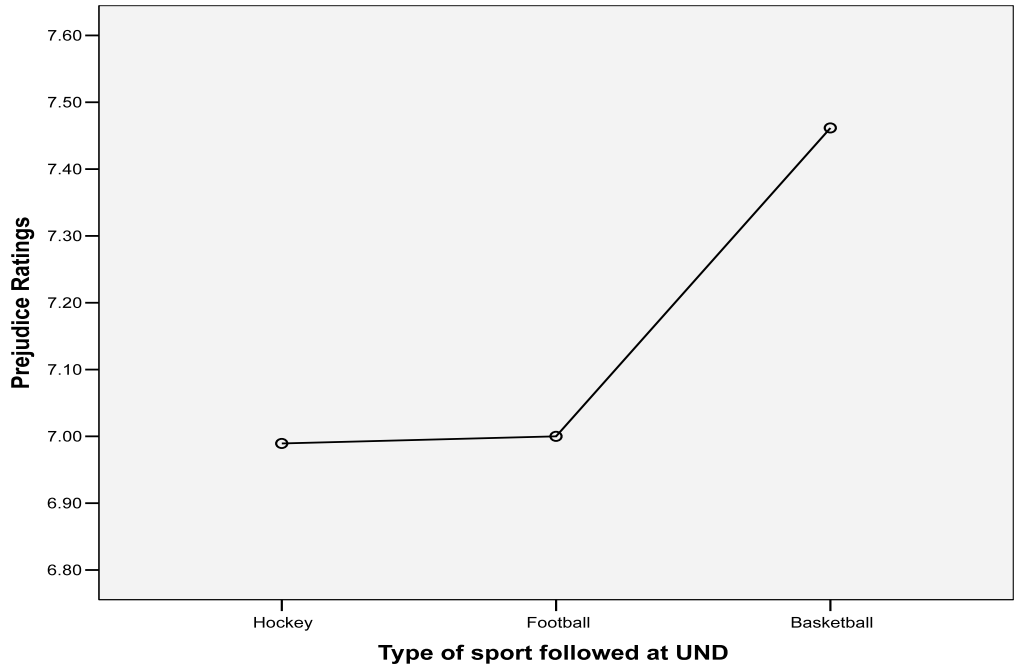


Figure 8. Prejudice Ratings by Type of Sports Followed.
Note: Higher scores indicate less prejudicial ratings.

A one-way MANOVA conducted with the type of sport followed as the independent variable indicated there were no significant effects of this variable on any of the dependent measures, $F(2,81) = .990$, $p = .455$. Finally, a one-way ANOVA of the number of sports followed by the participants indicated there was a significant effect of NAME for the participant, $F(2,236) = 8.05$, $p < .001$. A Tukey HSD posthoc revealed that students who endorsed keeping the Fighting Sioux name/logo ($M = 2.00$) followed significantly more sports than student who endorsed a neutral position about the Fighting Sioux name/logo ($M = 1.26$), $p = .001$. (See Figure 10 below)

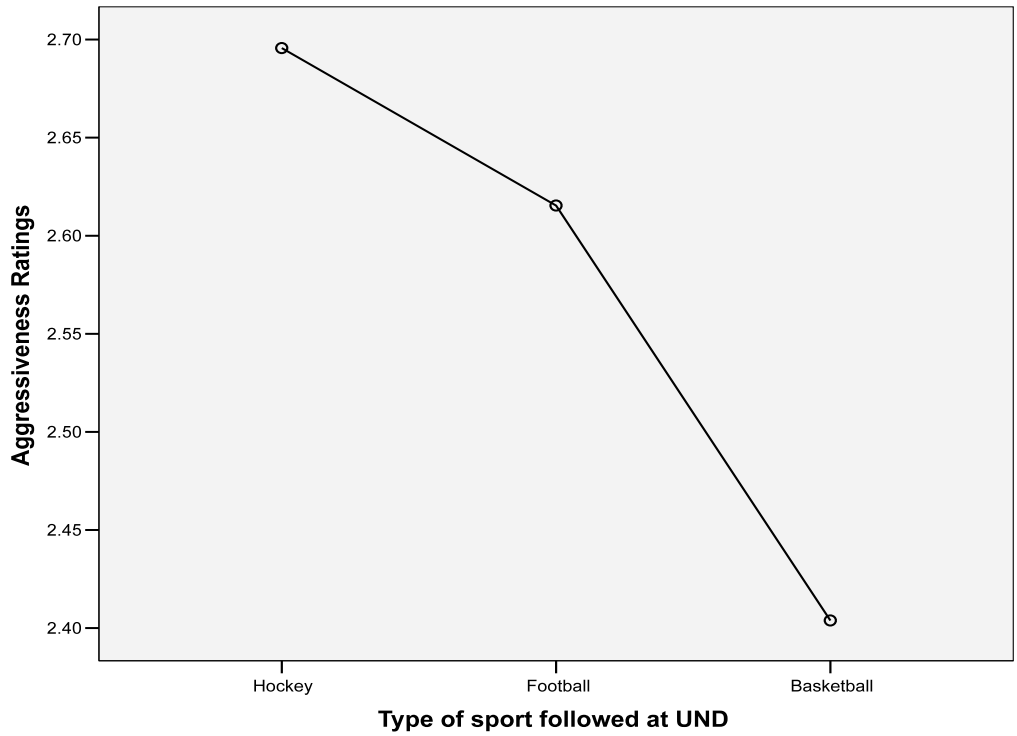


Figure 9. Aggressiveness Ratings by Type of Sport Followed.
Note: Higher scores indicate more aggressiveness ratings.

