

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS BETWEEN AMERICAN INDIAN AND MAJORITY
CULTURE COLLEGE STUDENTS REGARDING THE USE OF THE FIGHTING
SIOUX NICKNAME AND LOGO

by

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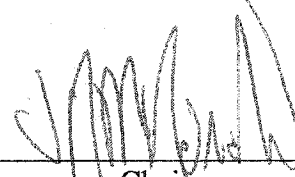
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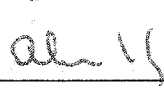
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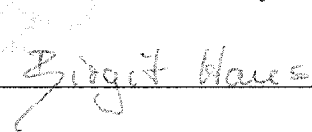
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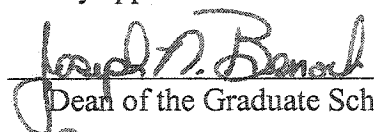


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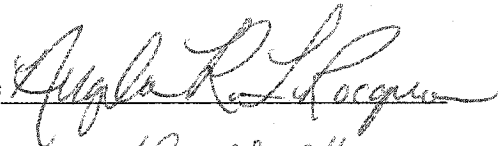
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to investigate to what extent, the “Fighting Sioux” Nickname and Logo affects American Indian and Majority Culture college students emotionally. This study compared American Indian and Majority Culture students’ differences of emotional reactions and distress to two different slide presentations using images of the “Fighting Sioux” Nickname and Logo found around the campus of the University of North Dakota (UND). The main focus was to examine the possible psychological side effects.

Participants consisted of 36 Majority Culture and 33 American Indian College students in attendance at UND. Each participant filled out an informed consent form, a demographic questionnaire, and a Multiple Affect Adjective Checklist-Revised (MAACL-R) before seeing either the Neutral Images slide presentation or the Controversial Images slide presentation. After viewing the first presentation, the participants filled out another MAACL-R and then viewed the second presentation. They then filled out another MAACL-R and the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale (NLDS). The American Indian participants also filled out the Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory.

Data analyses included descriptive statistics of demographic variables, Pearson Product Moment correlations to examine the relationships between the demographic variables and the NLDS as well as with the MAACL-R, a repeated measures mixed

design to examine the differences between the groups in relation to how their scores changed after viewing each slide show, and finally, a Independent Samples t-Test to see if there was a significant difference on total scores of the NLDS.

Results revealed that American Indian participants had higher levels of negative affect than Majority Culture participants after viewing the Neutral slide show and that their affect reached an even higher state after viewing the Controversial slide show. The Majority Culture participants' level of affect, on the other hand, did not significantly change after viewing the Neutral slide show, but did after viewing the Controversial slide show. However, the level of affect of the American Indian participants reached a significantly higher level than that of the Majority Culture participants. The findings can imply that American Indian students at UND may have higher levels of psychological distress on a daily basis simply from seeing even neutral images of the "Fighting Sioux" Nickname and Logo.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For over 15,000 years, Indigenous people lived in North America, each group developing separate cultures and lifestyles as diverse as their non-Indian counterparts in other parts of the world. In 1492, Columbus arrived in the Caribbean Islands believing he had landed in India (Edwards & Smith, 1979). He named the indigenous inhabitants Indians (Edwards & Smith, 1979). This name survived and now it and associated names of individual Native groups comprise a controversial stigma associated with athletic teams throughout the United States. Broken Nose (1992) refers to "Indians" as a name given to the majority of Indigenous people of the United States and Canada, even though hundreds of distinctive cultures were flourishing at the time of the first Europeans arrival. First impressions made by early Europeans regarding the indigenous peoples of North America were usually negative. Indigenous people were viewed as uncivilized, savage, filthy, and hostile (Trimble, 1998). Unfortunately, many of these depictions of American Indians persisted. Trimble (1998) suggests Indians are commonly seen as incompetent, backwards and incapable of managing their own affairs. Other stereotypes depict Indians as bloodthirsty savages, untamed, warlike, and aggressive (Churchill, Hill, & Hill, 1978). These traits influenced the formation of federal policies towards American Indians and served as a nurturing ground for the blatant racism and discrimination that exists to this day towards American Indians.

The word Indian can also trigger an array of images to different people. To some, the word Indian may provoke the image of a warrior dressed in Native regalia ready for battle, or of a docile, stoic, noble savage who is wise and is one with nature (Broken Nose, 1992). Today, American Indians are also depicted as strong, brave, and warlike, and usually not perceived as contributing to the contemporary mainstream culture. Unfortunately, many majority culture members tend to over-sensationalize their image of the American Indian of the past and ignore the real American Indian of the present and future. The subset of American society that most reflects this attitude are professional, high school, or college athletic teams. As can be expected, nicknames, logos, and mascots are very important to athletic teams and, unfortunately, some choose to use American Indians as mascots, nicknames, and logos instead of depicting American Indians as real people. The imagery projected by American Indian mascots, logos, and nicknames is biased, distorted, and misrepresented. Inaccurate images are also derived from literature, history books, television, and Hollywood made movies. American Indians are portrayed as inclusive, representing all American Indians rather than recognizing the diversity of individual tribes. No attempt is made to identify with individual tribes other than the utilization of the name of a specific tribe. Even the regalia that American Indian mascots sport are very generic and not representative of the tribe to which the mascot is supposed to belong. The same can be said for American Indian logos. Inaccuracies and stereotypes stemming from these depictions cause modern American Indians and some non-Indians to find the utilization of American Indian mascots, nicknames, and logos not only offensive, but also dehumanizing. Stereotypes promote racism and preconceived attitudes towards American Indians, and because of

these attitudes, many American Indian students attending schools and universities outside Indian communities are often subjected to racial slurs and attacks (Hansen & Rouse, 1987). A struggle exists between Native Americans and athletic teams (fans included) over the use of American Indians as sport symbols. These teams and fans justify the use of American Indian nicknames, logos, and mascots by proclaiming their team is bringing tradition and honor to American Indians (Davis, 1993). They also believe that American Indians should feel proud about the recognition that American Indian nicknames, logos, and mascots bring (Davis, 1993). Controversy continues to exist about whether the use of American Indians as mascots, nicknames, and logos is an actual honor to American Indians or a form of racism. However, the American Indian mascot, nickname, and logo controversy cannot be resolved so easily, because it is a complicated issue. Thus, this topic needs further examination in order to understand the breadth of the issue and the potential adverse effects it can pose to American Indians, especially American Indian children.

Definition of Key Terms

Native American, American Indian, Indian, Indigenous People, 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).

Biculturalism: This term is defined as being involved with one culture while acquainting with another, thus becoming identified with both cultures without losing the identity of either (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990). Oetting & Beauvais (1990) suggest that “it

is not essential to lose contact with one culture while adapting to another; an individual can have a high level of involvement in both cultures (p. 661). LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton (1993) further explain that in order for an individual to acquire bicultural competence, he/she would need to maintain knowledge of cultural beliefs and values, positive attitudes toward both majority and minority groups, bicultural efficacy, communication ability, role range, and a sense of being grounded.

Cultural Competence: This refers to the degree to which an individual has acquired a certain level of knowledge and experience about the characteristics that define a particular culture, expresses these characteristics in his/her daily life, and passes them down intergenerationally (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993).

Stereotyping: This term refers to “generalizations about a group or class of people that do not allow for individual differences” (Brislin, 2000, p. 36).

Prejudice: This term is 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: This term is 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 refers that 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).

Nickname or Moniker: These terms can be used interchangeably and are defined as the most commonly used linguistic designations for a given sport team (Nuessal, 1993).

Logo: Nuessal (1993) defines this term as the "graphic two-dimensional," artistic image of a team's nickname (p.102).

Mascot: This term refers to the "three-dimensional manifestation" of a team's nickname. These can be actual animals or a person who dons a costume or appropriate makeup to depict the mascot (Nuessal, 1993).

Historical Trauma

About 3,000,000 Indigenous people lived in North America when Europeans made their first contact (Edwards & Smith, 1979). Little did the Indigenous people of North America know contact with Europeans would drastically change their lives and cultures. In the years to come, many lives of American Indians would be lost and many tribes would become extinct. American Indians would be forced to leave their homelands and would gradually have to struggle with social policies enforced on them (Edwards & Smith, 1979). As a result of social policies, American Indians today are dealing with the historical trauma brought upon them. They are trying to reestablish their cultures and adapt to a lifestyle that is far different from the one they knew 500 years ago.

Shortly after the United States of America was established, social policies were adopted and enforced to deal with the so-called "Indian problem" (Edwards & Smith, 1979). American Indian history is full of numerous social policies that were employed

against American Indians, but probably the most relevant and detrimental were extermination, exclusion, assimilation, and self-determination (Nagel & Snipp, 1993; Edwards & Smith, 1979).

Various tactics were used to exterminate the indigenous people of North America, but the most effective and devastating means of extermination was disease (Edwards & Smith, 1979). Many of the diseases brought to the America by Europeans were foreign and nonexistent among American Indians. American Indians lacked the immunity to fight off these unknown diseases (Edwards & Smith, 1979). Many diseases were intentionally introduced to American Indians (smallpox) and as a result, greatly reduced the population of American Indians and even brought entire tribes to extinction (Nagel & Snipp, 1993).

Exclusion was another devastating social policy imposed by the United States government during the westward expansion. The goal of this policy was to forcefully remove and relocate entire tribes from their homelands to remote areas of land that were set aside. During the 1700s through the 1800s, the United States' population increased dramatically and many European Americans started to move onto land occupied by Indian tribes. As a result, competition for resources needed for survival ensued and friction between American Indians and European Americans increased (Edwards & Smith, 1979). Since more land was needed for expansion, U.S. officials decided it would be best for American Indians to be removed from their native lands to secluded and often desolate areas known as reservations (Edwards & Smith, 1979). After American Indians were removed from their homelands, the land became available for purchase or homesteading by European Americans (Edwards & Smith, 1979).

As soon as American Indians were moved to reservations, the social policy began to focus on assimilation. Federal officials, including most European Americans, believed as long as American Indians remained on their traditional lands and continued to live their way of life, they would never learn the ways of White society and, thus, would never become civilized (Edwards & Smith, 1979). The motive of this social policy was to assimilate American Indians by removing them from their land and showing them how to live like European Americans. Thus, the goal of the assimilation policy was to strip American Indians of their current lifestyle and force them to adopt the ways of White society (Edwards & Smith, 1979). American Indians were expected to become farmers (through the Dawes Act of 1887), even though many tribes lived a more nomadic lifestyle of hunting and gathering. Basically, the United States government set up American Indians for failure. Instead of making American Indians more civilized for White society, American Indians struggled to survive the difficult conditions of reservation life (Edwards & Smith, 1979).

Another method designed to assimilate American Indians was the boarding school system. The main objective of this policy was to educate American Indian children about White culture in a closed environment off the reservation (Edwards & Smith, 1979). American Indian children were forced to leave for boarding school at a young age. Once they arrived at the school, they were not allowed to speak their language or live according to their cultural traditions. Instead, they were taught to be ashamed of their heritage. American Indian children were also not allowed contact their families during their time at the boarding schools. As a result of this policy, many Indian children were adopted into White families.

By 1910, only about 200,000 American Indians remained in North America (Edwards & Smith, 1979). In 1953, the United States government passed a policy allowing the United States government to terminate tribes and all federal programs many American Indians had become dependent upon (Edwards & Smith, 1979). The tribes terminated failed miserably and by the early 1960's, the termination policy ended (Edwards & Smith, 1979). The next policy initiated and one still enforced today is the self-determination of tribes that are federally recognized. This policy's main focus is for tribes to have a special and working relationship with the federal government (established through individually signed treaties between tribes and the government) while being allowed to function as a distinct entity (Edwards & Smith, 1979). Therefore, tribes have their own constitution, laws, and government and oversee federal assisted programs (tribal programs funded by government money). Even though the current goal is self-determination of tribes, that is, for tribes to run successfully without the assistance of the federal government, this goal is far from being accomplished. American Indian tribes are currently still dependent on the Federal government for social and economic survival (Edwards & Smith, 1979).

As a result of social policies, American Indians were expected to be absorbed into mainstream society or gradually to disappear. However this did not occur. Today American Indian culture is still very much a part of their lifestyles. Most American Indian cultures did not vanish; instead, they evolved to include many adaptations and modifications to fit the changing times. Many of the 517 American Indian tribes existing today have maintained some of their traditional culture, including language (Herring, 1992). Tribal social and religious functions, structures, and ceremonies remain intact in

many American Indian communities, but are not practiced by all tribal members. About half of American Indians live on federal Indian reservations, with the remainder residing in urban areas and small off-reservation communities (Nelson, McCoy, & Vanderwagen, 1992). About half of American Indians are 18 years of age or younger (Nelson et al., 1992). At the end of the 19th century, it was believed American Indians and their cultures would cease to exist. Instead their numbers have increased. Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, and Robbins (1995) reported the growth rate of American Indians from 1980-1990 was higher than that of any other racial group in the United States. Thus, American Indians are the country's fastest growing ethnic group (Renfrey, 1992). This growth rate indicates that, although the number of American Indians is small at present, their population may eventually reach proportions of when the first European explorers made contact (Snipp, 1986).

American Indians are also among the most impoverished ethnic groups in the United States as a result of the historical trauma bestowed to them. The policies employed by the federal government led American Indians to depend on government services in order to survive. (Townsend, 1977). As a result of this dependency, American Indians are still struggling today. American Indian individuals and families in some parts of the country live without adequate nutrition, shelter, safe water supplies, or waste disposal facilities (Renfrey, 1992). Many American Indian communities are located in isolated and rugged areas, where the climate is often harsh, economic opportunities limited, and transportation to obtain services and basic necessities difficult to find (Nelson et al., 1992).

Contemporary American Indians face many health and social problems (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Walker & LaDue, 1986). American Indians appear to be at higher risk than other U.S. ethnic groups for mental problems, including depression, anxiety, substance abuse, domestic violence, and suicide (Nelson et al., 1992). In large part, these risks stem from the difficult life circumstances many American Indians face, including poverty, inadequate employment, and minimal educational opportunities (Renfrey, 1992). In addition, American Indian individuals and communities face racial discrimination, prejudice, continuous stereotyping, geographic isolation, and cultural identity conflicts brought on by the rapid changes of the dominant society (Renfrey, 1992). As a result of the destruction of traditional cultural values, practices, and means of material support, and the failure of the dominant culture to force full assimilation, many American Indians are caught between conflicting cultures (Garrett & Garrett, 1994). These resulting personal and interpersonal stressors are precipitating factors for American Indians to develop mental health problems (Townsley, 1977).

American Indians and Pathology

As might be expected from their historical experience and current socioeconomic status, American Indians, both adults and children, appear to suffer most commonly from depression (Walker & LaDue, 1986). It is generally believed depression among American Indians is widespread, but inaccurate testing instruments and differential abilities to identify affective states have led to difficulties in documenting the extent of depression in American Indians (Timpson, McKay, Kakegamic, Roundhead, Cohen, & Matewapit, 1988). Depressed feelings are frequently complicated by anxiety and the use of alcohol and other drugs. However, Bryon (1997) found the presence of an underlying

depressive experience independent of alcohol use among a sample of urban American Indians related to their level of cultural identification. Bicultural individuals were the least likely to be depressed, followed by the assimilated, traditional, and marginal groups, respectively. The combination of low self-esteem, substance abuse, and life frustrations also contribute to an increasing frequency of depression and violent behaviors in many American Indians (Nelson, McCoy, & Vanderwagen, 1992). Walker (2001) found American Indians sourced their depression to social causes and not to their own biologically based predispositions or diseases. Rather, the occurrences of psychosocial stressors that began in early life and continued into adulthood were described as major contributors to their experience of mood difficulties.

Few researchers have studied the prevalence of depression among American Indians. The more reliable studies include community-wide surveys of both healthy subjects and psychiatric patients (Shore & Manson, 1981). Other studies have evaluated mental health service records of American Indians who request or who are referred to clinics or hospitals. Records from Indian Health Service (IHS) hospitals/clinics on reservations found that 1/3 of American Indians who utilize mental health services have symptoms related to depression (Shore & Manson, 1981). Shore and Manson (1981) examined a study done on an Indian reservation in the Southwest. It was found that 1/3 of American Indians who utilize mental health services reported behavior and symptoms related to depression. Another study looking at a Northwestern tribe found that 30-40% of all mental health problems were directly related to a depressive behavior, with the majority of patients being female between the ages of 20-40 (Shore & Manson, 1981). Another study examining patient visits to an IHS clinic (not looking at mental health

services) found that depression is common among patients in a primary care clinic population (Wilson, Civic, & Glass, 1994). Of 106 patients sampled, 20.7% scored positive for a depressive syndrome, while 8.9% met criteria for major depressive disorder. The results of these analyses reveal there is a high prevalence of depression in American Indians who utilize services, but with American Indians underutilizing services, it can be assumed the prevalence of depression is higher than the numbers being reported (Shore & Manson, 1981).

Anxiety is another syndrome with high prevalence rates among American Indians and is often experienced along with depression (Walker, 2001). It is hypothesized both depression and anxiety in American Indians are not only caused by historical trauma, but also by acculturative stress and prejudicial victimization (Townesley, 1977). Byington (2001) examined bicultural involvement, psychological differentiation, and time perspective as mediators for depression and anxiety in American Indians on and off the reservation. Results found American Indians highly involved in both Native and Anglo cultures were less depressed than those with low involvement (particularly with American Indians living off the reservation). Off-reservation American Indians had clinical levels of depression, while those living on the reservation did not. Balancing both Anglo and Native cultures also resulted in less anxiety. Those who rejected their Native culture and took on the values of Anglos had the highest levels of anxiety both on and off the reservation, but higher levels for those on the reservation. Cotrell (1995) examined ethnic identity issues in individuals that were both Indian and European American. The researcher found the participants fell into two categorical groups: identity achievement and identity confusion, with some variations in psychological

functioning within categories. Major findings were: 1) identity development was a function of complex interactions of individual choice, socioeconomic status, social environment, sociohistorical context, parental emotional health and identity status, and parenting quality; 2) ethnic identity choice may involve psychological stress or trauma due to divided family loyalties and conflicting parental values and worldviews; and 3) ethnic identity status at a given developmental stage may be an outcome of multiple variables, marked by impaired self-esteem and a sense of coherence, as well as other emotional problems. Lester (1999) examined American Indian suicide rates, acculturation stress, and traditional integration. Results indicated suicide rates were positively associated with acculturation stress and negatively with traditional integration. These results suggest individuals who are experiencing stress due to acculturation issues such as going through an identity crisis (not identifying with either Native culture or Anglo culture) are at higher risk for depression and suicide. Those individuals who were more traditional in their Native ways were found to be at lower risk for suicide.

The Level of Acculturation of American Indians

Many times studies using American Indians fail to take into account the wide diversity among American Indian college students. They fail to control for acculturation among the participants such as the degree of assimilation (degree to which dominant group values have been adopted/adapted) and traditionalism (degree to which traditional cultural values have been retained). Studies instead tend to generalize their results to all American Indians by lumping them together as one homogenous group.

Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, Robbins (1995) define racial identity as the combination of reference group orientation, ascribed identity, and personal identity. Using this

definition, the development of an Indian racial identity can be linked to the concept of Indianness. Specific tribal customs and traditions reflecting attitudes and beliefs help tribal members define Indianness for their particular group. However, those American Indians that do remain on the reservation or in rural areas tend to have different cultural values from those who experience societal influences. The influences of lifestyle (rural, reservation, urban), missionary efforts, and a primary identification with the tribe over the racial group make speaking of racial identity for American Indian people difficult at best (Choney et al, 1995). Also, as a result of the above influences and history of federal Indian policy, American Indians may have varying levels to which they identify with their culture. That is, some individuals may have varying degrees to which they identify with their Indianness, or whether they identify with Indianness at all.

LaFromboise, Trimble, and Mohatt (1990) describe four solutions to a group identity dilemma or crisis that results from willingness or unwillingness to be assimilated by the dominant society and/or to retain a traditional cultural identity. These include retention of the Traditional culture, identification with the dominant European American culture or Assimilation, identification with both cultures (Biculturalism) and Marginality which describes an individual who rejects segments of both the Traditional and the dominant society cultures. Dana (1993) describes a possible fifth orientation, which could be characteristic of American Indians called Transitional, which can be said to describe American Indians who are bilingual but who question their traditional culture and values.

The Effect of Biculturalism

According to the Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism (Oetting and Beauvais, 1991), American Indians who identify highly with American Indian culture and low with European American culture, are identified as being Traditional. American Indians who identify highly with European American culture and low with American Indian culture are identified as Assimilated. American Indians who identify highly with both American Indian culture and European American culture are considered to be Bicultural. Finally, American Indians that identify low with both American Indian culture and European American culture are identified as being Marginal.

The Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism (Oetting and Beauvais, 1991) also suggests that the more culturally competent a person is in both the native and majority cultures, the more successful and well adjusted that individual will be. A high level of knowledge and practice pertaining to the values, beliefs, and customs of an individual's culture distinguishes culturally competent individuals. Highly bicultural individuals also display a strong sense of identification, participation in cultural activities, good communication skills, and knowledge about cultural norms and customs in both cultures (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). The key to psychological well-being in American Indians may be the ability to develop and maintain competence in both cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993). See Appendix F for a visual figure of the Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism.

An Examination of American Indian Stereotyping

Nearly everyone has some kind of image of an American Indian whether they have had contact with an American Indian or not. An individual's image may vary

according to his or her experiences with American Indians. Images often range from American Indians as they were 200 years ago to visualizations of contemporary Indians living in today's society. These images may vary from accurate to stereotypical. Today's society tends to view American Indians as "quaint artifacts" and many times expect American Indians to conform to the stereotype of the Indian of the past (Zakhar, 1987, p. 24). Much of the misleading and inaccurate imagery derives from stereotypic portrayals of American Indians in comic books, film, literature, history books, television, and as mascots for various types of athletic teams (Trimble, 1988). Hansen & Rouse (1987) examined American Indian stereotypes and found that American Indian stereotypes appear to be multidimensional. American Indian stereotypes can refer to an array of characterizations, which include culture, history, physical appearance, status, psychological makeup, motivation, and capabilities (Hansen & Rouse, 1987).

Probably the most common and the earliest depictions of American Indians were that of the "noble savage" and the "blood-thirsty savage" (Trimble, 1988). The noble savage was the image of the good Indian who was "friendly, courteous, and hospitable" (Trimble, 1988). The noble Indian lived in peace with nature, was untamed, modest, and dignified, "brave in combat, and was tender in love for family and children" (Trimble, 1988, p. 182). In essence, the noble Indian lived a life of simplicity and innocence (Trimble, 1988, p. 182). On the other end of the continuum was the "blood-thirsty" savage who was ravenous, evil, sneaky, aggressive, and animal-like (Hansen & Rouse, 1987). The bad Indian was viewed as being outside the bounds of civilization, deficient and incapable of acquiring the so-called positive traits of European American society

(Hansen and Rouse, 1987). These two depictions of American Indians have been seen in all different mediums that contribute to American Indian stereotyping.

One of the most common mediums contributing to American Indian stereotypes is the film and television industry. Many films and television series have been produced creating and perpetuating many negative stereotypic images of American Indians. These films portray a version of American Indian culture and history that seems biased, distorted, and unflattering. Many of the earliest depictions of American Indians can be seen in classic Western movies (Aleiss, 1995; Trimble, 1988). These movies tended to focus on the friction between American Indians and European American settlers or American Indians and the United States Calvary. The movies were based on the non-Indian point of view. The most common image of the American Indian used was of the bad Indian. American Indians were depicted as cruel, ruthless, uncivilized, aggressive, hostile killers (Churchill, Hill, & Hill, 1978). They often displayed American Indians as going on "war parties," raiding non-Indians, killing them, and taking their scalps (Aleiss, 1995; Trimble, 1988). Plains Indians were the most common American Indians portrayed in these early movies (Churchill et al., 1978). Some of the stereotypes depicted in these early films showed American Indians using nonverbal communication (smoke signals, birdcalls, hand gestures, beating drums), speaking broken English, wearing turkey feathers to represent eagle feathers, wearing face paint at all times, wearing war bonnets all the time, using bow and arrows, using tomahawks, and smoking peace pipes (Churchill et al., 1978; Trimble, 1988). There were some films that did show the Indian as a good guy, but these Indians were still seen as lesser and were often a scout, a helper, or a sidekick to the non-Indian (Trimble, 1988). What is probably most disturbing about

these early movies is the actors who portrayed American Indians were non-Indians who were many times painted brown or red and wore black wigs to "look Indian" (Churchill et al., 1978). The endings of many of these movies showed American Indians as being defeated and vanishing, sending a strong message to viewers that American Indians ceased to exist (Aleiss, 1995; Churchill et al, 1978).

Shortly after World War II, films that focused on American Indians began to portray them in a more favorable view. However, these movies still continued to stereotype American Indians as the good Indian or the noble savage. Edgerton (1994) analyzed the movie, *The Last of the Mohicans*, which is based on the James Fenimore Cooper's novel, to see if American Indians were still portrayed in a stereotyped fashion. Edgerton (1994) found there were many stereotypes endorsed in the movie, such as the images of the good Indian and bad Indian. The noble Indian in the movie was only half Indian and was played by a Caucasian actor. His sidekicks were also seen in a noble fashion possessing brave, stoic, sensitive, and one-with-nature qualities. The villainous Indian was shown as savage, brutal, barbaric, and animal-like. Edgerton's conclusion about the movie was that, when examining good and bad character traits, there was a composite that was biased, distorted, and contradicting which is often associated with ethnic and racial stereotyping.

Probably the most surprising medium that has contributed to American Indian stereotyping are those stereotypes present in literature, novels, and textbooks used in history classes across the United States (ranging from elementary school to college). Because of the seriousness of this and the importance of educating United States students about accurate depictions of history, analyses have been done that examined popular

history textbooks and novels used in American classrooms. A 1975 analysis of textbooks found many of the books commonly used were built on images of the noble Indian and the hostile, warring savage (Trimble, 1988). In another analysis reported by Trimble (1988), it was found American Indians were described as noble savages when helping non-Indians and "treacherous or filthy savages" when fighting against non-Indians (p. 189).

The American Indian Historical Society (AIHS) conducted a comprehensive review of more than 300 books related to history and culture used in schools across the United States (Hansen & Rouse, 1987; Trimble, 1988). It was found there were frequent references commonly used across books that described American Indians such as primitive, degraded, filthy, warlike, savage, hostile, fugitives, runaway slaves, riffraff, and bold (Trimble, 1988). Books reviewed were found to contain inaccurate information, distortions, biased wording, omissions of events in American Indian history, and were unfavorable and derogatory towards American Indians. The reviewers concluded not one book could be considered a reliable or accurate source of American Indian history and culture.

Literature Examining American Indian Stereotypes

In the 1970s, Trimble (1988) did three separate studies to examine whether or not differences occurred in stereotypical traits over a seven-year period. He designed this study utilizing both American Indians and non-Indian college students. Each group was asked to record as many words as possible to describe American Indians. At the completion of this study, a 38-word list was derived. Trimble (1988) then recruited a second group of students who were given the 38 traits and from this they were asked to

choose 15 words and rank them from one to fifteen, one being most typical and fifteen being the least typical.

In the first study done in 1970, non-Indians rated the words differently from their American Indian counterparts and tended to rate American Indians in a more stereotypical manner. Interestingly, the non-Indian participants viewed American Indians as being suspicious, ignorant, lazy, distrustful, drunkards, and proud. The American Indians, on the other hand, saw themselves as being defeated, mistreated, quiet, and also as drunkards, and proud (Trimble, 1988).

In 1973, the same list of traits was again utilized in another group of participants. Only this time, they were not only asked to rank the traits, but were also told they could add more traits if they chose to. This time non-Indians envisioned American Indians to be defeated, drunkards, ignored, mistreated, and poor. American Indians saw themselves as being ignored, mistreated, faithful, and proud (Trimble, 1988).

The third study, done in 1976, concluded non-Indians saw American Indians not only as being mistreated and militant, but also as native and stubborn. American Indians on the other hand ranked themselves as also being militant and native, but also ignored and faithful. Traits like artistic, defeated, drunkards, lazy, mistreated, and shy tended to carry over in all three studies. The conclusions of these studies suggest individual groups tended to change their stereotypical view of American Indians over time. However, certain stereotypic traits haven't changed and still remain to this day (Trimble, 1988).

Another study by Hansen and Rouse (1987) looked at stereotyping of American Indians, but this time, utilized 226 college students who were enrolled in a sociology and anthropology course at a large southwestern university. The students were of different

ethnic backgrounds with 75% White, 9% Black, 7% Hispanic, and 1.3% American Indian. The study was composed of three separate components. In the first component, the students were presented with 20 concepts that were specifically formulated to elicit responses concerning cultural and personal stereotypes. These concepts consisted of word pairs and each participant had to select word pairs they felt most represented American Indians. The second component of the study queried the participant's knowledge and exposure of American Indians. The final component of the study contained a 40-item opinion and knowledge survey regarding American Indians. The concepts component of the study revealed that traditional cultural stereotypic traits such as simple, primitive, warlike, and hunters were not seen by all participants. More participants viewed American Indians as in the past, and as being more traditional. Interestingly, when personal stereotypes regarding American Indians were revealed, the majority of the participants viewed American Indians in a positive way, seeing them as strong, hardworking, and patriotic instead of viewing them in a negative manner as might be expected. They also rejected homogenous grouping of American Indians in favor of a more heterogenous population. The study found that most of the participants derived their information about American Indians from movies, television, and books and also believed American Indians should be bicultural. The researchers also concluded that using anthropology students might have limited the study because these students may have been more exposed to multicultural differences, while the other participants from the sociology course may not have been.

The Invention of Indian Mascots, Nicknames, and Logos

Many American Indian mascots, nicknames, and logos were adopted by high schools, colleges/universities, and professional sports teams at a time when American Indian people had little political power, rights, and were not very respected as a result of the United States enforcement of federal Indian policies (Davis, 1993). During this time, American Indians were struggling with reservation life or trying to adapt to a new way of life that prohibited them from freely expressing their Indianness-that is, American Indians were prohibited from freely practicing their traditional lifestyle, which included traditional dancing, ceremonies, language, or anything else that had to do with being identified as Indian (King & Springwood, 2001).

European American individuals and institutions initially imagined themselves as American Indians for numerous reasons. Whereas some institutions had historically defined themselves through a specific relationship with Native Americans, more commonly, especially at public universities, regional histories and traces of the Native nations that had formerly occupied the state inspired students, coaches, and administrators to adopt Indian mascots (King & Springwood, 2001). Elsewhere, elaborations of a historical accident, coincidence, or circumstance seem to account for the beginnings of "playing Indian" (pretending to be authentic American Indians). Whatever the specific origins of Indian mascots, European Americans were able to fabricate Native Americans as mascots precisely because of prevailing sociohistorical conditions. That is, a set of social relations and cultural categories made it possible, pleasurable, and powerful for European Americans to incorporate images of American Indians in athletic contexts (King & Springwood, 2001). European Americans have always fashioned

individual and collective identities for themselves by “playing Indian.” American Indian mascots were an extension of this tradition. The conquest of American Indians concurrently gave power to European Americans to invent, otherwise represent American Indians, and to long for aspects of their culture. The manufacturing of Indianness in spectacles and exhibitions offered guides for elaborations in sporting contexts (King & Springwood, 2001).