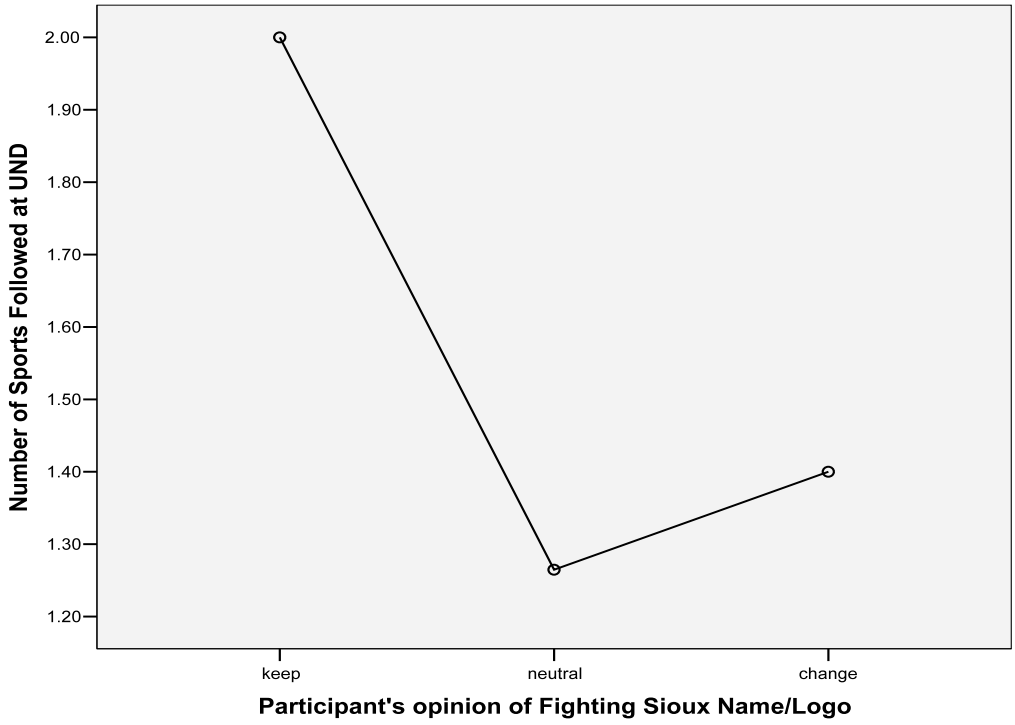


Figure 10. Number of Sports Followed by NAME.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This study investigated if prejudice and discrimination are directed at Native American students at the University of North Dakota surrounding the Fighting Sioux name and logo controversy. To my knowledge, this is the first empirical program of research attempting to identify if the Fighting Sioux controversy has a negative impact on the Native American student population at UND in the form of social injustices. Based on the in-group/out-group dynamics paradigm of Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986), a set of hypotheses were generated regarding the interaction between Native American and White students in general, and more specifically around the Fighting Sioux name and logo controversy.

In general, it was hypothesized that the Native American students would be subjected to more prejudice and would receive more discrimination than White students (by White UND students) would receive. Furthermore, it was hypothesized this prejudice and discrimination would vary as a function of the students' public opinion on the use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo. Specifically, SIT predicted the Native student who openly opposed the use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo would receive the most prejudice and discrimination, while the White confederate who openly supported the use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo would receive the least amount of prejudice and discrimination. Moreover, the additional natural (Race/Ethnicity) and manipulated (NAME) in-group/out-group categories created would receive varying amounts of prejudice and discrimination

ratings somewhere between the double in-group and double out-group categories described above. The predicted relationships are represented in Figure 1 (p. 27)

For the prejudice ratings, the significant main effect of race/ethnicity suggests the Native students at UND do experience prejudice, regardless of their opinion about the Fighting Sioux name and logo. From the ratings, this translated into the participants being less likely to want to meet the Native confederate and having an overall less favorable reaction to him. This supports the hypothesis in which SIT predicted that Natives are an out-group and evaluated less favorably. The non-significant interaction between Ethnicity and NAME was also predicted by Social Identity Theory in that an additive combination of tendencies occurred, with double in-groups (White and pro-Fighting Sioux) receiving the most positive rating, double out-groups (Native and anti-Fighting Sioux) the most negative, and partial groups somewhere in the middle. If the above statement is true, then the non-significant main effect of NAME does not support the hypothesis. A profile plot of the in-group/out-group ratings provides a visual description of this relationship (See Figure 2, p. 34).

However, examination of the profile plot suggests the non-significant effect of NAME is a result of the Native confederate who is pro-logo (partial in/out-group) AND the White confederate who is pro-logo (double in-group) receiving similar ratings. One interpretation of this is that the Native confederate who supports the Fighting Sioux name/logo is considered a "good Indian" and students are as likely to want to meet him as the White confederate who supports the Fighting Sioux name and logo. The White confederate who supports the name/logo is "expected" to do so, and therefore is not rated more favorably. Finally, the profile plot does indicate the Native confederate who is anti-logo (double out-group) does receive lower ratings than the Native confederate who

supports the name/logo, which is socially significant and appears to be a trend throughout the data.

The analysis of the discrimination rating resulted in a similar pattern of the Native confederate who is anti-logo receiving lower scores than the Native confederate who is pro-logo. In this case, it translates into being less likely to receive a scholarship or less likely to be hired for a job – discrimination. However, the significant interaction between Ethnicity and NAME is contrary to the hypothesis and suggest the discrimination received is a function of Ethnicity AND opinion of the name/logo. Figure 3 (p. 35) shows the Native confederate who is pro-logo receiving the least discrimination and more likely to receive a scholarship or job than all others are. Not predicted, is the White confederate who is pro-logo receiving the most discrimination and least likely to be given a scholarship or job. Again, one interpretation is that the pro-logo Native confederate being evaluated as a "good Indian" and the pro-logo White confederate as being evaluated as "average Joe" or fitting the "expectation" and nobody special. Furthermore, the social significance in the data profile is that the Native confederate who is pro-logo receives better outcomes than the Native confederate who is anti-logo.

There were no significant relationships on the intellect and aptitude dependent measure. However, again a socially significant trend appears in the data and profile plot. In Figure 4 (p. 36) the data indicates the Native confederate who is pro-logo is evaluated as more intelligent, bright, ambitious, responsible, competent, and more successful than the Native confederate who is anti-logo. Interestingly, the White confederate who is anti-logo is evaluated more positively on these attributes than the White confederate who is pro-logo, suggesting the anti-logo White confederate is being assertive or noble and/or the pro-logo White student is again viewed as "average Joe" and does not make a significant impression.

As with the prejudice ratings, there was a significant main effect of race/ethnicity for the positive affect ratings. This translates into the Native confederate being evaluated as less easy to get along with, less polite, less cooperative, and less likable than the White confederate is in general. The profile plot (Figure 4, p. 36) visually displays the difference in positive affect received by the two confederates. The Native confederate receives a less positive affect rating than the White student regardless of his position on the name/logo. An interesting trend indicates the White confederate who is anti-logo is being evaluated as less likable and less easy to get along with in a similar fashion as the Native confederate, which suggests that Whites who openly oppose the Fighting Sioux name/logo are placing themselves in a socially disadvantaged position. This differed from when the confederate was being evaluated about his intellectual ability and aptitude, or his worthiness for getting a scholarship or job. What this suggests is that when the White confederate expressed his opposition to the name/logo, other students did not necessarily see him as likeable or easy to get along with, but were still more likely to see him as worthy of getting a scholarship or receiving a job compared to when the Native confederate expressed his opposition to the name/logo. Those set of conditions truly fit the definitions of discrimination and racism.

There were no significant relationships on the aggressiveness composite scores. However, the similar trend appeared with the Native confederate who was pro-logo being more positively evaluated, or less aggressive, than the Native confederate who was anti-logo. In addition, the White confederate who was anti-logo was evaluated as positively, less aggressive, as the pro-logo Native confederate was. This again, suggests differential levels of evaluation based on race/ethnicity and NAME, where a Native student who opposes the name/logo is being viewed as aggressive and hostile but a White student who opposes the name/logo is not being viewed as aggressive and hostile.

Next, it was hypothesized that Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) would be related to the participant's endorsement of the Fighting Sioux name and logo. In other words, it was predicted that students at UND who supported the use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo would have higher scores on the Social Dominance Orientation scale. The data supported this hypothesis (See Figure 9, p. 41). Additional relationships between SDO indicated that those high on SDO were more likely to show prejudice and discriminate against the Native confederate and more likely to view the Native confederate as less intelligent and successful. Specifically, UND students with higher SDO scores viewed the Native confederate as incompetent, hostile, less easy to get along with, unintelligent, not bright and not successful. All together, this suggests that individuals in favor of keeping the Fighting Sioux name and logo are more likely to endorse maintaining the inequality between ethno-cultural groups, oppression of other groups, and personal and institutional discrimination. Furthermore, this relationship suggests the continued use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo is a form of Social Dominance, and the University of North Dakota is endorsing and promoting a form of institutional racism and discrimination.