American Indians as Athletic Team Nicknames, Logos, and Mascots

American Indians are frequently used as nicknames, logos, and mascots for athletic teams throughout the United States, although names like the Eagles, Tigers, and Cougars are the most popular (Nuessal, 1994). Names like the Warriors and the Indians, however, are listed in the top ten of most popular nicknames used (Nuessal, 1994). Franks (1982) showed that the nickname Eagles was the most popular among colleges and universities; however, if American Indian nicknames were combined, they would outnumber the nickname Eagles. Examples of frequently used names were the Indians, Redman, Warriors, Savages, Braves, and Chiefs (Nuessal, 1994). The generic name Warrior, which can be depicted as other ethnicities, most often is depicted as an American Indian either as a caricature or symbol (Nuessal, 1994). Nicknames can also refer to whole Indian nations such as the Illini, Chippewas, Black Hawks, Sioux, and Hurons (Nuessal, 1994). Although American Indians as well as other groups have protested the use of any American Indian references for athletic teams, these nicknames still remain a popular part of American culture.

Stereotypes Derived From Indian Mascots

Stereotypes derived from the utilization of colleges and universities depicting American Indians as logos and mascots often misrepresent the true culture of American Indians. Since these symbols are highly visible and are often taken seriously, they can project certain inaccuracies, such as the mascot Chief Illiniwek of the University of Illinois doing his “authentic” Native dance when, in fact, it is far from any type of American Indian dance that exists. Usually, athletic teams tend to choose names that depict qualities that embrace strength and dominance. Most often these nicknames, logos, and mascots are represented by objects, animals, people (Irish, American Indians), occupations, and natural phenomena and are associated with negative and positive qualities that focus on defeating an opponent. Traits such as bravery, courage, strength, and endurance are depicted as positive while brutality, rage, fury, and destructiveness are considered to be negative traits (Nuessal, 1994). Fuller and Manning (1987) concluded that teams having American Indians as nicknames, tended to identify with these traits. Nuessel (1994) referring to American Indian nicknames reported that the “traditional image of American Indians in the print and non-print media depicts the indigenous population as brutal, savage, inhumane, and uncivilized” (p. 109).

Nonverbal behavior is another nuance that arises from the use of American Indians nicknames, logos, and mascots. A prime example of this is the “tomahawk chop” (Nuessal, 1994). Other degrading behaviors are the utilization by fans of plastic tomahawks, turkey feather headdresses, and face paint. (Nuessal, 1994). Indian people find this behavior to be degrading because it depicts a “cartoon-like” view of a real

people and pokes fun at their lifestyle and culture. It is not only demeaning, but it insults and disrespects the use of ceremonial objects that American Indian tribes consider sacred.

One of the most offensive mascots used and one that has already had brief mention is Chief Illiniwek of the University of Illinois. Nuessal (1994) states that "this derogatory, stereotypic personification of an American Indian, always interpreted by a white male, often employs facial kinesic gestures (menacing waves of a tomahawk, war dances), and paralinguistic utterances (war whoops) to mimic an American Indian chief" (p.109). Despite this stereotypical behavior which degrades the very culture of American Indians, the university officials condone this behavior and maintain that Chief Illiniwek is "authentic" and "honors" American Indians (Slowikowski, 1993). University officials also maintain their mascot's "costume" was handmade by American Indians and his dance is authentic. They are quoted as saying "the chief is not an invention, mascot, or caricature, or sacrilegious, but an honorable, authentic reproduction" (Slowikowski, 1993, p.26). However, according to Slowikowski (1993), Chief Illiniwek was never a member of any tribe and his dance is not bona fide by any means.

Differences of Opinions

During the 1991 and 1992 Super Bowl and World Series, American Indians protested against the use of American Indian mascots. This prompted Davis (1993) to study the implications of this along with analyzing the media coverage given to the protests. Davis (1993) also reviewed transcripts of interviews done with a few of the American Indian leaders of the protests. Davis (1993) then codified a list of arguments for and against the use of American Indians as nicknames, logos, and mascots. One of the reasons for opposing the use of American Indians as nicknames, logos, and mascots is

the paraphernalia surrounding their usage. Their use condones stereotypical behavior and promotes racism. A common idea is American Indians can be depicted as "bloodthirsty savages," which often misrepresents American Indian as being a wild, aggressive entity (Davis, 1993). This belief falsifies the true image of American Indians as being aggressors rather than seeing them as individuals who had to defend themselves from the European colonization in order to try to preserve their culture and homelands. Another argument amongst the activists is the continued use of American Indian nicknames, logos, and mascots focuses on a historical image of American Indians rather than on contemporary American Indians as they exist in today's society. The activists, according to Davis (1993), believe that if society focused on the modern-day lifestyle of American Indians rather than their historical lifestyle, serious arguments would be made that challenge the depicted stereotypes and would show evidence of past oppression. Most disparaging of American Indian mascots is that they continue to ignore the multicultural diversity of American Indians. They tend to group American Indians as one people rather than diverse distinctive nations. When this happens, it creates a false impression that American Indians are all the same, which results in a fabricated image of American Indians as having no distinct identity and, therefore, promotes stereotypical ideations. Most mascots are the creations of the individual sport team rather than factual representations of individual tribes they are supposed to portray. Slowikowski (1993) calls this phenomenon "imperialist nostalgia" which is defined as a yearning for the past that is no longer present, or never was present, for something destroyed by those nostalgically wishing for that which was destroyed. Another offensive stereotype is the misuse of sacred objects and rituals by the mascots and their fans. For example,

American Indian mascots often wear native regalia and war bonnets which have cultural and religious significance without recognizing the offensive nature of their acts (Davis, 1993). The last argument and probably the most damaging, is these depictions of disgrace not only influence the self-image and esteem of young American Indian children, but also affect American Indian adults of all ages including college students who are transitioning to college life and majority culture (LaRocque, 2001; Davis, 1993).

Davis (1993) found various arguments for the continued utilization of American Indians as nicknames, logos, and mascots. One view held by proponents is the honor and tribute the mascot brings to American Indians, because of the long held belief that this depiction emulates bravery, strength, perseverance, and pride. Another common view is American Indian nicknames, logos, and mascots are not intended to be offensive and not all American Indians object to their use. Arguments are made other ethnic groups, such as Norwegians and the Irish, are depicted as sports mascots, but these people find it rewarding rather than offensive. Another justification utilized by proponents is that as long as they support and believe they are honoring American Indians, they should be allowed to use American Indians as mascots. The last but not least argument for the continued use of American Indian nicknames, logos, and mascots is the belief Indian mascots represent a longstanding tradition and identity that has become embedded in American society (Pewewardy, 2001).

Literature on American Indian Mascots

An independent study by Sigelman (1998) on the Washington Redskins football team measured public opinion of the use of the name "Redskins" for their professional football team. Two telephone surveys were conducted, one locally (N=1244) and one

nationally (N=810). Both groups were given the same questions. Results revealed few surveyed saw the need to discontinue the use of the "Redskins" name. However amongst the ethnic minorities, educated people, and individuals not fans of the Redskins' football team were more supportive of a name change. The Washington Redskins' management team defended their nickname by claiming the name exemplifies such traits as dedication, courage, and pride, which were positive attributes of the American Indian (Sigelman, 1998). Supporters of the name had similar ideals, which were felt to be positive of American Indians, such as wisdom, spirituality, and bravery. Sigelman (1998) concluded from the results of this survey that supporters failed to realize their depictions as racial stereotyping or if, they did, they chose to ignore it.

Another study was done in Cleveland, Ohio, by Fenelon (1999) regarding the Cleveland Indians' baseball team's use of the mascot "Chief Wahoo." A survey collected data by asking people their views of Wahoo and his continued use as a mascot, which depicts an American Indian painted red with an oversized grin, shifty eyes, large teeth and nose, adorned with a headband and feather on his head (Fenelon, 1999). Surprisingly, the results revealed a distinctive split among ethnic groups. Whites wanted to keep the logo at all costs despite protests by American Indian groups. Blacks on the other hand remained neutral, but the American Indians surveyed wanted a change. Over 50% of the Whites thought Wahoo was not offensive and did not empathize with the way American Indians felt about him. They also did not think the logo was stereotypical or racist.

Recent Trends

Progress has been made over the last few years among schools, colleges, and universities regarding the use of American Indian nicknames, logos, and mascots. Some have changed their nickname, logo, and mascot or are in the process of changing (Nuessal, 1994; Fuller & Manning, 1987). In 1972, a number of educational institutions reevaluated their use of the American Indian as a symbol, including two prominent universities, Stanford University and Dartmouth College (Fuller and Manning, 1987). At both colleges, American Indian students were successful in getting their school nickname changed, which, at the time, were the "Indians." American Indian students at Dartmouth College maintained that the name "Indians" was an "offensive distortion of Indian culture and history that was sometimes sacrilegious" (Fuller and Manning, 1987, p. 61). The stereotypical image projected by the mascot perpetuated a negative distortion of the American Indian, and so Dartmouth decided it was best to change their sport teams' nickname.

Other recent trends include reviewing the potential adverse effects of American Indian nicknames, mascots, and logos. Students and Teachers Advocating Respect (STAR) (2001) compiled a binder of essays, studies, articles, and various assorted writings related to the use of American Indians as mascots. They conclude the purpose of the collection was to reveal how the lifestyles, the dissolution of culture, and the low self-esteem of children that is carried through adulthood are directly associated with Indian sport mascots. Many times Indian children constantly see themselves being stereotyped and their cultures being disgraced. These children may grow up to be adults who feel and act like they are inferior to other people. Because racial stereotypes play an important

role in shaping a young person's consciousness, these misconstrued images and behaviors make a mockery of Indian culture and cause many American Indian children to feel shame about their cultural identity.

Many mental health organizations have hurried to support the elimination of American Indians nicknames, logos, and mascots by drafting statements. These statements condemned the presence of ethnic images as psychologically destructive to the minds of American Indian children. The Society of Indian Psychologists (SIP) (1999) has also expressed their concern with the use of American Indians as mascots and released a statement in support of discontinuing American Indian mascots due to the adverse effects American Indians have experienced as a result of American Indian mascots. SIP also compiled a list of psychological considerations that need to be examined in relation to the use of American Indian mascots-mainly, the effects of the dehumanization of Indian mascots and the difficulty in institutions recognizing the discriminatory and racial practices of using American Indian mascots.

Professional organizations have also passed resolutions in support of eliminating American Indian nicknames, logos, and mascots, which include the National Indian Education Association (NIEA), National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) (Pewewardy, 2002). Basically, this represents the critical mass of Indian educational associations and tribal governments that have either passed resolutions or gone on record as wanting to eliminate Indian nicknames, logos, and mascots.

Effects of Stereotyping, Discrimination, Prejudice and Racism

There is a paucity of research that has been done examining the effects of American Indian stereotypes, let alone the effects of American Indians as mascots. There is even less research on the role racial prejudice plays from stereotyping as a barrier in the American Indian educational experience. Racism directed toward American Indian college students has received very little attention. The clash of cultures has been noted to produce a unique sort of stress, acculturative stress that is accompanied by physiological discomfort as an individual moves across cultures (Choney et al., 1995). This discomfort may manifest itself in a variety of psychological as well as physical problems. One of the most blatant examples of threat to personal integrity is the forced acculturation, racism, and discrimination continually experienced by American Indians in the United States (Choney et al., 1995). Zakhar (1987) devised a study examining the experiences of American Indians involved in higher education at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Data collection included the use of surveys, interviews, observations, and archival resources. Zakhar (1987) concluded that American Indian students were subjected to stereotyping and racism from the beginning of their elementary education and throughout their college years. The students not only confronted racism on a personal level, but also on an institutional level as well. They also experienced indirect racism throughout college. These different types of racism inflicted emotional and academic hardship on those who were subjected to this racism. This conclusion demonstrates the reality and experience of American Indians at urban universities, where they are often the minority.

Another study examining American Indian's college experiences was done by Huffman (1991) at a small Midwestern university utilizing Northern Plains American Indian college students as participants. A questionnaire along with in-depth interviews was used among American Indian college students designed to collect information regarding cultural, social, economic, academic, and financial problems. Forty-eight students completed the questionnaire, with only 22 of them participating in the in-depth interviews. The interviews were meant to gain insight into the subjective thoughts and views of the college students' experiences, incorporating information regarding cultural conflict, personal relationships with peers, both Indian and non-Indian, evaluation of their ups and downs since they started college, and any major problems they may have encountered during their college years. Huffman (1991) also examined the participants' acculturation status. Huffman (1991) classified Estranged students as those who felt Indian values were more important than attaining a college education and would quit college rather than risk losing their values. Assimilated students on the other hand, did not hold Indian values, but adopted the values of the dominant culture. Marginal students were those who thought Indian values to be important, but deemed obtaining a college education as being more crucial. Marginal students also often adopted a lifestyle similar to that of non-Indians. Transcultural students held both Indian values and non-Indian values and adapted to both Indian and non-Indian cultures as needed. Huffman (1991) found that the most prevalent type of racism experienced by American Indians participants came in the form of verbal harassment. Interestingly, assimilated students did not report incidences of campus racism, whereas the other groups did report acts of racism. Huffman (1991) surmised that American Indian students who held their

traditional Indian values were more sensitive to racial connotations. A wide variety of racial remarks were encountered by the participants who reported racist remarks ranging from derogatory comments toward American Indians in general to that of being specific to the individual accosted. However, most remarks appeared to be generalized rather than specific. The most frequent verbal racism came in the form of name-calling and racial slurs stemming from common stereotypes held by most non-Indians. Most commonly, an Indian student's encounter with racism was caused by other non-Indian students attending the university. Sixteen of the twenty-two interviewed, viewed the campus setting as a hostile and violent environment. They confided about feeling unwanted and thought of themselves as being considered outsiders by their fellow college counterparts. They also felt isolated and wanted to leave college, returning to the comfort of their home communities and families instead of enduring the racism they encountered.

The University of North Dakota Nickname and Logo Conflict

The University of North Dakota was not always known as the "Fighting Sioux." Previous to 1930, its nickname was the "Flickertails." This name apparently did not instill any fear into their opponents at sporting events; therefore, a new nickname was needed and thus the university decided to choose the name the "Fighting Sioux." For the next forty years not much attention was given to the university's nickname and logo. In the early 1970's, questions began arising about the appropriateness of the Sioux name and logo. Students and others organized numerous protests against the use of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname because they felt the moniker and logo to be offensive, dehumanizing, and stereotypical.

Several discriminatory events have also occurred on campus, which appear to be directly linked to the nickname and logo. Some opinion surveys have been done asking students, faculty, staff, and alumni whether or not the university should keep its nickname. Of all the surveys conducted, the majority of students and alumni elected to keep the name and logo, whereas the American Indian students and faculty on campus wanted a name change. Recently, debates have occurred looking at the issue to help decide whether or not the university should promote cultural diversity and sensitivity towards American Indian students on campus and continue enforcing policies regarding these matters. Controversy still remains over the use of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo. The North Dakota State Board of Higher Education overruled the current president's power to make a decision about whether or not to keep the name and logo. The board decided to retain the "Fighting Sioux" moniker as well as adopt a newly designed logo similar to the one used by the Chicago Black Hawk's Hockey team. Interestingly, this logo is not an accurate representation of the Sioux nation, but is instead a generic icon used by UND athletic teams since they adopted the Sioux nickname. See Appendix by Vorland (2000) for more information regarding the controversy of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo.