The data regarding the Fighting Sioux sport fan activities provides further useful information regarding the SDO data. For example, the more sport teams followed by students the more likely the student was to endorse keeping the Fighting Sioux name/logo. In addition, when students followed two or more sports at UND, they were more likely to display prejudice toward the Native confederate, have a less positive reaction to the Native confederate, and view the Native confederate as aggressive. Lastly, the data indicated that Hockey fans, in particular, were most likely to engage in the prejudicial and discriminatory behavior. This suggests that sports culture at UND is promoting and engaging in social injustices toward Native students on the UND campus. Although the UND sports fans

indicate they support, honor, and respect Native Americans their reactions to the Native confederate contradict those statements.

Finally, the data regarding the time spent at UND (academic year) suggests some positive change may occur. It was indicated that second year students (sophomore standing) were engaging in the most prejudice and discriminatory behavior, base on the ratings, and as student reached their junior and senior years at UND they were less likely to engage in prejudice and discrimination toward the Native confederate. This suggests that as UND students mature they are less likely to engage in or promote social injustice toward the Native population at UND. This "maturity" could reflect age, education in general, education about Native issues, increased exposure to individuals from different cultures, Native individuals in particular, and an overall growth in development.

Conclusions and Limitations

The use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo by UND is a very controversial issue. It has been controversial because Native populations and opponents of Native mascots have argued that it promotes prejudice, discrimination, and racism against Native peoples. Another argument has been that it creates a hostile environment at UND for Native students. Proponents of the Fighting Sioux name and logo have argued they support and honor Native peoples by the use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo and that there is no negative impact on the Native community, particularly at UND. As both sides have argued the issue, the true effects and impact of the Fighting Sioux name and logo have become clouded in emotion and anecdotal accounts. This study was the first attempt to provide an objective empirical, quantitative data on what the impact may be on Native students at UND. The data from this study provides objective evidence that Native students are subjected to more prejudice and discrimination, and that prejudice and discrimination varies

in relation to the Fighting Sioux name and logo. In other words, Native students are not automatically valued, honored, and respected on the UND campus, as the proponents of the Fighting Sioux name/logo suggests, because Native students automatically receive more prejudice and discrimination just for being Native. In order for a Native student to be valued, honored, and respected, the Native student has to endorse the Fighting Sioux name/logo. In addition, the White student who opposes the Fighting Sioux name/logo is still valued more than the Native student is. That is racism.

Based on these data, the continued use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo indicates that the University of North Dakota is engaging in and promoting institutional discrimination and racism. Given that, does UND want to continue to promote and engage in racism and discrimination? Is UND truly honoring Native people when the Native student is subjected to social injustice on their own campus? Furthermore, are sport team names more important that the civil rights of one group? These are only a few questions that result from these data. The implications reach beyond UND. The National Collegiate Athletic Association has issues a statement denouncing the use of Native American nicknames and mascots. This data should bolster their statement as it empirically demonstrates a negative effect. Other colleges, universities, and professional sport teams need to ask the same question, if they want to engage in and promote racism. The implications for the Native community are even more serious. Does one risk prejudice and discrimination by voicing opposition to the Fighting Sioux name and logo? How does a Native individual ensure their safety on the UND campus when there is a culture that promotes racism?

As with any study, limitations can apply. The limitations in this study include sample size and characteristics. Although diverse in academic major, the majority of the sample was

freshman and sophomore standing. Given that junior and senior level students may have engaged in less social injustices, having more upper level and graduate students in the sample will increase the external validity. Related to the external validity is the research design. Conducting experiments in a "lab" setting on psychosocial phenomenon has its drawbacks. The opportunity for confounding variables always arises (i.e. Hawthorne effect). Because the Fighting Sioux name and logo is so controversial, student reactions can vary rapidly depending on environmental circumstances. One limitation is that student responses could vary at another point in time. For example, student responses may be polarized in different directions during Time Out and Wacipi week at UND or when a highly publicized protest is occurring. More studies need to occur concerning the effects of the Fighting Sioux controversy. For example, future studies need to further identity student characteristics that influence their reactions to Native students. What is it about the upper level students that resulted in less prejudice and discrimination of the Native confederate? Are their any gender effects? Would a female confederate who is Native receive similar prejudice and discrimination? As suggested above, future studies need to consider collecting data at different points in time to determine any environmental effects. Finally, future studies may also include looking at the impact in the greater Grand Forks and North Dakota communities.

The use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo has created a long and deep-rooted controversy. For that reason alone, UND officials need to seriously consider the impact of the Fighting Sioux name and logo. Regardless of which side of the issue, actions need to occur. University members cannot ignore the prejudice and discrimination against other members of their community.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Fighting Sioux team name and logo at the University of North Dakota:

An historical and contextual summary

by David Vorland, Assistant to the President

Since at least the early 1970s, questions have been raised about the appropriateness of the University of North Dakota's use of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and related graphic symbols to promote its athletic teams. This report, prepared by an individual who has worked closely with UND's presidents during most of this period, attempts to provide an historical and contextual perspective.

Early history

As a review of turn-of-the-century copies of UND's yearbook, the "Dacotah" annual, reveals, Indian imagery was common in the University's earliest days. Native Americans in full regalia even joined non-Indians in pageants and other events, often on the banks of the English Coulee. This is hardly surprising, since Indian names had been used by the white settlers to name cities, waterways, geographic features, businesses, and so forth (including, obviously, the word "Dakota" to refer to the state itself). The use of symbols and graphic images also was common. For example, an Indian head symbol has been utilized for state highway markers since early in the century. Another Indian head emblem is the symbol of the State Highway Patrol, still painted on every squad car. High school and college sports teams in North Dakota also adopted Indian-related team names. And although the number has declined, in part because of the sharp reduction in the number of schools in the state, there still are 15 schools using Indian-related team names

(13 primary and secondary schools, including five on reservations (1), and two colleges, the University of North Dakota (the Fighting Sioux) and Williston State College (the Tetons).

As UND Professor of Indian Studies Mary Jane Schneider points out in her book North Dakota's Indian Heritage, many of those who claimed to be honoring Indians in this way were influenced by "white" ideas about Indian history and culture as portrayed in popular fiction, the media, and especially by Hollywood. Still, she says, "Some idea of the magnitude of Indian contributions to North Dakota history and culture can be gained by trying to imagine North Dakota without any Indian influences: no names, no logos, no highway symbols, no trails, no forts, no pow wows, no Sitting Bull, no Sacajawea, no Joseph Rolette, no Dakota flint corn, no Great Northern Bean, and significantly fewer parks, museums, books, artists, doctors, lawyers, architects, and educators. Without its Indian heritage, North Dakota would not be the same."

According to Schneider, the development of the concept of "team sports" in Europe was influenced by the games explorers had seen Indians play in America, in which individuals acted as a unit and there was no individual winner.(2) Athletic programs at UND date back to shortly after the institution's founding in 1883. For many years, the teams were known as the "Flickertails," perhaps an allusion to the University of Minnesota's nickname, the "Golden Gophers." Sometimes the teams were referred to as the "Nodaks." In 1930, after the adoption by the then North Dakota Agricultural College of the nickname "Bison" and a campaign led by the student newspaper, the University's Athletic Board of Control adopted the name "Sioux." During a decade when UND athletic teams

dominated the North Central Conference, the new team name quickly became popular ("Fight On Sioux," a song with a "tom tom" beat, is still in use today). The "Nickel Trophy," featuring an Indian image on one side and a bison on the other, since 1937 has been awarded to the winner of the UND-North Dakota State University football game (similarly, a "Sitting Bull" trophy goes to the victor of UND-University of South Dakota rivalry). The addition of the word "Fighting," modeled after Notre Dame University's "Fighting Irish," occurred later.