Examining the Effects of the "Fighting Sioux" Nickname and Logo

From the above discussion of American Indian students' college experiences, it could only be imagined what it must be like for an American Indian student attending a university or college that uses an image of an American Indian for a nickname, logo, or mascot, where potentially the mascot can lead the way for implicit or overt racism toward American Indian students and American Indians in general.

LaRocque (2001) conducted a study examining the differences between non-Indian and Indian college students' attitudes, beliefs, and reactions to the Fighting Sioux nickname and logo at the University of North Dakota. The sample consisted of 60 American Indian college students and 61 non-Indian college students. All participants were given a 21-item survey that asked for opinions and reactions regarding the "Fighting Sioux" logo and nickname. American Indian participants were also given the Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory (NPBI) in order to identify acculturation status of these students and to further examine if there were differences in attitudes and reactions between traditional and assimilated students.

Results revealed that American Indian students and non-Indian students viewed the issue quite differently. American Indian students felt that the "Fighting Sioux" nickname did not honor the University of North Dakota or the Sioux people, that the nickname was used in a disrespectful manner, that it should be changed if it offends some American Indians, and that the University of North Dakota should abide by Sioux tribal councils' requests and change the athletic team nickname. They also thought that, historically and recently, there has been an atmosphere at the University of North Dakota that promotes discrimination against American Indians, that the nickname perpetuates discrimination against American Indians, and that they have experienced discrimination because of their cultural affiliation. They also did not attend athletic events because of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and other related issues. American Indian participants also believed that dropping the name would have an overall positive effect on how the University of North Dakota is perceived nationally. Probably the most crucial findings were that American Indian participants felt that their personal safety was threatened at

University of North Dakota due to their cultural affiliation and the nickname controversy, that cultural clashes resulting from the nickname controversy have resulted in an atmosphere of tension in their classes at the University of North Dakota, and finally, that they have experienced greater levels of stress/tension resulting from the nickname issue because of their cultural affiliation.

There were also interesting differences revealed between traditional American Indian students and assimilated American Indian students. Traditional American Indian participants overwhelmingly supported a name and logo change and held attitudes, beliefs, and reactions that viewed the use of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo in a negative manner. Interestingly, assimilated American Indians also tended to oppose the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo, but did not oppose it as strongly as the traditional participants. It was thought that the assimilated participants would view the nickname and the surrounding issue in ways similar to the non-Indian participants.

These results indicate that American Indian students (including assimilated American Indians) want the nickname to be changed and are being significantly affected by the nickname controversy in their classes and in their personal lives. Non-Indians, on the other hand, felt the opposite on the above items. They were in support of its continued use and were not being affected by the "Fighting Sioux" nickname controversy. What is most important about these findings is that American Indian students at the University of North Dakota were found to be adversely affected by the Indian logo and nickname by feeling that their personal safety is threatened, experiencing discrimination, and experiencing higher levels of stress and tension.

More recently, Jollie-Trottier (2002) examined differences between American Indian and Caucasian college students in level of sport fan identification and sport fan motivation at the University of North Dakota. A question also regarding the opinion of whether or not the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo should be changed was asked. The sample consisted of 90 Caucasians and 57 American Indians attending the University of North Dakota. Results found that the Caucasian participants highly identified with the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and were more likely to attend sporting events, especially hockey. American Indian participants, on the other hand, did not identify with the nickname and were not likely to attend sporting events at the University of North Dakota. Many of the American Indian students reported that they were sport fans, but did not attend games because of the logo and nickname. They also reported that they thought the "Fighting Sioux" nickname was encouraging racism. As was expected, American Indian participants also overwhelmingly supported a name and logo change, whereas non-Indian participants were unsupportive of a name and logo change. It would be interesting to find how other American Indian students feel and are being affected around the country due to their schools Indian mascot, logo, or nickname. It could only be speculated that their experiences would be quite similar to the LaRocque (2001) and Jollie-Trottier (2002) findings.

European American and American Indian Alliances Toward the Use of American Indian Mascots

When examining the history of American Indians used as mascots, logos, and nicknames by various universities and professional athletics, there have been numerous instances where American Indians joined alliances with non-Indians in support of the use of American Indian mascots. This is an interesting note, because it opens the question as

to why an American Indian would want to support the use of Indian mascots when it seems clear that non-Indian supporters have different reasons for supporting the name than Indian supporters (Springwood, 2001). One possible explanation could be differences in cultural identity of American Indians. Cultural identity is constructed along multiple planes of existence, and one cannot really speak of a Native American identity in a singular way (Springwood, 2001). The variables of education, class, age, gender, and geography all had an impact on the contrasting orientations that exist among American Indians today. The degree to which an American Indian identified with their Indianness depended on their historical, cultural, and socioeconomic location within society. As a result, some American Indians, perhaps those that are more marginalized, have chosen to perform versions of their ethnic identity that rely very much on the prevailing, stereotypical understanding of cultural difference and “playing Indian” produced by European Americans (Springwood, 2001). Another explanation could be that some American Indians might somehow playfully manipulate the existing images of Indian people for their own benefit and recognition. Many American Indians have experienced limited opportunities to be heard, represented, and acknowledged in public. So, when they are asked to become members of an alliance, some see this as an opportunity to be heard and recognized (Springwood, 2001). Other times, American Indians oppose the discontinuation of American Indians as mascots, because they think that the discontinuation of American Indian mascots will somehow make the general public think that American Indians cease to exist in today’s world (Springwood, 2001). Although it is easy to theorize and speculate as to why American Indians may support American Indian mascots, no research study to date has examined this phenomenon.

Final Thoughts

Despite recent controversies between American Indians and European Americans regarding American Indian mascots used by athletic teams and the efforts put forth to discontinue their use, many athletic teams still continue to use American Indians as mascots, nicknames, and logos. American Indians are the only ethnic minority group that is portrayed as a mascot, nickname, and logo. Because American Indians are an ethnic minority group, is most likely the main reason why American Indians are not being heard and continue to be used as mascots by the majority culture. American Indian mascots have become so institutionalized in today's society that many people who support American Indian mascots fail to see their stereotypical nature and the racism associated with their use (Springwood, 2001). It is as if this whole issue is regarded in the same way European Americans have always handled their affairs with American Indians throughout history. European Americans still hold the power to control American Indians and to tell American Indians what is best for them (Trimble, 1988). Although there have been some improvements in the discontinuation of American Indian mascots, the issue is far from being resolved, especially when many European Americans that are supporters of the American Indian mascot consider the mascot as part of their identity (Springwood, 2001). Pewewardy (2001) has suggested that educators can play an important role in promoting truth and awareness of the American Indian mascot experience. Educators can help in alleviating the American Indian stereotypes that have been so deeply embedded in our society and instead promote a more accurate portrait of American Indians-that American Indians do exist in contemporary society, that American Indians represent a diverse number of cultures, that the federal government played a major role in controlling the

future existence of American Indians, and most importantly, how American Indians are being effected by the continued use of American Indian mascots (Pewewardy, 2001).

After examining the issue and hopefully gaining a better understanding of the complicated issue of American Indian mascots and their continued use, it becomes clear there is no easy solution to this issue that would please all sides involved. However, the issue boils down to a group of people indigenous to the United States that has survived cultural oppression by the majority culture, has had to put up with continuous stereotypes that have lead to discrimination, prejudice, and racism, and as a result, is being adversely affected. Today, many "American Indians are asking for the right to be 'Indian' in a society that has not generally 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 Indians for centuries and permit them (Indians) to be themselves" (Edwards & Smith, 1979, p. 63).

Purpose and Study Hypotheses

The purpose of the study was to investigate to what extent, if any, the "Fighting Sioux" Nickname and Logo affects American Indian and Majority Culture college students emotionally. This study compared American Indian and Majority Culture students' differences of emotional reactions and distress to two different slide presentations using images of the "Fighting Sioux" Nickname/Logo found around the campus of the University of North Dakota. The main focus of was to examine the possible psychological effects of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo issue on American Indian and Majority Culture college students. Using the Multiple Affect Adjective Checklist-Revised (MAACL-R) to measure the level and type of psychological distress,

the hypotheses of the current study were: 1) American Indians will have more negative affect as a result of viewing Neutral images of the "Fighting Sioux" Nickname/logo than Majority Culture participants, and 2) Majority Culture participants will experience more negative affect as a result of viewing the Controversial images of the "Fighting Sioux" Nickname/logo than American Indian participants. When examining overall scores of the "Fighting Sioux" Nickname/logo Distress scale, another hypothesis of the current study is that American Indian participants as a group will have higher scores of psychological distress than non-Indian participants. The Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991) was also utilized to examine how the issue affects bicultural, traditional, marginal, and assimilated American Indian students. Using the Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory (NPBI) to identify cultural identification additional hypotheses are: 1) American Indian participants that are more traditional in cultural affiliation score higher on psychological distress than assimilated American Indians and 2) Traditional American Indian participants will have higher scores of negative affect than Assimilated participants after viewing the Neutral images.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Participants consisted of 33 Majority Culture, 33 American Indian college students in attendance at the University of North Dakota. Participants were not screened for age, tribal affiliation, or any other demographic variables.

Materials

The research packet utilized in the study consisted of: a) an informed consent form, b) a demographic questionnaire, c) Three Multiple Affect Adjective Checklists-Revised (MAACL-R), and d) the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale. The American Indian participants were also administered the Northern Plains Bicultural Inventory (NPBI) Scale (Allen & French, 1993).

Informed Consent

This form was developed in accordance with suggestions from the University of North Dakota Institutional Review Board (IRB). The form insured that participation in this study was strictly anonymous. The subject's name appeared only on the informed consent form, which was detached from the rest of the research packet upon completion. The forms were secured in the Indians into Psychology Doctoral Education (INPSYDE) Program office at the University of North Dakota by the researcher to ensure security and to prevent any association of the participating individuals with the study. On this form, participants were advised that participation was confidential, anonymous, and voluntary.

They were also told the amount of time it would take to complete the research packet and the potential risks and benefits. A choice of one hour of extra credit for a psychology class or five dollars was offered to those who choose to participate. Finally, the researcher's name and phone number, as well as that of her committee advisor, was included on the form in the event any questions should arise regarding the study.

Demographic Questionnaire

Items on the demographic questionnaire assessed the participant's background. The demographic survey inquired about: age, gender, year in school, major, number of years in attendance at the University of North Dakota, and ethnicity/specific tribal affiliation.

The Multiple Affect Adjective Check List-Revised (MAACL-R)

The Multiple Affect Adjective Check List-Revised (Lubin & Zuckerman, 1999) is a versatile instrument for the measure of both State and Trait Affect. The 66 adjectives measure affect on three levels: 1) factored domains of anxiety, depression, hostility, positive affect, and sensation seeking, 2) higher order affects; dysphoria (sum of anxiety, depression, and hostility) and well-being (positive affect plus sensation seeking), and 3) the 12 components or facets of the domains resulting from principle components analyses. The first and second measurement levels of the MAACL-R were utilized in this study. Besides measuring negative affect, another feature of the MAACL-R is its two measurements of positive affect states: the Positive Affect scale measures the more passive aspects and the Sensation Seeking scale measures the more active, energetic aspects of positive affect. There are two versions of the MAACL-R, the State version

and the Trait version. Since the purpose of the current study was to examine change in affect after viewing two different slide shows, the State version of the MAACL-R was used. The State instrument has high internal consistency ($r=.93$ for the Dysphoria Composite Scale) and the test-retest reliability is relatively low ($r=.18$ for the Dysphoria Composite Scale after 2 days). The State form is frequently used to document short-term mood or mood change and only requires three to five minutes to complete. Norms are also available for a variety of populations such as for adolescents, college students, community college students, and people in the air force. The College Student norms were used in the current study. The individual MAACL-R scale scores are obtained by summing the number of adjectives checked on each of the five respective scales. The Dysphoria (DYS) composite score is obtained by adding the raw scores of the Anxiety (A), Depression (D), and Hostility (H) scales. The Positive Affect and Sensation Seeking (PASS) composite score is obtained by adding the raw scores of the Positive Affect (PA) and Sensation Seeking (SS) scales. After all the raw scores have been obtained, they are then converted to standard T-scores. A T-score of 70 is generally recognized as an extreme score (two standard deviations above the mean of 50 in standardized distribution). It has an important meaning for the negative scales (A, D, H, and DYS). On the other hand, a T score of 30 (two standard deviations below the mean of 50 in a standardized distribution) has an important meaning for the positive scales (PA, SS, and PASS), especially when taken together with high scores on the negative scales.

The Nickname and Logo Distress Scale (NLDS)

The Nickname and Logo Distress Scale (NLDS) is a six question self-report questionnaire that asks questions pertaining to psychological distress an individual may

have experienced due to the “Fighting Sioux” nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy while attending the University of North Dakota. Each question is rated on a 4 point rating scale ranging from 1-4. An individual can receive a score ranging from 6-24. The higher the score, the more severe the distress experienced by the individual. The Nickname and Logo Distress Scale was developed by the researcher for the purpose of this study.

Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory (NPBI)

The Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory (NPBI; Allen & French, 1993) is a short, 30-question inventory designed to measure levels of cultural identification for both Northern Plains American Indian and Midwestern European-American cultures. The inventory focuses mainly on social behavior, which is assumed to be determined by the underlying constructs of attitudes, beliefs, worldview, and acculturation. There are currently two versions of the NPBI for use depending on the sample that is being tested. The college version is meant for use with American Indian college students. The community version is for use in American Indian communities and was not used in the current study.

The NPBI proposes a circular model of cultural identification. Many researchers of American Indians advocate that efficacious coping in more than one culture leads to better mental adaptation and more self-fulfillment among American Indians. The NPBI was developed in accordance with the Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990). The NPBI yields three subscales: American Indian Cultural Identification (AICI), European American Cultural Identification (EACI), and a language scale. A subject with strong traditional ties will have high scores on the AICI subscale, a

subject with more identification with the majority culture will obtain high scores on the EACI subscale, and if a subject scored highly on both the AICI and EACI scales, then he/she is described as possessing a bicultural identification. If a subject scored low on both scales, he/she is described as marginal (having no clear identification with either culture). Response choices for each question range from one (No comfort/desire to engage in specific behaviors associated with either American Indian or European American culture) to five (Great comfort/desire to engage in specific behaviors associated with either American Indian or European American culture).

Raw scores are obtained by summing up the response number for each of the questions belonging to each of the two scales that will be utilized. There are four items that are reverse-keyed, of which only one is used in the two scales in this study. A six-month test-retest reliability for the college version showed the AICI scale to have $r=.82$, the EACI scale $r=.70$, and the Language scale to have $r=.74$ (Allen & French, 1994).

Procedure

A focus group consisting of 10 Caucasian and 10 American Indian students viewed 42 images related to the Fighting Sioux nickname and logo. The focus group participants were asked to rate each image using a Likert scale where 1 equaled very neutral to 4 equaling very controversial. Those images that were rated as more controversial were put into the controversial slide show and those that were rated more neutral were put in the neutral slide show. A total of 38 images were used, 19 per slide show. Four of the images were not used due to being rated in such a way that they could have been used in either slide show.