Graphic symbols with Indian themes proliferated at UND in the 1950s and 1960s, extending even into the non-athletic realm ("Sammy Sioux," a cartoon character who appeared on coffee cups and other items, is perhaps the quintessential example). A men's pep club, the now defunct "Golden Feather" organization, promoted various kinds of "rah rah" activities centered, naturally enough, on Indian themes. For many years female basketball cheerleaders wore fringed buckskin dresses and feather headdresses. At times during its 48-year history, the Varsity Bards, UND's elite male chorus, began its concerts by yelling in a manner heard by some listeners as Indian "war whooping." The practice was ended a number of years ago. Indian themes were commonly depicted in the giant ice sculptures created annually by UND's fraternities and sororities as part of the now defunct "King Kold Karnival." It was one of these sculptures, a vulgar and demeaning depiction of an Indian woman, that in 1972 precipitated a controversy that continues to this day.

Why had there been few protests until then? On the national level, tribes across the country, buttressed by favorable court decisions and the ideas of the Civil Rights

movement, began asserting their rights of self-determination after decades of control by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. BIA reservation schools, for example, had long attempted to adapt Indian children to the majority culture, often at the expense of traditional Indian values. New activist Indian organizations sprang up, such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) headed by Vernon Bellecourt, who had grown up at the nearby White Earth Reservation in Minnesota. As had the Jewish anti-defamation and Black civil rights movements before them, the activists and a growing number of more conservative Indian leaders began to conclude that stereotyped cultural images were a roadblock to future progress.

At UND there was an even simpler reason: Until the coming of the federal "Great Society" programs in the mid-1960s, very few Native American students had ever enrolled at UND. But new externally funded programs began to appear, such as "Teacher Corps," which prepared Indian students for careers as educators. These programs brought comparatively large numbers of Native Americans to the campus (today some 349 have officially identified themselves as Indians, many others have not). Not all of these new students approved of the use of Indian imagery to promote "school spirit," especially in the highly stereotyped way of a quarter century ago. The UND Indian Association (UNDIA) was founded in 1968, an organization that over the years has provided valuable leadership experiences for Native American students who went on to distinguish themselves as UND alumni. Other Indian organizations eventually were created as well, and the issue of racist behavior toward Native Americans began to appear on their agendas.

As it turned out, all three of UND's most recent presidents were called upon to face the issue of Indian imagery early in their respective administrations.

Clifford Administration

The administration of Thomas Clifford (1971-1992) began with protests and violence directed initially against a fraternity that had erected an obscene ice sculpture with a Native American theme. President Clifford, whose commitment to providing educational access and opportunity to Native Americans was unquestioned, negotiated with the aggrieved parties (including leaders of the national American Indian Movement) and agreed to eliminate those aspects of the use of Native American imagery that were clearly demeaning and offensive. Virtually all Indian-related logos and symbols, including the popular "Sammy Sioux" caricature, disappeared. Although the Chicago Blackhawk logo, which had been used by the hockey team since the late 1960s, was retained, a new geometric Indian head logo was introduced in 1976 and adopted for most athletic purposes. Clifford also insisted that Indian imagery be used with respect, and took steps to ensure that students, fans and others were aware of UND policy regarding the symbols.

He also intensified UND's efforts to include a focus on Native Americans in the curriculum, initially through a minor in Indian Studies, and to develop yet more programs to assist students. In 1977, Clifford convinced the North Dakota Legislature to provide permanent state funding for both a new academic Department of Indian Studies and a separate Native American Programs office to coordinate support services for Indian students. Clifford also encouraged the Chester Fritz Library to build upon its important collection of Indian documents and artifacts (its famous White Bull manuscript, written

by an Indian fighter at the Little Big Horn, has received international attention). Encouraged by Clifford, Laurel Reuter, included a strong Native American emphasis in her development of what is today the North Dakota Museum of Art. During the state's Centennial in 1989, UND was given responsibility for working with the tribes to ensure that native peoples were recognized in the celebration.

As the Clifford administration ended, UND began to see more Indian students who asserted their belief in preserving and living by traditional Indian values. One response was a new policy permitting the burning of sweet grass and other plants in UND housing as part of spiritual ceremonies. Traditionalists occasionally found themselves in conflict with other Indian students who did not wish to mix ideology with the pursuit of their academic degrees. In April 1987, a group of traditional students staged a highly publicized sit-in at the Native American Center to protest what it termed the University's lack of responsiveness on a number of issues. For a time, the controversy created tension between factions of Indian students. The dispute was resolved, in part, through mediation provided by alumnus David Gipp, president of the United Tribes Technical College in Bismarck. Gipp was but one of a new generation of Native American leaders who, among other things, had created two-year colleges on each of the reservations. The tribal colleges, and the recruitment of Native American students by other colleges and universities in the state and around the country, had begun to offer alternatives to prospective Indian students who previously would have attended UND. Moreover, other pressures from the reservations were manifesting themselves, and would become sharper in the Baker administration.

Clifford's last public statement on the use of the name and symbol, often quoted during the present debate, was published in a newspaper interview on March 15, 1991: "I just don't see the reason for changing it right now. The very leaders of the Sioux Nation supported that. When the leaders of the Sioux Nation come and tell me they don't want it, I'll respect that."

Baker Administration: The team name issue

Shortly after the beginning of the Kendall Baker administration (1992-1999), an ugly incident occurred when a number of white students hurled epithets at a group of Native American children in traditional dance regalia who were riding a Homecoming float.(3) During the subsequent controversy, the Standing Rock tribal council requested that UND change the team name, and the University Senate approved a resolution opposing continued use of the Fighting Sioux name. Baker convened two well-attended University-wide forums and visited the North Dakota reservations to seek input. He announced his decision on July 27, 1993: UND would not change the name, although, as he had announced in January, it would drop the Blackhawk logo. A committee would be formed to propose steps that could be taken by the Athletic Department to ensure respectful use of the team name: one result was a mandatory public address announcement before every athletic event.(4) Moreover, Baker asserted, the University would renew its commitment to cultural diversity with new, positive activity on many fronts, and would leave open the question of the team name for further discussion and education. This remained the position of the Baker Administration, despite at least five developments: (1) the appearance of new campus organizations such BRIDGES (Building Roads into Diverse

Groups Empowering Students) and the Native Media Center, committed to keeping the issue alive; (2) the appearance of particularly vulgar cheering (such as "Sioux suck!") and imprinted clothing worn by fans from opposing teams and depicting, as an example, a bison having sex with an Indian; (3) an incident of "hate crime" in 1996 in which the life of an Indian student was threatened (one response was a rare joint letter by Baker and Chancellor Larry Isaak to tribal officials reaffirming their commitment to diversity); (4) efforts by former hockey players, including alumnus Ralph Engelstad, to bring back the Blackhawk logo; and (5) the unsuccessful effort to get the State Legislature to urge a name change. President Baker's last public statement on the issue was read into the record at a legislative hearing on February 5, 1999:

> *A controversy over the use of the Sioux team name was among the first issues that faced me when I came to North Dakota in 1992. After much conversation and consultation, it was my conclusion that there was no consensus on this issue, not even among Native Americans. I decided, therefore, that the respectful use of the team name should continue and, indeed, that the appropriate use of the name could be a positive influence in helping UND encourage respect and appreciation for diversity in all of its forms. Although some individuals disagreed with me then, as they do today, this remains my position on the issue.*
>
> *In closing, let me be very clear: Although the approach UND took regarding the team name was and is, in my view, an appropriate one, I also have stated on numerous public occasions that the issue remains on the agenda for dialogue, discussion, and learning.*

Baker Administration: New challenges

As indicated earlier, President Baker also inherited new circumstances with respect to UND's Native American constituency. Although the University Senate had set a goal of increasing Indian enrollment to match that segment's percentage of the state's population, it proved to be an elusive goal. Much of the "progress" shown to date is more related to a sharp decline in white enrollment than to a large increase in the number of Indian students. In the 1990 census, self-identified Native Americans accounted for 25,305 of the state's 638,800 residents (3.96%). In the fall of 1992, Native Americans accounted for 306 of UND's enrollment of 12,289 (2.49%), compared to 349 of 10,590, or 3.38%, in the fall of 1999.

One reason for the slow progress was the "cherry picking" by out-of-state schools of Native American high school seniors. There also were new efforts by other in-state colleges, especially North Dakota State and Minot State Universities, to develop Indian-related programs of their own and to more actively recruit Native American students. Some have argued that the continued use of the Fighting Sioux team name and logo was a factor in some Indian students choosing not to attend UND.

In the fall of 1999, there were 855 self-identified Native Americans enrolled within the North Dakota University System. All 11 campuses enrolled Native Americans, with the largest number of them, 349, being at UND. Minot State University enrolled 148 and NDSU 94.

But perhaps the key factor restraining enrollment growth at UND was the remarkable development of the five tribal colleges (with much of the leadership coming from administrators and faculty with UND degrees). In recent years, the tribal colleges have

been accredited, have made vast strides with respect to facilities, and have exerted considerable influence through joint action, both in the state and nationally (there are 30 tribal colleges in the U.S.). Tribal college enrollment in North Dakota in the fall of 1999 was 1,045 students. In recent years, the North Dakota University System has welcomed the tribal colleges as partners in the state higher education scene, for example, by encouraging "articulation" in curricular matters, developing a cultural diversity tuition waiver program (which has benefitted more than 1,500 Indian students since 1993, the largest number at UND), and assisting the tribal campuses in upgrading their technology. The system has remained neutral on the question of legislative appropriations for the tribal colleges.

During the Baker administration, the leadership of the tribal colleges and tribal councils began to make new requests of the University. For example, they pressed for more direct financial aid and for more access to UND's highly selective programs, especially in the health professions. The tribal college councils and presidents formally objected to an interpretation of Indian history included in a textbook written by a UND faculty member (she eventually agreed to rephrase the offending passage in the book's next edition). The tribal presidents, supported by the councils, requested an end to the practice of grant proposals being written for reservation-related projects without the permission and participation of the reservations themselves, including a sharing in the overhead monies (today, most granting agencies insist on this practice). And, as detailed below, the use of the Fighting Sioux team name and logo continued to receive attention on the reservations.

Baker Administration: Initiatives

Beginning in the early 1990s, UND no longer found itself the only act in the state with respect to the educating of Native American students. Nonetheless, the Baker administration initiated a number of new efforts to broaden its commitment to promoting diversity. University funds were allocated to two committees charged with supporting diversity activities, and increased subsidies were allocated to events such as the annual pow wows of the UND Indian Association and the INMED program. In 1996, the Native American Center was moved to a more accessible location, and the Baker Administration stated its support of a Bremer Foundation-backed effort to raise private funds for a new center. But perhaps the most significant development was the "bottom up" proliferation of new, mostly externally funded academic and service programs geared to Native American students in such fields as nursing, law, communication and psychology. The University also became involved in new reservation connected programs, particularly in the health and education sectors. UND's best-known program, the federally funded "Indians into Medicine" program (INMED), which in its quarter century of service has trained a significant number of the Indian physicians practicing in the United States, continued to prosper. As the Kupchella administration began, the University listed 32 separate Indian-related initiatives and programs(5), clearly indicating UND's status as one of the nation's premier universities in its commitment to providing access and opportunity for Native Americans.

Kupchella Administration

On July 1, 1999, Charles E. Kupchella inherited the Baker position on the issue of the Fighting Sioux team name and logos. As with his two predecessors, the honeymoon was

short. The news that UND had decided upon a new Indian head symbol for its athletic teams ignited another controversy, in part because proponents of an eventual name change perceived that the University had changed its open-minded position about further discussion of the issue. President Kupchella summarized the situation, and his intentions, in a message to the University community at the beginning of the spring semester:

> *One of the issues we will continue to address as the New Year begins is use of the logo-nickname. We will consider this in the context of our collective interest in building on our tradition of a positive campus climate as part of the strategic planning process already under way.*
>
> *As I indicated at a recent University Senate meeting, my approval of a new logo obviously touched a sore spot that has been present for many decades. I saw the new logo as a respectful addition to a series of already existing athletic program logos, including other Indian symbols, used in conjunction with the long-standing Sioux nickname. I had already come to take great pride in the fact that the University has many noteworthy programs in support of Native American students. As it turned out, much, if not all, of the negative reaction to the logo was really a reaction to the nickname. Some apparently saw the introduction of the new logo as a reversal of a trend toward ultimately doing away with the nickname or, at the very least, "entrenchment" on the name issue. I did not see it that way.*
>
> *As we look ahead to the question of how or if we will continue to use the nickname, there are a number of factors to be considered. On the one hand, there is the question of whether an organization should be able to use the name of a group of people over the objection of any number of people in that group. Even if*

the answer to this is "no," there is also the fact that all living alumni of the University of North Dakota have grown up with the Fighting Sioux tradition and many, if not most, are very proud of it. Many of these alumni are bewildered and hurt that anyone would question the University's intent of being respectful. They all know that the University has made and is making a significant commitment to ensure the success of Native American students. Because alumni support is a hallmark of the University of North Dakota, this is not a factor that can be dismissed out of hand. Also, the situation facing the University of North Dakota is not isolated. There has been and continues to be a vigorous debate nationwide about the appropriateness of using Native American names and images for athletic teams. Thus, there are a number of important dimensions to the issue that must be considered carefully.

As I educate myself about the issue, I find that there are many unknowns and that those on different sides of the issue seem to have different sets of "facts," as well as different perspectives. There are individual faculty, staff, and students, including Native American students, on all sides of the issue.

On January 27, the University Council will consider this issue. Following that, I will work with the University Senate and the Strategic Planning Committee in the formation of a group to examine the issue and to make recommendations to me on its resolution. I will ask this group to help clarify the issues involved, to assess the range of positions on the issue held by members of various stakeholder groups, and to gauge the need for "education" about the issue. I will also ask the group to

consider how other campuses facing similar issues have resolved them. I will need the help of many people in order to resolve the issue to the long-range benefit of the University of North Dakota. Particularly needed is the involvement of people who, even though they may hold a particular position, can articulate, understand, and respect opposing points of view.