Primary recruitment of participants consisted of soliciting students from classes taught through the Psychology Department. The Psychology Department has an area on the first floor of their building where students can get extra credit in their psychology courses by signing up for research being conducted by graduate students. A folder with a sign up sheet and a copy of the informed consent form was placed in this area of the psychology building. Students were told the amount of time it would take to complete the study and the amount of extra credit he/she would receive. Students interested in participating were told to list their name, home or cell number, and an e-mail address if applicable. Potential participants were then contacted by phone or e-mail to schedule a time for him/her to participate. Participants obtained through the Psychology Department primarily consisted of individuals who were Caucasian, so a second recruitment effort to obtain American Indian participants was launched. This recruitment consisted of the American Indian Student Services Administrative Secretary sending an e-mail on the American Indian students' list serve which lists all American Indian students enrolled for the 2003-2004 academic year. The e-mail read as follows:

My name is Angela LaRocque. I am a fifth year graduate student in the Indians into Psychology Doctoral Education (INPSYDE) program here at the University of North Dakota. I am currently recruiting UND students to participate in research pertaining to my dissertation. At this time, I am trying to recruit American Indian students who are enrolled full-time at UND. The research I am conducting has to do with examining emotional reactions to different images of the "Fighting Sioux Nickname and Logo" and the various ways it is presented on campus. Participation for this study is voluntary and you are not obligated to sign up. The study should take no more than 45 minutes of your time and an incentive of five dollars will be given to you for your participation. Your participation in this study is very much needed and will be greatly appreciated. If you are interested in participating, a sign up sheet will be available at the American Indian Center. Please put your name, an e-mail address if you have one, and a phone number you can be reached. I, or a research assistant will contact you by phone or e-mail to set up a time that will be convenient for you to participate. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Potential American Indian participants signed up at the American Indian center and were contacted by phone to set up a convenient time to participate in the study. Unfortunately, not enough students were recruited initially, so another recruitment effort was launched by having research assistants approach students at the American Indian Center. The students were told about the study and were asked if he or she was interested in participating. The remainder of the American Indian students was recruited through this method and the number of American Indian students needed for the study was obtained.

The study was conducted in a lab in the Psychology building. The room was free of distractions and each participant was run separately. Participants were told to carefully read through the consent form and sign it if they agreed to participate. A copy of the consent form was given to each participant. Signed consent forms were collected and participants were given specific instructions about the study. Participants were first asked to fill out the demographic questionnaire. After completing the demographic questionnaire, American Indian students were instructed to complete the Northern Plains Bicultural Inventory (NPBI). Next, the participants were instructed to complete the first MAACL-R State version in order to establish a baseline of his/her emotional state. Participants were then told that he/she would be viewing two slide shows that presented different images of the Fighting Sioux Nickname/Logo and its surrounding use. The slide shows were presented using Microsoft Power Point and the images were projected to a large screen on a wall. Each image was shown for approximately 25 seconds with each slide show being 5 minutes and 15 seconds. The slide shows were counterbalanced, so half of the participants viewed the Neutral presentation first while the other half viewed the Controversial presentation first. After viewing each slide show, the

participants were instructed to fill out the MAACL-R to measure if there was a change in the participant's emotional state. Once the last MAACL-R was completed, participants were then instructed to fill out the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale. Upon completion of the study, participants in psychology classes were awarded one hour of extra credit for his/her participation. American Indian participants who were not enrolled in a psychology class were given five dollars for their participation. Each participant was thanked for his/her time invested in completing the study.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Data Analyses

The first data analysis conducted was a descriptive analysis of all appropriate demographic variables. Such statistics recorded the appropriate means, standard deviations, frequencies, and percentages of demographic variables. Pearson Product Moment (PPM) correlations were conducted to examine the relationships between the demographic variables and the Nickname and Logo Distress scale as well as with the MAACL-R. PPM correlation analyses were also conducted to determine the strength and direction in which any of NPBI subscales covaried and to examine the relationships between the subscales of the MAACL-R and the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale (NLDS). A repeated measures mixed design was conducted to examine the differences between the groups in relation to how their scores changed after viewing each slide show. A repeated measures mixed design was also conducted to examine the differences between cultural identification among the American Indian participants in relation to how their scores differed after viewing each slide show. An Independent t-Test was conducted between American Indian participants and Majority Culture participants to see if there was a significant difference on total scores on the NLDS. Another Independent t-Test was carried out to see if there were significant differences between Traditional and Assimilated American Indian participants on the total scores of the NLDS. The results of these analyses are as follows.

Respondent Characteristics

Sixty-nine respondents participated in this study. Thirty-three participants were classified as Majority Culture (17 females and 16 males) and 33 (18 females and 15 males) were classified as American Indian. There was also 1 Hispanic, 1 African American, and 1 Asian. The mean age was 23.55 (SD=6.20). Thirty-two percent were freshman, 22% were sophomores, 17% were juniors, 20% were seniors, and 9% were graduate students. Fifteen percent of the participants were psychology majors, 12% majored in nursing, 10% in elementary education, and 9% in Aviation. The majority of the participants have attended UND for at least one year with a mean of 2.33 (SD=1.78). Twenty-five percent have been at UND for at least 2 years with 19% at UND for at least 3 years.

In terms of ethnic identity, the Majority Culture Group had 33 respondents who were Caucasian. The 1 African American, 1 Hispanic, and 1 Asian are minorities but in this study, were considered Majority Culture, and their scores in the current study were utilized under the Majority Culture heading since the focus of the study was on measuring differences between American Indians students and all other students at UND. The 33 American Indian participants identified themselves as Chippewa (n=20), Lakota (n=4), Dakota (n=2), and Three Affiliated Tribes (n=3). Table 1 reflects the overall frequencies, means, standard deviations, and percentages of age, gender, college year, major, years at UND, and ethnicity. Table 2 and Table 3 reflect the descriptive demographics by ethnic group.

Table 1. Descriptive Demographics: Entire Sample

Characteristics	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>%</u>
Age		23.51	6.20	
Gender				
Female	37			
Male	32			
College Year		2.52	1.36	
Freshman	22			31.9
Sophomore	15			21.7
Junior	12			17.4
Senior	14			20.3
Graduate	6			8.7
Major				
Psychology	10			14.5
Nursing	8			11.6
Elementary Ed	7			10.1
Aviation	6			8.7
Business	3			4.3
Physical Ed	3			4.3
Physical Therapy	3			4.3
Communication	2			2.9
Criminal Justice	2			2.9
History	2			2.9
Indian Studies/Comm	2			2.9
Math	2			2.9
Pre-medicine	2			2.9
Social Work	2			2.9
Other	15			21.9
Years Attended UND		2.33	1.78	
Less than a year	2			2.9
1 year	26			37.7
2 years	17			24.6
3 years	13			18.8
4 years	6			8.7
More than 4 years	5			7.1
Ethnicity				
Caucasian	33			47.8
African American	1			1.4
Hispanic	1			1.4
Asian	1			1.4
American Indian	33			47.8

Table 2. Descriptive Data: Majority Culture Participants (n=36)

Characteristics	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>%</u>
Age		21.52	5.87	
Gender				
Female	19			52.8
Male	17			47.2
College Year				
Freshman	16			44.4
Sophomore	10			27.8
Junior	4			11.1
Senior	6			16.7
Major				
Aviation	5			13.9
Nursing	4			11.1
Elementary Ed	4			11.1
Physical Therapy	3			8.3
Psychology	3			8.3
Communication	2			5.6
Criminal Justice	2			5.6
Other	13			36.1
Years Attended UND		1.92	1.65	
Less than a year	2			5.6
1 year	16			44.4
2 years	11			30.6
3 years	5			13.9
4 years	1			2.8
More than 4 years	1			2.8

Table 3. Descriptive Data: American Indian Participants (n=33)

Characteristics	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>%</u>
Age		25.75	5.89	
Gender				
Female	18			54.5
Male	15			45.5
College Year				
Freshman	6			8.2
Sophomore	5			15.2
Junior	8			24.2
Senior	8			24.2
Graduate	6			18.2
Major				
Psychology	7			21.2
Nursing	4			12.1
Elementary Ed	3			9.1
Business	2			6.1
Indian Studies/Comm	2			6.1
Physical Education	2			6.1
Other	13			39.3
Years Attended UND				
1 year	10			30.3
2 years	6			18.2
3 years	8			24.2
4 years	5			15.2
More than 4 years	4			12.1
Tribal Affiliation				
Turtle Mountain Chippewa	19			27.5
Three Affiliated Tribes	3			4.3
Cheyenne River Lakota	2			2.9
Assiniboine	1			1.4
BlackFeet	1			1.4
Chippewa/Cree	1			1.4
Mille Lac Chippewa	1			1.4
Omaha	1			1.4
Rosebud Lakota	1			1.4
Sisseton Whapeton Dakota	1			1.4
Spirit Lake Dakota	1			1.4
Standing Rock Lakota	1			1.4

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations

The PPM correlational analyses revealed that the two NPBI subscales were not significantly related [$r(31)=-.296, p>.01$]. The PPM correlational analyses also revealed some interesting and statistically significant relationships between study variables in the overall group and between the groups. Overall, there were significant positive correlations between age and year in college [$r(67)=.530, p<.01$], between age and years attended UND, [$r(67)=.660, p<.01$], and between year in college and years attended UND [$r(67)=.632, p<.01$]. See Table 4 for correlational matrices of the demographics for the entire sample.

Table 4. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Entire Sample Demographic Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	Age	Year in College	Attend UND
Age	----		
Year in College	.530**	----	
Attend UND	.660**	.632**	----

Note:**=significant at $p<.01$, *=significant at $p<.05$

Correlational analyses were also conducted to examine relationships among variables within each group. Table 5 and 6 show that for each ethnic group there were significant positive correlations for age and year in college, for age and years attended UND, and for year in college and years attended UND.

Table 5. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Majority Culture Demographic Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	Age	Year in College	Attend UND
Age	---		
Year in College	.426**	---	
Attend UND	.698**	.678**	---

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 6. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: American Indians Demographic Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	Age	Year in College	Attend UND
Age	---		
Year in College	.491**	---	
Attend UND	.571**	.540**	---

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

PPM correlational analyses were conducted for demographic variables and the items on the UND Fighting Sioux Distress Scale to examine if there were any significant relationships. Table 7 shows the correlational matrix for the entire sample.

The table shows that there were many positive significant correlations between demographic variables and individual items on the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale (NLDS). The total score of the NLDS is positively correlated with age, year in college, and years attended UND.

Table 7. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Entire Sample
Demographics and Distress Scale Item Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	Age	Year in College	Attend UND
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.423**	.348**	.364**
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.538**	.459**	.471**
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.504**	.384**	.359**
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.396**	.374**	.282*
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.328**	.206	.230
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.316**	.339**	.199
Total Score	.485**	.398**	.372**

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Tables 8 and 9 reflect the correlational matrices between demographic variables and the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale items for each ethnic group. Table 8 shows the correlational relationships between the NLDS and the demographics for Majority Culture participants. The correlational matrix reveals a number of significant positive correlations. Age and years attended UND seemed to have the most significant positive correlations. For the American Indian participants, Table 9 shows that there were not many positive significant relationships between the NLDS and demographic variables.

Table 8. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Majority Culture Demographics and Distress Scale Item Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	Age	Year in College	Attend UND
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.532**	.165	.399*
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.622**	.277	.436**
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.798**	.204	.487**
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.303	.244	.121
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.900**	.219	.607**
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.670**	.439**	.719**
Total Score	.774**	.267	.530**

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 9. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: American Indians Demographics and Distress Scale Item Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	Age	Year in College	Attend UND
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.079	.205	.195
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.327	.347*	.406*
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.174	.228	.172
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.232	.197	.255
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.085	-.013	.064
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.074	.121	-.040
Total Score	.188	.205	.198

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

PPM correlational analyses were conducted between the items on the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale and the composite scales (Dysphoria and Positive Attitude/Sensation Seeking) of the MAACL-R. Correlations examining these relationships for the entire sample are found in Table 10 and 14. The correlations of the items from the Nickname and Logo Distress scale and the subscales of the MAACL-R are presented in Tables 11 (Anxiety), 12 (Depression), and 13 (Hostility). Again, these tables are representative of the entire sample.

The correlations in Table 10 reveal that there were significant positive relationships between the Dysphoria Composite Scale and individual items on the NLDS after the participants viewed the neutral slide show and the controversial slide show. The Dysphoria Composite Scale was also positively correlated with the total score of the NLDS after each slide show was presented [$r(67) = .678, p < .01$; $r(67) = .432, p < .01$].

Table 11 reveals that there were positive significant relationships between the Anxiety subscale and the items on the NLDS but less than there were for the DYS Composite Scale. The results also show that the Anxiety subscale was positively correlated with the anxiety item on the NLDS before and after each slide show was shown.

Table 12 shows significant positive relationships between the Depression subscale and individual items on the NLDS. Interestingly, all the items are significantly correlated in a positive direction with the Depression subscale after the participants viewed each slide show.

In Table 13, the Hostility subscale was correlated significantly with a number of the items from the NLDS. Again, the total score on the NLDS and the Hostility subscale

were significantly correlated in a positive direction after each slide show was presented [$r(67) = .565, p < .01$; $r(67) = .288, p < .01$].

Table 14 reveals the correlational matrix for the Positive Attitude/Sensation Seeking (PASS) Composite Scale. The matrix reveals negative relationships between the PASS Scale and the items of the NLDS, with every item having a significant negative correlation with the PASS Scale after each slide show was viewed by the participants.

Table 10. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Entire Sample Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Dysphoric Composite Scale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	DysBase	DysNeut	DysCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.254*	.633**	.474**
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.130	.574**	.348**
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.274*	.542**	.317**
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.134	.546**	.399**
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.200	.589**	.329**
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.193	.665**	.348**
Total Score	.220	.678**	.432*

Note: **=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 11. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Entire Sample
Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Anxiety Subscale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	AnxBase	AnxNeut	AnxCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.235	.482**	.262**
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.128	.464*	.164
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.237*	.495**	.311**
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.033	.225	.073
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.172	.588**	.327**
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.149	.555**	.270*
Total Score	.183	.530**	.253

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 12. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Entire Sample
Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Depression Subscale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	DepBase	DepNeut	DepCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.189	.434**	.463**
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.056	.323**	.289*
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.205	.318**	.338*
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.024	.350**	.269*
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.138	.346**	.420**
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.149	.390**	.401**
Total Score	.144	.416**	.419**

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 13. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Entire Sample
Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Hostility Subscale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	HosBase	HosNeut	HosCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.174	.534**	.332**
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.063	.498**	.263*
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.150	.396**	.150
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.156	.554**	.359**
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.126	.419**	.147
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.128	.554**	.184
Total Score	.140	.565**	.288*

Note: **=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 14. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Entire Sample
Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R PASS Composite Scale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	PASSBase	PASSNeut	PASSCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	-.178	-.533**	-.430**
Item 2 "Experience stress"	-.075	-.588**	-.489**
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	-.188	-.603**	-.534**
Item 4 "Experience anger"	-.014	-.489**	-.322**
Item 5 "Experience depression"	-.202	-.624**	-.547**
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	-.186	-.668**	-.565**
Total Score	-.152	-.652**	-.548**

Note: **=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

The remaining correlational matrix tables reveal the relationships between items on the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale and the subscales of the MAACL-R (including both composite and subscales) for each ethnic group.

When examining the correlational matrices for the Majority Culture participants, the tables reveal that there were not very many significant relationships between the Composite Scales and subscales of the MAACL-R and individual items on the NLDS.

However, examination of the tables for the American Indian participants shows that there are a number of positive significant relationships. Table 20 reveals that the DYS Composite Scale had positive significant relationships with almost every item on the NLDS after the participants viewed each slide show. The DYS Composite Score was also significantly correlated with the total score on the NLDS in a positive direction. The other subscale tables revealed positive significant relationships that occurred after participants viewed each slide show. Table 24 presents the correlational matrix for the PASS Composite Scale and the individual items on the NLDS, including the total score. Results show that each item of the NLDS had a significant negative correlation with the PASS Composite Scale for both the Neutral and Controversial slide show.

Table 15. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Majority Culture Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Dysphoric Composite Scale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	DysBase	DysNeut	DysCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.072	.206	.211
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.019	.149	.113
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	-.026	.074	-.010
Item 4 "Experience anger"	-.116	.091	.142
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.060	.191	.051
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.265	.585**	.075
Total Score	-.062	.208	.186

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 16. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Majority Culture Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Anxiety Subscale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	AnxBASE	AnxNeut	AnxCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.229	.302	.103
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.158	.177	-.087
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.075	.277	.070
Item 4 "Experience anger"	-.146	-.126	-.175
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.173	.446**	.104
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.188	.458*	-.091
Total Score	.120	.230	-.076

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 17. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Majority Culture Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Depression Subscale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	DepBase	DepNeut	DepCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.051	.052	.153
Item 2 "Experience stress"	-.077	-.147	-.029
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	-.051	-.101	-.053
Item 4 "Experience anger"	-.189	-.250	-.262
Item 5 "Experience depression"	-.012	-.051	-.047
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.035	-.003	-.138
Total Score	-.084	-.143	-.080

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 18. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Majority Culture Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Hostility Subscale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	HosBase	HosNeut	HosCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	-.041	.161	.179
Item 2 "Experience stress"	-.008	.234	.149
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	-.109	-.010	-.050
Item 4 "Experience anger"	-.009	.297	.263
Item 5 "Experience depression"	-.064	.035	.010
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	-.028	.605**	.362*
Total Score	-.126	.260	.235

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 19. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: Majority Culture Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R PASS Composite Scale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	PASSBase	PASSNeut	PASSCon
Item 1			
"Extent adversely affected"	-.277	-.110	-.094
Item 2			
"Experience stress"	-.170	-.312	-.198
Item 3			
"Experience anxiety"	-.080	-.337*	-.193
Item 4			
"Experience anger"	.097	-.126	.127
Item 5			
"Experience depression"	-.162	-.398*	-.266
Item 6			
"Coursework affected"	-.162	-.323	-.119
Total Score	-.107	-.232	-.110

Note:**=significant at $p<.01$, *=significant at $p<.05$

Table 20. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: American Indians Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Dysphoric Composite Scale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	DysBase	DysNeut	DysCon
Item 1			
"Extent adversely affected"	.275	.705**	.606**
Item 2			
"Experience stress"	.069	.558**	.382*
Item 3			
"Experience anxiety"	.311	.493**	.377*
Item 4			
"Experience anger"	.169	.608**	.514**
Item 5			
"Experience depression"	.160	.545**	.351*
Item 6			
"Coursework affected"	.138	.577**	.320
Total Score	.218	.667**	.486**

Note:**=significant at $p<.01$, *=significant at $p<.05$

Table 21. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: American Indians
Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Anxiety Subscale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	AnxBase	AnxNeut	AnxCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.231	.504**	.448**
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.077	.531**	.375*
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.314	.519**	.547*
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.109	.308	.316
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.175	.647**	.509**
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.138	.594**	.477**
Total Score	.202	.602**	.512**

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 22. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: American Indians
Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Depression Subscale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	DepBase	DepNeut	DepCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.180	.354*	.403*
Item 2 "Experience stress"	-.007	.175	.121
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.227	.125	.189
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.022	.319	.224
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.094	.176	.311
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.089	.189	.256
Total Score	.230	.211	.263

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 23. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: American Indians
Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R Hostility Subscale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	HosBase	HosNeut	HosCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	.291	.607**	.410**
Item 2 "Experience stress"	.025	.446**	.269
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	.236	.349*	.162
Item 4 "Experience anger"	.239	.563**	.392*
Item 5 "Experience depression"	.135	.366*	.120
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	.125	.459**	.083
Total Score	.206	.527* *	.270

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Table 24. Pearson Product-Moment Correlational Results Matrices: American Indians
Distress Scale Item and MAACL-R PASS Composite Scale Correlational Matrix

Characteristic	PASSBase	PASSNeut	PASSCon
Item 1 "Extent adversely affected"	-.213	-.588**	-.435**
Item 2 "Experience stress"	-.058	-.533**	-.451**
Item 3 "Experience anxiety"	-.346*	-.534*	-.533**
Item 4 "Experience anger"	-.158	-.490**	-.391*
Item 5 "Experience depression"	-.315	-.606**	-.568**
Item 6 "Coursework affected"	-.312	-.664*	-.600**
Total Score	-.274	-.652**	-.576**

Note:**=significant at $p < .01$, *=significant at $p < .05$

Repeated Measures Mixed Designs

To test the hypotheses that American Indian participants will have significantly more negative affect as a result of viewing the Neutral images than Majority Culture college students and that Majority Culture participants will experience more negative affect as a result of the Controversial images than American Indian participants, a mixed repeated measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted for the Dysphoria Composite Scale and the Positive Attitude/Sensation Seeking Composite Scale of the MAACL-R. Repeated measures mixed designs were also conducted for each subscale of the MAACL-R to examine how much each subscale contributed to the change in affect after viewing each slide show.

Dysphoria Composite Scale

Both the main effect of the MAACL-R [$F(2,67)=66.9$ $p=.000$] and the MAACL-R by ethnic group interaction [$F(2,67)=5.77$, $p<.002$] were significant at $\alpha=.05$. Between-subjects effects show that the main effect for ethnic group was significant at the .05 level [$F(1,67)=14.16$, $p=.000$], which reveals that the groups did differ significantly. Pairwise comparisons revealed that mean scores did not differ significantly at baseline, but did after viewing the neutral [$t(67)=-4.87$, $p=.000$, $\alpha=.05$] and controversial [$t(67)=-2.13$, $p<.037$, $\alpha=.05$] slide show. Table 25 shows the mean scores for each group at baseline, after the neutral slide show and after the controversial slide show. Figure 1 visually shows the changing scores for each group after viewing each slide show.

Table 25. Descriptive Statistics for Dysphoria Composite Scale

	Ethnic Group	M	SD	N
Baseline	Majority Culture	43.41	8.49	36
	American Indians	47.36	14.85	33
	Total	45.30	12.04	69
Neutral	Majority Culture	47.61*	13.41	36
	American Indians	67.48*	20.05	33
	Total	57.11	19.54	69
Controversy	Majority Culture	67.19*	20.72	36
	American Indians	77.90*	21.01	33
	Total	72.31	21.39	69

*=Significantly different at $\alpha=.05$

Estimated Marginal Means of Dysphoria (DYS) Composite Scale

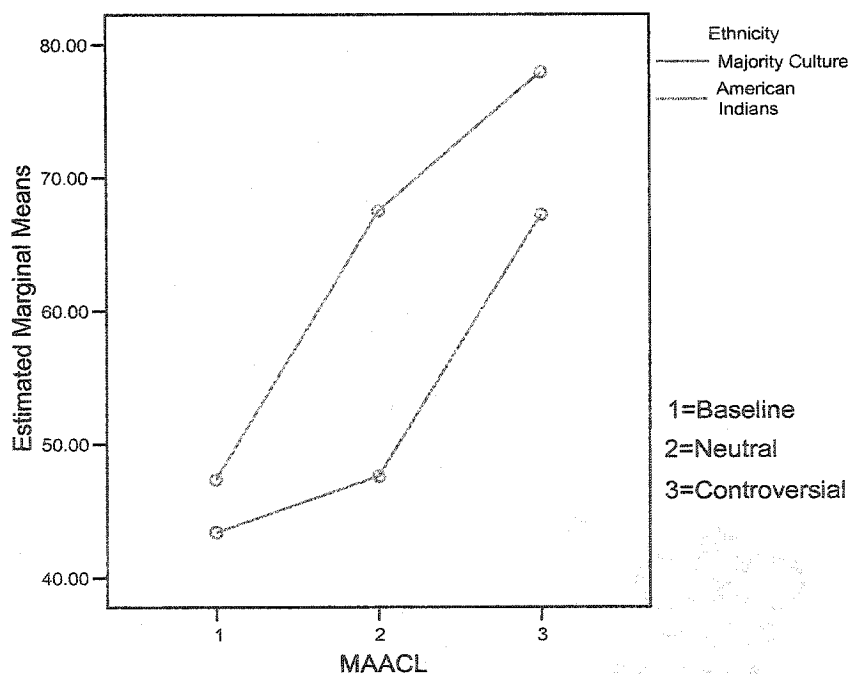


Figure 1. Estimated Marginal Means of the Dysphoria (DYS) Composite Scale

Positive Attitude/Sensation Seeking Composite Scale

The within-subjects effects show that both the main effect of MAACL-R [$F(2, 67)=49.94, p=.000$] and the MAACL-R by ethnic group interaction [$F(2,67)=11.88, p=.000$] were significant at $\alpha=.05$. Between-subjects effects show that the main effect for ethnic group was significant at the .05 level [$F(1,67)=15.27, p=.000$], which reveals that the groups did differ significantly. Pairwise comparisons revealed that mean scores significantly differed from each other after viewing the neutral [$t(67)=4.52, p=.000, \alpha=.05$] and controversial [$F(1,67)=4.07, p=.000, \alpha=.05$] slide show. Baseline mean scores did not significantly differ. Table 26 shows the mean scores for each group at baseline, after the neutral slide show, and after the controversial slide show. Figure 2 visually shows the changing scores for each group after viewing each slide show.

Table 26. Descriptive Statistics for PASS Composite Scale

Ethnic Group		M	SD	N
Baseline	Majority Culture	51	9.10	36
	American Indians	51.48	9.57	33
	Total	51.23	9.26	69
Neutral	Majority Culture	48.97*	9.87	36
	American Indians	36.54*	12.85	33
	Total	43.02	12.92	69
Controversy	Majority Culture	42.30*	10.92	36
	American Indians	31.48*	11.09	33
	Total	37.13	12.21	69

*=Significantly different at $\alpha=.05$

Estimated Marginal Means of Positive Affect and Sensation Seeking
(PASS) Composite Scale

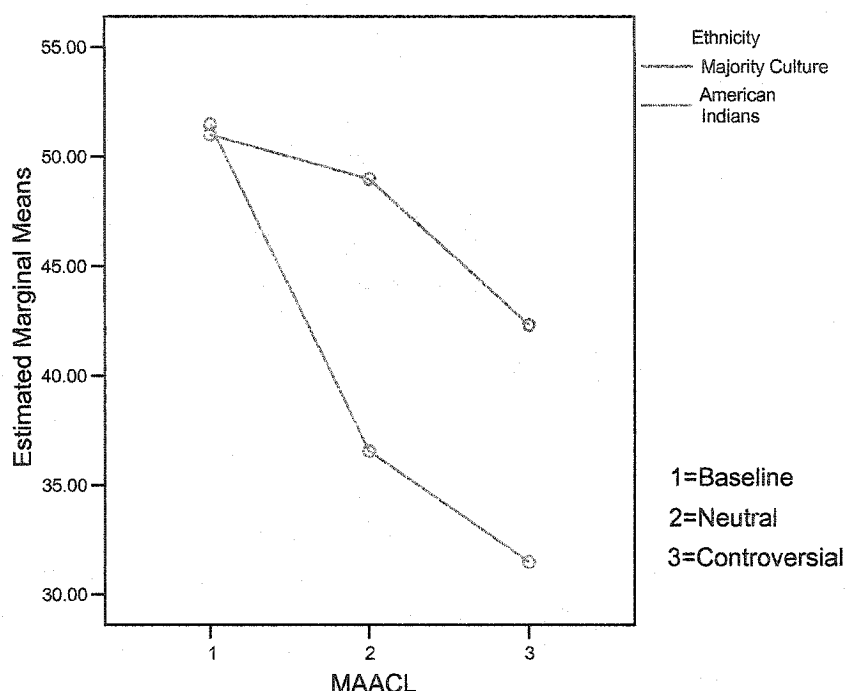


Figure 2. Estimated Marginal Means of the PASS Composite Scale

Anxiety Subscale

The within-subjects effects show that the main effect of MAACL-R [$F(2,67)=3.23$, $p<.043$] was significant at $\alpha=.05$. The within-subjects MAACL-R by ethnic group interaction [$F(2,67)=2.203$, $p>.118$] was not significant. Between-subjects effects show that the main effect for ethnic group was not significant at the .05 level [$F(1,67)=2.51$, $p>.117$], which reveals that the groups did not differ significantly. Pairwise comparisons revealed that mean scores did not differ significantly at baseline or after the controversial slide show, but differed significantly after the neutral slide show [$t(67)=-2.28$, $p<.026$, $\alpha=.05$]. Table 27 shows the mean scores for each group at baseline, after the neutral slide show, and after the controversial slide show. Figure 3 visually shows the changing scores for each group after viewing each slide show.

Table 27. Descriptive Statistics for Anxiety Subscale

	Ethnic Group	M	SD	N
Baseline	Majority Culture	44.41	8.62	36
	American Indians	45.84	11.48	33
	Total	45.10	10.04	69
Neutral	Majority Culture	45.08*	10.14	36
	American Indians	51.30*	12.44	33
	Total	48.05	11.65	69
Controversy	Majority Culture	47.77	8.83	36
	American Indians	48.66	7.99	33
	Total	48.20	8.39	69

*=Significantly different at $\alpha=.05$

Estimated Marginal Means of Anxiety Subscale

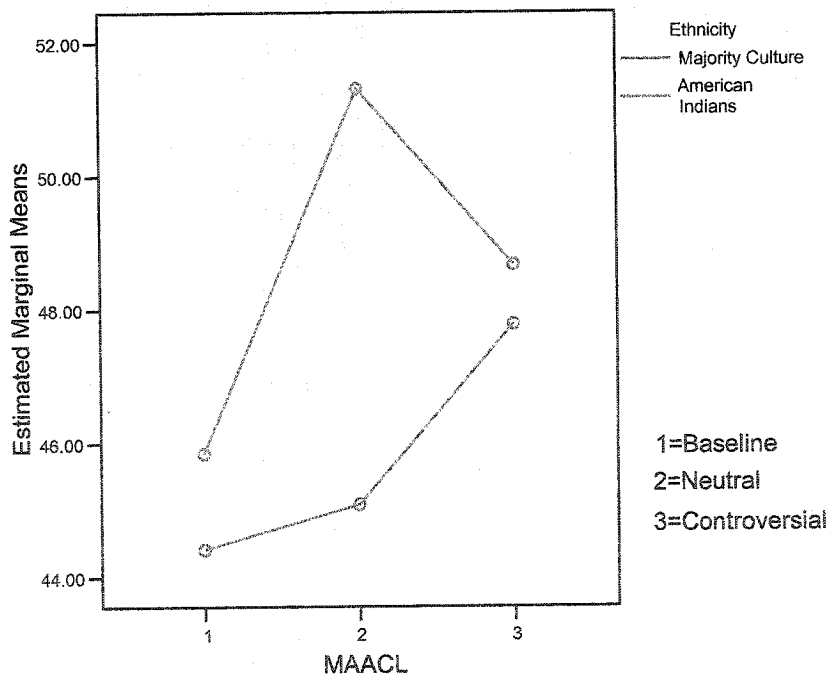


Figure 3. Estimated Marginal Means of the Anxiety Subscale

Depression Subscale

The Within-subjects effects show that both the main effect of MAACL-R [$F(2,67)=18.99, p=.000$] and the MAACL-R by ethnic group interaction [$F(2,67)=7.51, p<.001$] were significant at $\alpha=.05$. Between-subjects effects show that the main effect for ethnic group was significant at the .05 level [$F(1,67)=21.19, p=.000$], which reveals that the groups did differ significantly. Pairwise comparisons revealed that mean scores significantly differed from each other after viewing the neutral [$t(67)=-4.49, p=.000, \alpha=.05$] and controversial [$t(67)=-4.011, p=.000, \alpha=.05$] slide show, but did not significantly differ at baseline. Table 28 shows the mean scores for each group at baseline, after the neutral slide show, and after the controversial slide show. Figure 4 visually shows the changing scores for each group after viewing each slide show.