A New Presidential Commission

In February, Dr. Kupchella named the commission. He asked it to find the missing information he needs to make a decision, provide education for each other and all interested in the issues, and to examine the experiences of UND and other universities that have wrestled with nickname changes. The Commission, he said, should outline alternative courses of action, indicating how negative impacts of each can best be reduced. Kupchella said that he, not the Commission, will make the ultimate decision. The members include: Phil Harmeson, associate dean of the UND College of Business and Public Administration and UND's Faculty Athletics Representative to the NCAA, who will serve as chair;George Sinner, former North Dakota governor and member of the State Board of Higher Education and retired farmer and business executive; Allen Olson, former North Dakota governor and now executive director of the Independent Community Bakers Association of Minnesota; Jim R. Carrigan, former Colorado Supreme Court justice and a retired U.S. district judge who is now a consultant on mediation and arbitration; Richard Becker, president of Becker Marketing Consultants and past president of the UND Alumni Association; Cynthia Mala, executive director of the North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission and a member of the Spirit Lake Nation;

Fred Lukens, president of Simmons Advertising and a former UND basketball player; Nadine Tepper, UND assistant professor of teaching and learning; Leigh Jeanotte, director of the UND Office of Native American Programs and an assistant to UND's vice president for student and outreach services; Michael Jacobsen, UND professor and chair of social work; Roger Thomas, UND athletic director; Cec Volden, UND professor of nursing and an associate member of UND's Conflict Resolution Center; Kathleen Gershman, UND professor of teaching and learning; Pamela End of Horn, a UND student from Pine Ridge, S.D. and a member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe; Angela LaRocque, a UND graduate student from Belcourt and a member of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chipewa; and Chris Semrau, a UND student from Minot who currently serves as student body president.

The question of "permission"

What has been the position of the Indian peoples themselves, and especially of the 26 separately governed tribal groups, 16 located in five different states and 10 in three Canadian provinces, that make up the peoples known as "the Sioux," or more precisely, the "Dakota," "Lakota" and "Nakota"?

This question is complicated by the fact that many Native Americans live off the reservations. In North Dakota, for example, some 40 percent of the persons who identified themselves as Native Americans in the 1990 census -- 10,022 of 25,303 -- were "urban" Indians. These "urban" Indians, as well as others of mixed blood who no longer officially identify themselves as Native Americans but who may have Indian features,

tend to experience more acts of racism (such as the taunting of their children) than do Indians residing on reservations.(6)

Until 1992, the Sioux tribal councils in the Dakotas had not taken formal positions on the team name issue. Much has been made of an incident that occurred in 1968 and was reported upon at the time in the Grand Forks Herald. A delegation from the Standing Rock Reservation headed by "Chief" Bernard Standing Crow, then coordinator of the Standing Rock Sioux Head Start Program, traveled to UND to "adopt" then President George Starcher into the Standing Rock Tribe and to give him an Indian name ("the Yankton Chief "), as well as to, in the words of the article, formally give UND "the right to use the name of 'Fighting Sioux' for their athletic teams." Although no documentation has been found at UND, the Herald article has credibility because it was written by Art Raymond, a Native American himself, and later UND's first director of Indian Studies. On the other hand, the Standing Rock Tribal Council appears not to have been involved.

It is clear, however, that the Standing Rock Tribal Council was the first to ask UND to change the name, in a formal tribal resolution dated December 3, 1992 (and affirmed on December 2, 1998). The UND President's Office also received and has on file six other resolutions from tribal councils requesting a name change, all of them seemingly generated in response to appeals by a UND student advocacy organization. The resolutions include those of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe, the Oglala Sioux Tribe, the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, the Yankton Sioux Tribe, the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, and the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe.(7)

What is public opinion on this issue?

What do UND faculty, students, alumni and the residents of the state feel about the Fighting Sioux issue? Some say the solution is simple: majority rule. But is there a point at which "popular" can indeed become "oppressive"? Even many advocates of the Fighting Sioux team name agree that its future should NOT be decided by a "vote," even in the unlikely event that such a referendum was possible.

The assumption has long been that public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of retaining the name. This appears to be true with respect to the student body. In the spring of 1999, after the UND Student Senate adopted a resolution advocating a name change (vetoed by the student body president), student government commissioned a scientific survey by the Bureau of Governmental Affairs. It indicated that 83.4% of the student body were either "strongly opposed" or "opposed" to changing the name.

Over the years, at least two other legitimate student surveys have explored the issue. In 1987, a survey of Indian students by the Student Affairs Division found that 64% of the respondents approved the use of the term "Fighting Sioux." However, Indian student approval appears to have waned. In November 1995 a "campus climate" survey of all students measured responses to the statement, "UND's use of the Sioux name/logo is culturally insensitive." Some 79.1% of white students disagreed with that statement, while just 29.6% of Native Americans disagreed.

Besides the Student Senate, two other UND-connected bodies have adopted resolutions on the issue of athletic team names:

- At its July 1972 meeting, the State Board of Higher Education instructed its institutions to review potentially offensive usage and to make appropriate changes. The motion stated "that recognizing that educational institutions are expected to exercise leadership in helping to solve problems of social relations and human understandings in this society; that they are expected to promulgate such basic American concepts as the worth and dignity of the individual regardless of race or creed; and that an education must be concerned not only with the cognitive behavioral change through the development of such qualities as tolerance, empathy, and brotherhood -- the Board of Higher Education directs all of the colleges and universities under its jurisdiction to re-examine their use of various athletic mascots, team nicknames, slogans, symbols, and rituals with a view toward assessing their appropriateness and suitability and with special concern as to their potential for offensiveness to particular racial or ethnic groups within this diverse society in which we live. The Board further directs that all institutions make appropriate changes in these traditions." The then Dickinson State College soon thereafter became one of the first in the country to change its team name, replacing the "Savages" with the "Bluehawks."

- At its March 1993 meeting, the University Senate, responding to the Homecoming float incident, voted 34 to 10 with five abstentions to recommend that the Fighting Sioux name be changed.

No scientific survey of alumni opinion has been done, although the author of this paper did conduct a readership survey in the late 1970s that indicated 40 percent of the recipients wanted no sports coverage in the Alumni Review (another 40 percent wanted

more sports coverage), perhaps not an unusual finding since only a minority of UND's more than 10,500 enrolled students attend sports events. A credible, scientific survey of alumni opinion, and of the intensity of alumni holding various positions on the issue, might be useful.

There has been no shortage of petition drives on the issue. The files of the President's Office contain the results of several, on both sides of the issue. One of them, containing the signatures of virtually all living former varsity hockey players and advocating the return of the Chicago Blackhawk logo, was organized by alumnus Ralph Engelstad. This petition may be the origin of widespread speculation that Mr. Engelstad's later $100 million gift may have been conditioned with an understanding that the name would not be changed.

Petitions, letters to the editor, and the quantity and content of media coverage must be considered, of course, since they often do reflect the views of those individuals who choose to communicate in that fashion. On the other hand, these methods of communication are particularly subject to manipulation by the advocates of a particular point of view. Many a law-maker, for example, has learned to his or her regret that the number of phone calls received on an issue may not reflect the majority views of the voters back home.