Table 28. Descriptive Statistics for Depression Subscale

Ethnic Group		M	SD	N
Baseline	Majority Culture	45.38	7.77	36
	American Indians	48.48	11.64	33
	Total	46.86	9.86	69
Neutral	Majority Culture	46.61*	7.83	36
	American Indians	63.12*	20.48	33
	Total	54.50	17.26	69
Controversy	Majority Culture	51.05*	8.13	36
	American Indians	64.18*	17.71	33
	Total	57.33	15.01	69

*=Significantly different at $\alpha=.05$

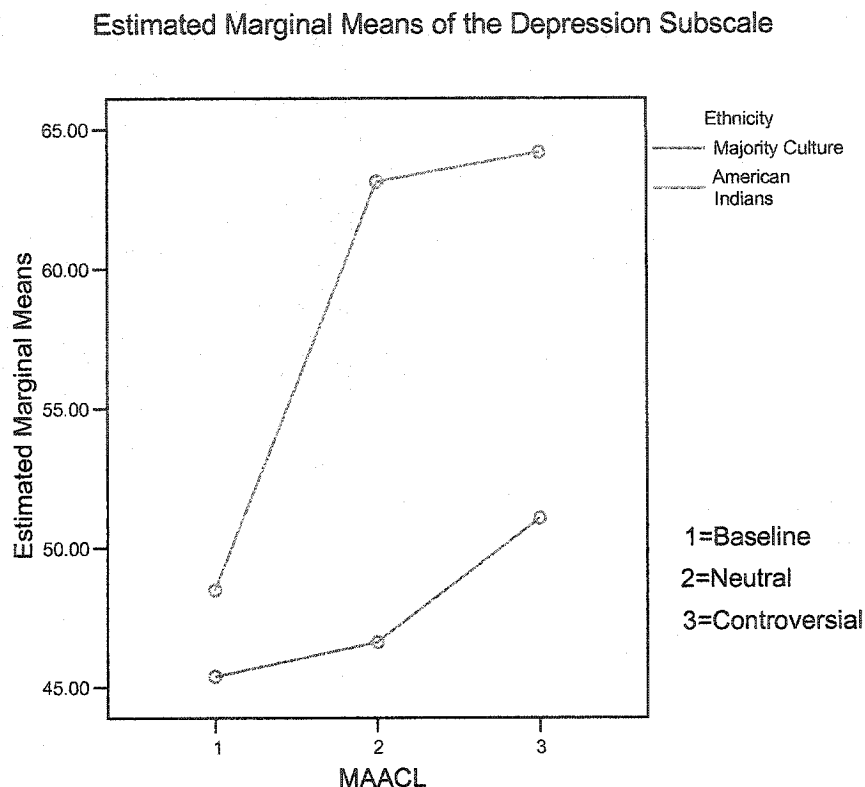


Figure 4. Estimated Marginal Means of the Depression Subscale

Hostility Subscale

The Within-subjects effects show that both the main effect of MAACL-R [$F(2,67)=70.13$, $p=.000$] and the MAACL-R by ethnic group interaction ($F(2,67)=3.31$, $p<.039$) were significant at $\alpha=.05$. Between-subjects effects show that the main effect for ethnic group was significant at the .05 level [$F(1,67)=6.61$, $p=.000$], which reveals that the groups did differ significantly. Pairwise comparisons revealed that mean scores significantly differed after viewing the neutral [$t(67)=-3.67$, $p=.000$, $\alpha=.05$] slide show, but did not at baseline or after the controversial slide show. Table 29 shows the mean scores for each group at baseline, after the neutral slide show and after the controversial slide show. Figure 5 visually shows the changing scores for each group after viewing each slide show.

Table 29. Descriptive Statistics for Hostility Subscale

	Ethnic Group	M	SD	N
Baseline	Majority Culture	47.16	10.18	36
	American Indians	49.39	11.77	33
	Total	48.23	10.95	69
Neutral	Majority Culture	54.80*	26.09	36
	American Indians	81.24*	33.51	33
	Total	67.44	32.49	69
Controversy	Majority Culture	95.58	48.48	36
	American Indians	111.09	45.28	33
	Total	103	47.28	69

*=Significantly different at $\alpha=.05$

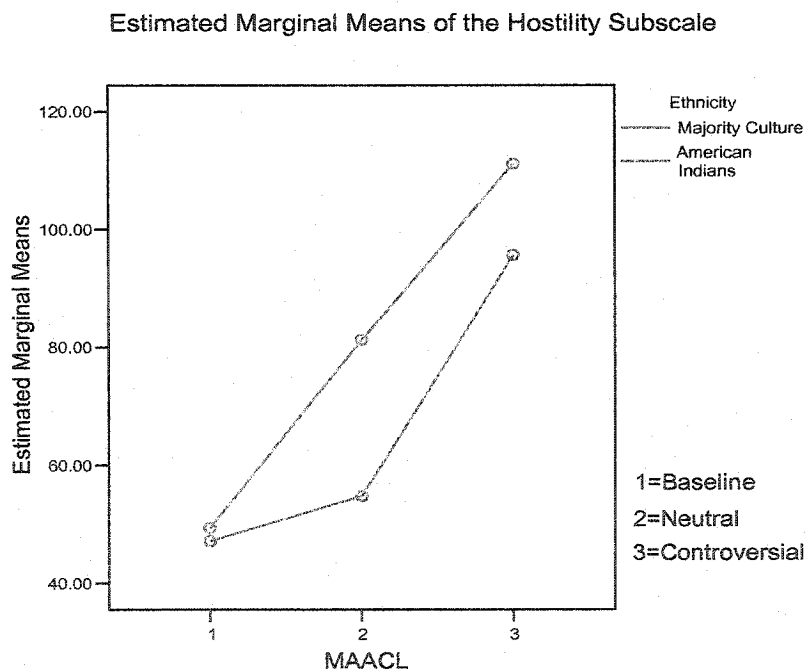


Figure 5. Estimated Marginal Means of the Hostility Subscale

A repeated measures mixed design was conducted to test the last hypothesis that American Indian participants that are traditional (High on AICI) will have higher scores of negative affect than Assimilated American Indian participants (High on EACI). A repeated measures design was used to examine if there was a change in the Dysphoria Composite Score and Positive Attitude/Sensation Seeking Composite score after viewing each slide show. The results revealed that for the Dysphoria Composite Scale, the main effect of the MAACL-R was significant at the .05 level [$F(2,25)=25.94, p=.000$] but the MAACL-R by cultural identification interaction was not [$F(2,25)=.45, p<.817$]. The between-subjects effects revealed that there were no differences between the cultural identity groups [$F(3,25)=1.27, p<.305, \alpha=.05$]. The pairwise comparisons revealed that each cultural identity group had mean scores that changed after each slide show, but did not differ significantly from each other. The Positive Attitude/Sensation Seeking Composite (PASS) Scale revealed that the main effect of the MAACL-R was significant [$F(2,25)=28.96, p=.000$] at $\alpha=.05$, but that the MAACL-R by cultural identity interaction was not [$F(2,25)=1.19, p<.324, \alpha=.05$]. Between subjects effects revealed that the cultural identity groups did not differ significantly from each other [$F(3,25)=.975, p<.420, \alpha=.05$] but pairwise comparisons showed that each cultural identity group's mean scores did change significantly after each slide show. Figures 6 and 7 show the change in scores for the Dysphoria and PASS Composite Scales from baseline to the neutral slide show to the controversial slide show for each cultural identity group.

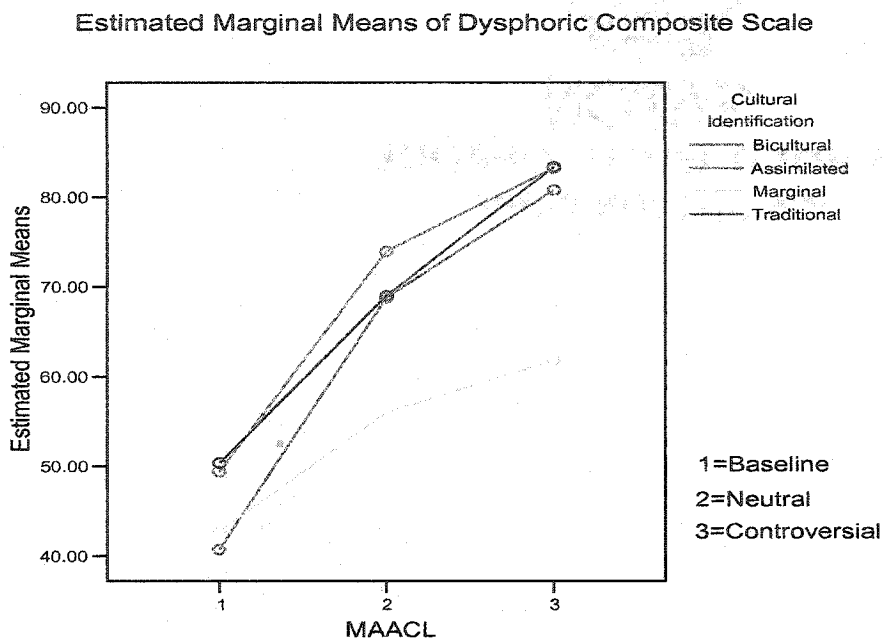


Figure 6. Estimated Marginal Means of the Dysphoric Composite Scale

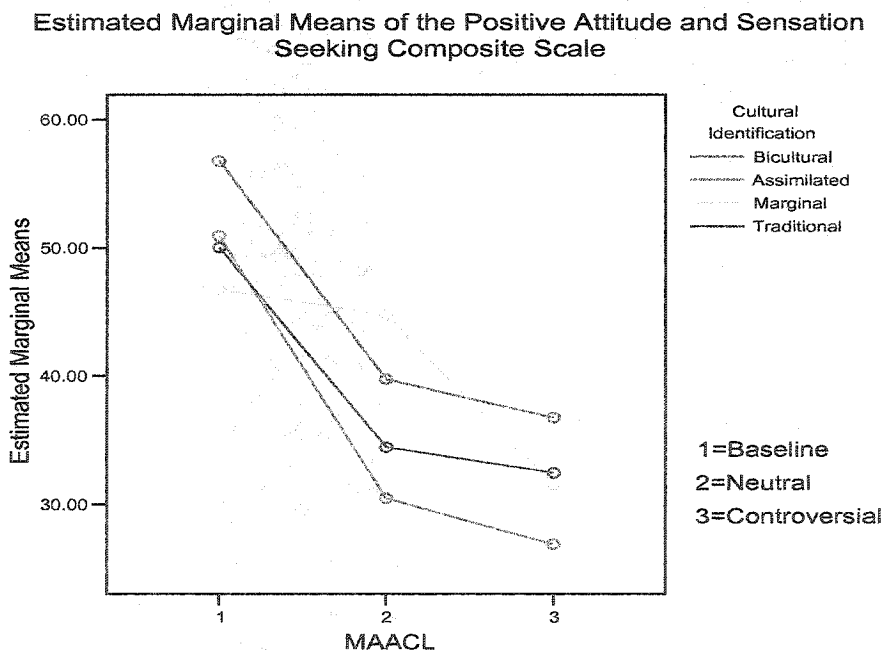


Figure 7. Estimated Marginal Means of the PASS Composite Scale

Figure 8 represents a scatterplot reflecting the American Indian participants' data points in response to the two NPBI subscales-European American Cultural Identification (EACI) and American Indian Cultural Identification (AICI). This scatterplot relates to Oetting and Beauvais' Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism. American Indian participants were categorized into quadrants by utilizing a median-split technique for each individual's subscale scores, whereby the median scores for each subscale formed an intercept point. The figure reflects those identified as Bicultural (n=4), those of Traditional orientation (n=11), those identified as Marginal (n=4), and those identified as Assimilated (n=10).

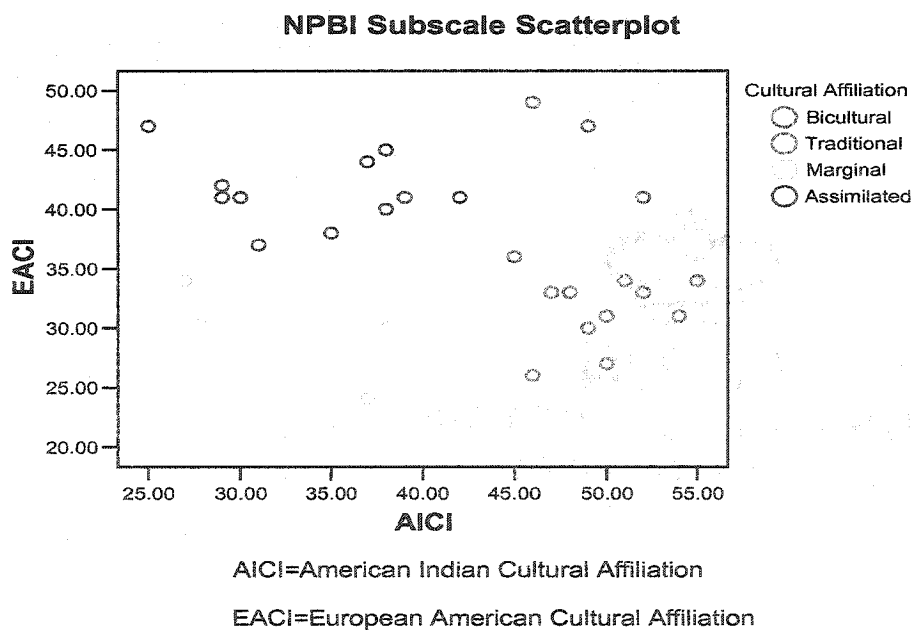


Figure 8. NPBI Scatterplot

Independent t-Test

In order to test the hypothesis that American Indians participants will have higher scores of psychological distress from the “Fighting Sioux” Nickname/logo issue than non-Indians, an Independent Samples t-Test was conducted between American Indian participants’ and Majority Culture participants’ total mean scores on the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale. There was a statistically significant difference between American Indian and Majority Culture participants [$t(67)=-5.95, p=.000, \alpha=.05$]. Majority Culture participants had a total mean score of 8.8 ($SD=2.67$) whereas American Indian participants had a total mean score of 15 ($SD=5.6$) on the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale. The higher mean score indicates that American Indian participants had higher levels of distress due to the Fighting Sioux Nickname/logo.

In order to test the hypothesis that participants that are more traditional (High on AICI) in cultural affiliation will have higher scores of psychological distress due to the Fighting Sioux Nickname and logo and its surrounding controversy than assimilated American Indians (High on EACI), an independent t-Test was conducted. There was no statistically significant difference between the Assimilated and Traditional American Indian participants [$t(19)=-2.01, p<.058, \alpha=.05$]. The Traditional participants had a mean score of 19.20 ($SD=4.61$) and the Assimilated participants had a mean score of 14.72 ($SD=5.46$). The Traditional American Indians had a higher mean score than the Assimilated American Indian participants on the NLDS. Interestingly, Marginal American Indians and Bicultural American Indians had mean scores of 10 ($SD=4.69$) and 11.25 ($SD=2.75$) respectively.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

In general, the data derived from this study supported the first hypotheses that American Indian participants would have higher negative affect than Majority Culture participants after viewing the Neutral slide show and revealed a different outcome for the second hypotheses that Majority Culture participants would have higher levels of negative affect than American Indian participants after viewing the controversial slide show. American Indian and Majority Culture college students attending UND had significantly different levels of negative affect after viewing each slide show as indicated by several Group by Scale interactions. They also differed in the levels of psychological distress due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo. Interestingly, Traditional American Indians and Assimilated Indians did not significantly differ in their affect after viewing the slide shows. The means on the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale revealed that Traditional American Indians had higher mean scores than Assimilated American Indians, but the difference was not significant. A more detailed discussion of the specific results of this study is presented below.