The national scene

As indicated elsewhere in this report, the movement to abolish the use of Indian mascots, symbols and team names is not a local issue, but rather a national one, with its own activist organizations (the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and the Media, for example), clearinghouses, Web sites and so forth. Local news stories about the UND controversy appear immediately on Web sites around the country (the BRIDGES group operates its own Web site(8), linked to many others on the national scene). These activist organizations operate at a number of levels, and despite the occasional public protest, mostly through educational, political and public relations activity. Much of the nation's intellectual community appears to be solidly on their side (the Web sites are filled with scholarly articles on the subject). All in all, the movement appears to be quietly achieving some success. So far, according to an estimate by activist Suzan Shown Harjo, about one third of the 3,000 Indian-related team names that existed 30 years ago have been changed.

Much of the movement is directed against the use of Indian team names by high schools (the state with the most teams so named is Ohio, with 217), as well as against professional sports teams such as the Cleveland Indians and the Washington Redskins. The movement to pressure college teams to end their use of Indian names and symbols appears to have begun with a big victory in 1968, when Dartmouth University changed from the "Indians" to the "Big Green." Since then, a number of schools have changed their names and/or symbols or mascots, including Marquette University, Stanford University, Dickinson (N.D.) State University, University of Oklahoma, Syracuse University, Southern Oregon University, Sienna College, St. Mary's College, Eastern Michigan University, University of Wisconsin at La Crosse, Central Michigan University, Simpson College, St. John's University, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga,

Morningside College, Brainerd Community College, Mankato State University, Miami University of Ohio, Springfield College, Adams State University, Yakima College, Southern Nazarene University, Chemeketa Community College, St. Bonaventure University, Oklahoma City University, Hendrix College, and Seattle University.

Some universities have resisted pressure to change, including most prominently the Florida State University "Seminoles" and the University of Illinois "Illini." The controversy in Illinois was recently depicted in an award-winning Public Television documentary, "In Whose Honor?" The Florida State situation is often pointed to as a case in which a tribe has formally consented to the use of its name and even to such practices as non-Indians wearing tribal regalia during football games. There are, in fact, two Seminole tribes, the larger one in Oklahoma. The Seminole tribe of Florida, which gave the approval, was recognized as a tribe in 1957 and consists about 2,000 members scattered on six small reservations. The Seminoles of Oklahoma, evicted from Florida by the federal government in the early nineteenth century, number about 12,000.

Another aspect of the national situation involves the taking of formal positions by various organizations against the use of Indian sports team names. Among groups who have done so are the National Education Association, the National Congress of American Indians, the United Methodist Church, the American Jewish Committee, the American Anthropological Association, the Minority Opportunities and Interests Committee of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, the University of Wisconsin, Native American Journalists Association, the Society of Indian Psychologists, the Society for the Study of

Indigenous Languages, the Linguistic Society of America, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

State civil rights commissions and other government entities have also been aggressive in many states, including neighboring Minnesota. Both the U.S. Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission have become involved in these issues. Just recently the U.S. Census Bureau issued a memorandum prohibiting the use in promotional activities of sports team names and imagery that refer to American Indians and Alaska Natives.

Summary: Pro and con in brief

It is difficult to summarize all of the arguments that have been mounted by those who take a position on the issue of the Fighting Sioux team name and symbol. Clearly, there are zealots on both sides of the spectrum. Less obvious are the shades of opinion among those in the middle zone (and, accordingly, their willingness to alter their views one way or the other).

But with those caveats, for the sake of discussion, these seem to be the pro and con positions.

Proponents argue that the use of the name and symbol is meant to be a mark of respect for the Native peoples of the state and region, signifying the University's appreciation of their history and culture, as well as its continuing commitment to providing access and opportunity to Indian students and of being of service to Native people on the reservations. The word "Sioux" evokes positive feelings, not negative feelings. The top achievement award of the UND Alumni Association, second only in prestige to an

honorary degree, has long been known as the "Sioux Award." There is no intent to hurt anyone. It is further contended that many Native Americans support the use of the name and symbol, and that those Indians who protest are a small minority. Symbols similar to UND's geometric logo (and the new Ben Brien-designed symbol) are popular on many reservations. Some proponents concede that racist acts can occur in the environment created by the use of the name and the symbol, but rarely, especially since the University insists upon respectful behavior. Changing the team name and symbol would not prevent the possibility of racist acts, and, in fact, would remove an important mechanism for actively encouraging respect for diversity in all of its forms. Regarding the meeting of the needs of Native Americans, the University's record stands for itself, attested to by the existence of numerous Indian-related programs and other evidence. Those who focus exclusively on the name issue, it is argued, should instead concentrate their considerable energy on solving the remaining problems faced by Indians. But there is a more positive argument, too, in favor of continued use of the name: tradition, and the benefits that tradition can bring. For most athletes and sports fans, alumni, students and residents of the state, the Fighting Sioux name and symbol evoke positive memories and perceptions of the University, as well as of Native Americans. Virtually everyone who pays attention to UND has known its sports teams as "the Fighting Sioux" for their entire lives, and among these people there is overwhelming sentiment not to change the name. In fact, the positive feelings generated by the name and logo are translated into tangible support for the University, in dollars and cents and otherwise. The geometric Indian symbol alone generates the bulk of the $60,000 UND receives annually in royalties, most of which is spent on diversity-related projects. Challenging or modifying this tradition - and

especially when one implies that to support the Fighting Sioux name is to be a racist - is to risk damage to the institution and its future.

Opponents argue that the use of Indian images in today's sports world has nothing to do with "honoring" Native American people; rather, these are isolated images snipped from the mythology (and misconceptions) of the West for the pleasure of a large majority that is fundamentally unaware of, or unconcerned with, the culture of a living people. There are indeed respectful ways to honor Native Americans through the use of Indian names and imagery, but using them for high school, college or professional sports is not one of them. Sports are intended to be "fun," they argue, so it is impossible to truly control the verbal behavior of unruly fans, especially those from other schools. Much of the "fun" of being a sports fan seems to include cheering against one's opponent. Actions such as the "Sioux suck!" chant, the "tomahawk chop," war whooping, etc., inevitably demean Indians, especially the young, even if such behavior is not motivated by racism. And racism, although involving a small minority, IS an issue: one who listens carefully to the current debate cannot avoid hearing it. Manifestations of racism are inevitable, the opponents argue, whenever a group of people is trivialized, in this case by becoming an athletic symbol. Moreover, the "values" that are being "honored" through the use of Indian imagery - bravery, stoicism, fierceness in battle, etc. - are all too often stereotyped, more the creation of Hollywood than accurate reflections of the past. Before and during the period of white settlement, many Indian tribes abhorred and avoided the warfare of the times, whether carried out by Indians or non-Indians. The stereotyping of Indian history and culture gets in the way of people understanding the contributions of and the challenges to modern-day Native Americans. The continuing controversy itself creates a

threatening and hostile environment for Indian students, regardless of their position or degree of activism on the Fighting Sioux issue. UND's commitment to Indian-related programming (funded mostly with external grants, not state dollars or alumni contributions) is much appreciated, but is not "compensation" for the use of the Sioux name. Finally, opponents argue, the flow of history is against those who wish to perpetuate the use of Indian imagery for sports purposes. A growing number of national organizations have taken a stand against such uses. Moreover, many high schools and universities have changed or are in the process of changing their Indian-related team names. Those who resist the flow of history will eventually fail, opponents argue, and will be remembered in the way Orval Faubus and George Wallace are recalled today.

So who decides?

Technically, the State Board of Higher Education could decide, as could the State Legislature. As reported earlier in this paper, both of these bodies have gone on record that such a decision is best left to the campus. There are other possibilities: the National Collegiate Athletic Association (as noted earlier, one of its committees already is on record as being opposed to racially based team names) could intervene, and, one can speculate, may do so if the remaining Division I schools such as Florida State and the University of Illinois end the practice. UND's academic accrediting agency, the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools, has been challenged to take a stand on the issue as part of its commitment to multiculturalism. Another possible external force may be the federal government, either through the Federal Trade Commission, which already has ruled that Indian logos cannot be trademarked (an appeal will be resolved shortly) or

through the Justice Department, which has intervened in a North Carolina case in a way that suggests more litigation is on the way. For now, however, the decision appears to lie entirely in the hands of the President of the University of North Dakota.

Date of this draft: April 26, 2000. This paper is a work in progress. Corrections and comments, preferably in writing, are encouraged. Send to President's Office, Box 8193, Grand Forks, ND 58202, or e-mail to david_vorland@und.nodak.edu.

APPENDIX B

Social Dominance Orientation Scale

If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

Inferior groups should stay in their place.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

Some people are just inferior to others.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

Some groups of people are just more worthy than others.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

It is OK with me that some groups have fewer resources than others.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

Devaluation of some social groups is perfectly justifiable
.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

I don't have any problems with the idea that some groups control the fate of other groups.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

It is OK with me that some groups have more control over public policy than others
.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

It is OK with me that some groups are dominated by other groups.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

APPENDIX C

Research Packet

Social Perception Study

The Purpose of today's study is to understand how people go about forming impressions of others. Previous research on social perception and imagination has shown that people are often able to imagine what other people are like based on a relatively limited set of information. For example, even though we often know relatively little about another person, we are able to "go beyond the information given" and imagine what their day-to-day lives are like, what sorts of things they like to do in their spare time, hobbies they might have, and so on. In some cases, we might infer the person is a likeable person, with features we admire, whereas in other cases we might infer this individual in less likeable with attribute we do not admire at all. We are interested in how people form and develop such impressions.

In a few moments, we will present you with some information about a student enrolled here at the University of North Dakota. (Where relevant, we have blocked out a few key details to protect the person's anonymity.) Read all of the information you are presented about this person. As you read this information, try to imagine what this person is generally like. In particular, you should consider what sorts of personality traits this person is likely to have, and what sorts of goals and aspirations this individual is likely to hold. In short, you should try to "flesh out" what this person is like and imagine how you might react to this person if you actually were to meet in person.

It is important to remember that there is no "right" or "wrong" answer in this task – your judgments and impression are just as valid as anyone else's. Thus, please feel free to form the most detailed and elaborate representation of what you imagine this person might be like.

Please turn the page and read the vignette regarding our anonymous student.

It was Thursday morning. John got up a little earlier than this usual time, because he had remembered that he needed to get some work done before class. After his usual hot shower, John got dressed and sat down at his desk to try to do some reading.

After working for a while, John looked up from his books to have another look at the letter that had been sitting on his desk. He had gotten a 2.7 again and hadn't gotten any A's for the 3rd semester in a row. His parents were just a bit worried about his grades. If things went the way they had been going, it looked like he was going to get mostly B's this semester, with maybe a few C's. His performance so far made him a bit down, but he resolved to do better in the future. It was the only way that he'd be able to get into that graduate school on the east coast that he had heard so much about.

After his morning classes, John grabbed some lunch at the cafeteria. The place was a little crowded, but John found a table in the back and sat down. He thought about how much he was looking forward to going home. John thought about how nice it would be to eat some different food instead of the same stuff they served at school over and over.

Later on that day, John needed to do a couple important errands around town, but unfortunately, his car started making some noises. John thought it might be something serious, and so he looked for a shop that could fix it. When John brought the car into the shop, he told the garage mechanic that he would have to go somewhere else if he couldn't fix his car that same day. While he was waiting for the car to be fixed, John went to a store to buy some supplies that he had been meaning to buy for a while. Afterwards, John picked up his car, did some more errands, and drove back to his place in time for dinner.

Once you have finished reading this page, please turn the page for further instructions.

Based on the information you were given, we'd like you to imagine what kind of person this is. This is, what sorts of personality traits and attributes do you think this person might have? And, as you imagine what this individual is generally like, we'd like you to consider how you might feel about this person, whether you think he would be likeable vs. dislikeable, whether you would, or would not, want to meet this person, and so on.

In the space below, we would like you to write a short, descriptive story that summarizes your "mind's eye" impression of John. **Be as creative as you can and include as much detail as your imagination allows.** Remember: there are no right or wrong responses in this task—we are only interested in the kinds of rich, imaginative descriptions that YOU can construct based on the information provided. Try to imagine as much detail as you can, and write this in the space below.

When you have finished, turn the page.

Now that you have indicated your general impression of John, we are interested in some more specific judgments that you might have formed about this person. That is, in the process of imagining what people are like, we have found that most people are able to form estimates of the kinds of attributes he or she is likely to have. Again, keep in mind that there is no right or wrong answers in this task—your impressions and estimates are just as valid as anyone else's.

Suppose that you had the chance to actually meet this person. How much would you like to meet this individual if you had the chance?

- 5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5

Not at all Very much

Suppose you were in a managerial position. How likely would you be to hire this person?

- 5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5

Not at all Very much

Suppose this person was applying for a scholarship and you were on the committee to decide who received one. How likely would you be to award this person a scholarship?

- 5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5

Not at all Very much

What is your overall reaction to this person?

- 5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5

Very poor Very good

In this next section, we are interested in your "best guess" about this person with respect to a number of attributes. For each of the items below, circle the number that best fits the picture you have formed of John. Please do not leave any items blank. If you are unsure, simply give the estimate that feels best for you.

1. likeable?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

2. successful?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

3. unfriendly?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

4. intelligent?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

5. competent?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

6. unmotivated?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

7. patient?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

8. self-assured?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

9. incompetent?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

10. lazy?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

11. polite?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

12. bright?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

13. argumentative?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

14. aggressive?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

15. hard worker?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

16. athletic?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

17. easy to get along with?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

18. cooperative?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

19. hostile?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

20. shy?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

21. responsible?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

22. ambitious?

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

Please provide the following information about yourself by placing a check next to the appropriate answer or by filling in the relevant information.

Gender: ____Female ____Male Age: ____

Major(s): _____, _____

_____Freshman

_____Sophomore

_____Junior

_____Senior

Race/Ethnic Background:

_____African American

_____Asian/Asian American: Specify if desire_____

_____European American: Specify if desire_____

_____Hispanic: Specify if desire _____

_____Native American: Specify if desire_____

_____Other: Please Specify_____

What is your opinion regarding the move to Division I for UND football?

Stay Division II Neutral/no opinion Move to Division I

What is your opinion regarding the use of the Fighting Sioux name and logo at UND?

Keep the logo/name Neutral/no opinion Change the logo/name

Please list any sports you follow at UND.

_____, _____, _____, _____

_____, _____, _____, _____

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