The mean age of the non-Indian participants and the gender breakdown was representative of typical students who attend the University of North Dakota during the regular academic year. There were more females in the study than males. Interestingly, female participants were easier to recruit than males for both groups. Year in college seemed to be fairly representative with the majority of the participants being freshmen

and sophomores. The participants had a wide variety of major fields of study, with psychology, nursing, elementary education, aviation, and business being the majors that were most represented. The majority of the participants attended UND for at least 1 to 2 years. When examining the ethnicity of the group, there were three minorities other than American Indians, which is representative since there is only a small representation of minority students on campus. The majority of the students on campus are Caucasian of German, English, and Scandinavian descent.

When comparing the two groups on demographic variables there were an equal number of Majority Culture participants and American Indian participants. Both groups had slightly more females than males. In terms of year in college, the majority of the American Indian participants were juniors and seniors while the Majority Culture participants were mainly freshmen and sophomores. Nursing and elementary education were in the top three majors for both groups with American Indians having psychology as their first and the Majority Culture participants having aviation at the top of the list. American Indians had a higher mean age than the Majority Culture participants, which seems accurate since the American Indian group had more upperclassmen than the other group. The American Indian group also has attended UND longer than the Majority Culture group. In terms of tribal affiliation, a large number of the American Indian participants were Chippewa and Lakota/Dakota. This is a representative of the American Indian population at UND since the majority of the American Indian students enrolled at UND tend to be a member of a Chippewa or Lakota/Dakota tribe. Overall, the demographic variables tended to be fairly representative of typical UND students. The

groups were also fairly homogenous in terms of age, years attended UND, gender breakdown, and major field of study.

The Pearson Product-Moment correlation analyses revealed many significant relationships between demographic variables and items on the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale. There were significant positive relationships between age and each item on the NLDS. This suggests that the older the student, the more distress was experienced by the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo. This relationship was for the entire sample. Year in college and years attended UND also yielded positive relationships with items on the NLDS suggesting that the higher a student's class ranking and the more years in attendance at UND, the more distress from the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo is experienced by students. Interestingly, the total score on the NLDS yielded significant positive relationships with age, year in college, and years attended UND. This relationship reveals that the age, year in college, and years in attendance at UND are related to a higher total score on the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale. When examining relationships between the demographic variables and items on the NDLS for each ethnic group, there were some differences between the groups. The Majority Culture group had a number of positive significant relationships between items on the NLDS with age and NLDS items with years in attendance at UND. There were positive significant relationships between the total score on the NLDS with age and years attended UND. This relationship suggests that the older the students with more time invested at UND, the more distress experienced from the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo. On the other hand, the American Indian group only had two significant positive correlations. The relationships were between the NLDS item, "To what extent have you experienced

stress related to the 'Fighting Sioux' nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?" with age and years attended UND. This suggests that the older the student and the more time at UND, the more stress an American Indian student experiences due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and the surrounding controversy.

Pearson Product-Moment correlations revealed some very interesting relationships between the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale and the scales from the MAACL-R. When examining the correlations for the entire sample, the Dysphoria Composite Scale yielded significant positive correlations for each item on the NLDS, including the total score after participants viewed each slide show. This indicated that higher scores on the Dysphoria Composite Scale were related to higher scores on the NLDS. This also reveals that a high score on the Dysphoria Composite Scale would most likely yield a high score on the NLDS total score which could possibly suggest that the higher dysphoria can be attributed to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy. The Anxiety subscale of the MAACL-R was positively and significantly related to the anxiety item on the NLDS before and after each slide show. The anxiety level before the participants viewed the slide shows is most likely attributed to the participants being slightly nervous before participating in a study. The items of the NLDS had significant and positive relationships with the Depression subscale of the MAACL-R after each slide show was presented. The baseline scores of the Depression subscale were not significantly related to the items on the NLDS and nor should they be since most participants should not be depressed. After the neutral slide show, items become significantly correlated and remain so after the controversial slide show is presented. These results reveal that the higher the Depression scores, the more distress

experienced due to the “Fighting Sioux” nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy. The Hostility subscale of the MAACL-R also had significant positive correlations with the individual items and total score of the NLDS. Hostility scores at baseline did not yield any significant correlations most likely due to participants not being in an angry or hostile mood. After the neutral slide show, the Hostility subscale and the items on the NLDS become significantly correlated in a positive direction. Interestingly, after the controversial slide show, there are fewer items significantly correlated with the Hostility Subscale. The Positive Attitude/Sensation Seeking (PASS) Composite Scale of the MAACL-R revealed significant negative relationships with items on the NLDS. All of the items were significantly correlated in a negative way with the NLDS after each slide show was presented. The relationships between these variables should be correlated in a negative direction since the NLDS is supposed to be measuring distress, while the PASS scale is measuring positive affect.

The PPM correlational analyses between the MAACL-R scales and the items on the NLDS produced relationships between the variables that were very different for each ethnic group. The results of the Majority culture group revealed very few significant correlations between the NLDS and the MAACL-R scales. The results suggest that overall most of the items on the NLDS were not significantly related to the MAACL-R scales. However, the correlations between the MAACL-R scales and the items on the NLDS for the American Indian group revealed a number of significant relationships between the variables. The Dysphoria Composite Scale and items on the NLDS provided positive significant correlations after the neutral slide show and after the controversial slide show. The total score on the NLDS was significantly correlated with the Dysphoria

scale in a positive direction, suggesting that higher scores on the Dysphoria scale are related to higher scores on the NLDS. When examining the subscales of the MAACL-R, the Anxiety subscale revealed positive significant correlations between items on the NLDS and the total score on the NLDS. Again, this suggests that higher scores on the Anxiety subscale were related to higher scores of distress due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo after the American Indian participants viewed each slide show. However, the Depression subscale of the MAACL-R and the items on the NLDS did not yield very many significant relationships. There was a positive significant relationship between the Hostility subscale and the item on the NLDS that asks about anger due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy. The PASS Composite scale and the items on the NLDS revealed significant negative relationships after each slide show was presented. This indicates that the PASS scale and the NLDS are negatively related which is predictable since the PASS scale measures positive affect and the NLDS measures negative emotion or distress from the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and the surrounding controversy.

The first hypothesis that American Indian participants would have more negative affect as a result of viewing Neutral images of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo than Majority Culture participants was supported. The mean scores for each group on the Dysphoria Composite Scale were significantly different after each slide show was presented. Not only did each group have a dramatic change in scores within their group, but there was also a significant difference between the groups after each slide show. Figure 1 shows that, initially, when each participant came in, he/she had a significantly low baseline of dysphoria after he/she viewed the Neutral presentation scores for both

groups went up, but the American Indian group had a significantly higher mean score than the Majority Culture group after viewing the Neutral slide show. In fact, the American Indian group's mean score after viewing the Neutral slide show was in the range for experiencing moderate distress whereas the Majority Culture participants still had scores in the normal range. The supportive evidence for the current hypothesis becomes even clearer when the PASS Composite Scale mean scores and the corresponding figure (Figure 2) are examined. The figure shows that American Indian and Majority culture participants came to the study feeling fairly euthymic, exhibiting positive affect at an almost equal level. After viewing the Neutral slide show, both mean scores drop on the PASS scale, but the mean score for the American Indian group drops almost 15 points into the moderate distress range whereas the Majority Culture group's mean score only dropped by 2.5 points and are still in a positive affect state.

The second hypothesis that Majority Culture participants would have more negative affect as a result of viewing the Controversial images of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo than American Indians was not supported. While it is true that the Majority Culture group had higher scores of negative affect, it only applies to their scores becoming higher after they viewed the Controversial slide show. The reason the hypothesis was not supported was because the American Indian group's mean scores became significantly higher after viewing the Controversial slide show and much higher than those of the Majority Culture group. The Majority Culture group's mean score fell in to the range of moderate distress after viewing the Controversial slide show whereas the American Indian group's mean score fell into the range of significant distress. Interestingly, when the PASS mean scores are reviewed for each group, the Majority

Majority Culture group still has a score that is in the range for having positive affect. The American Indian group had a mean score that fell in the range for significant negative affect. Basically, Majority Culture group members were not as affected by the Controversial slide show as were the American Indian group members. The Majority Culture group maintained a level of positive affect, even though they experienced some moderate distress after viewing the Controversial slide show. The American Indians, on the other hand, had a mean score in the range of significant emotional distress and an extreme drop from positive affect to none at all.

Although the main Composite scales of the MAACL-R were used as the crux for supportive evidence for the first two hypotheses, the other subscales of the MAACL-R were examined to see how they affected the two groups and to see which subscales had the most contribution to the overall Dysphoria Composite Scale scores.

The Anxiety subscale did not reveal a significant difference between American Indian participants and Majority Culture participants. The within group's mean scores however did change significantly from the baseline scores and after each slide show. The mean scores for both groups were in the normal range. However, the American Indian group had higher levels of anxiety after viewing the neutral slide show rather than the controversial slide show as might be expected.

There were significant differences between the Majority Culture participants and the American Indian participants on the Depression subscale. Both groups started out with scores in the normal or average range. After the Neutral presentation was presented the Majority Culture group's mean score barely changed, while the American Indian group's mean score increased to a score that was near the moderate distress range. The

Controversial presentation caused the scores to increase minimally for the Majority Culture group and for the scores to continually rise for the American Indian group. The American Indian group's mean score for depression increased significantly after viewing the neutral slide show and continued to increase after viewing the controversial slide show. This examination indicates that the Depression scale contributed to the overall dysphoria experienced by American Indians.

Probably the most interesting results of the study are the findings from the examination of the Hostility subscale. The findings indicate that there was a significant difference between American Indian and Majority Culture participants on Hostility mean scores. There was also a significant difference of scores from the baseline and after each slide show within each group. The mean scores reveal that each group had a fairly low baseline on the Hostility subscale. After the neutral presentation, the scores for each group significantly increased; about 8 points for the Majority Culture group and about 32 points for the American Indian group. After the Controversial slide show, scores for each group continued to increase. The Majority Culture group's mean score increased by 40 points and the American Indian group's mean score increased by 30 more points. The American Indian group's mean score after the Neutral slide show put American Indians in the extremely significant range for hostility and remained there after viewing the Controversial slide show. The Majority Culture participants mean score reached the extremely significant range after they viewed the controversial slide show. The extremely high scores indicate proneness to violence according to the MAACL-R manual. These results suggest that the Hostility subscale had a major contribution to the overall Dysphoria Composite Scale mean scores.

The hypothesis that American Indian participants would have higher scores of psychological distress than non-Indian participants was supported. Indeed the results of the study found that American Indian participants did have significantly higher psychological distress than the Majority Culture participants. This finding coincides with the correlational analyses and the finding that American Indian participants had overall higher levels of negative affect than Majority culture participants on the Dysphoria scale of the MAACL-R.

The Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism (Oetting and Beauvais, 1991) was utilized to examine how the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and the surrounding issues affect bicultural, traditional, assimilated, and marginal American Indian students. The hypotheses were that Traditional American Indian participants would have higher scores of psychological distress than Assimilated American Indians and that Traditional American Indian participants would have higher scores of negative affect after viewing the Neutral images of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo. Both hypotheses were not supported. The results of the first hypothesis revealed that there was no significant difference between the Traditional and Assimilated American Indians on the Dysphoria Composite Scale's mean scores. There was, however, a significant change in scores within each group. The results showed that visually, each group had fairly similar scores at baseline and after each slide show (see Figure 6). The same is true for the PASS Composite Scale's mean scores for each group. The results revealed that the two groups had very similar mean scores with no significant difference (see Figure 7). The other two groups-Bicultural and Assimilated-showed slightly different visual patterns when examining the changing scores from baseline and after each slide show. However, there

were a fairly small number of participants in these two groups, so conclusions regarding the change in scores are difficult to reach.

Results of the second hypothesis revealed that the Traditional and Assimilated American Indians did not significantly differ from each other in terms of the psychological distress they are experiencing from the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo. This finding seems to coincide with the results from the first hypothesis that Traditional and Assimilated participants did not differ significantly in negative affect as measured by the MAACL-R Dysphoria and PASS Composite scales. The results indicate that Traditional and Assimilated American Indian participants both experienced high levels of negative affect after viewing each slide show and they both have experienced high levels of psychological distress due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and the surrounding controversy.

The findings from the current study suggest that the American Indian participants left the study feeling depressed and angry, with almost a total loss of positive affect. Interestingly, American Indian participants had baseline scores that were higher but not significantly different on the negative affect scales of the MAACL-R than the Majority Culture participants. Fortunately, baseline scores for the PASS Composite Scale were slightly higher than the Majority Culture group. This analysis suggests a number of possibilities as to why American Indians had higher scores at baseline than the Majority culture group. One possibility is that the American Indian students could have initial higher levels of distress due to being a minority student in a predominately Caucasian university. Another possibility could be that the American Indian students experience a level of discrimination, racism, and prejudice that affects their daily emotional state.

Recall that LaRocque (2001) found that American Indian students at the University of North Dakota had experienced incidents of discrimination, had greater levels of stress and tension, and felt their personal safety was threatened. These suggestions would also coincide with findings of Zakhar (1987) and Huffman (1991) that American Indian students at Midwestern universities often feel a certain amount of emotional turmoil from “being an outsider” and from events of discrimination and racism they may have experienced. Another suggestion is that American Indians are at a higher risk for psychological instability due to historical trauma (Walker; 2001, Lester; 1999; Bryon1997).

The Majority Culture participants may have left the study fairly angry depending on what slide show he/she saw first. If the Controversial slide show was seen last, then most likely these participants left feeling somewhat hostile. However, there was not an extreme change in their level of positive affect, which was a fairly good indicator that these participants would not act upon their anger and would most likely recover fairly quickly from their negative emotions. The participants in this group also are among the majority at UND and most likely are fairly integrated into the majority culture. They also have probably not experienced much racism and discrimination due to their cultural affiliation, if any at all.

The most interesting finding is that participants in the study had extremely high levels of hostility when they left the study to the extent of possibly having proneness to hostility, regardless of how high their psychological distress score was on the NLDS. The Majority Culture group experienced a major increase in their hostility after watching the Controversial slide show, but was fairly low after viewing the Neutral slide show.

Since their positive affect was still at a fairly average level when they left, their anger most likely subsided quickly and their positive affect probably increased to their baseline level.

These findings can also be generalized to other students in campus at the University of North Dakota. The findings can imply that American Indian students on campus at UND may have higher levels of psychological distress on a daily basis simply from seeing even neutral images of the “Fighting Sioux” nickname and logo. The images used in the Neutral presentation of the study were taken from things any person can see on a daily basis if a person spends time on campus. If an American Indian student is exposed to neutral images on a daily basis while attending classes on campus, seeing the images is most likely contributing to a level of psychological distress for the student. Seeing the nickname and logo images are also making the students more prone to hostility and feelings of depression. After examining the results of significant negative affect for the American Indians after they viewed the Controversial slide show, it is clear that controversial images of the “Fighting Sioux” nickname/logo and the surrounding controversy contribute to even higher levels of negative affect and psychological distress. Negative affect experienced at that level can contribute to American Indian students having a hard time functioning in their daily living. The students may have a harder time concentrating on their studies, trouble with sleeping, less motivation, and feel even more isolated. The hostility and anger can also contribute to difficulties with getting along with students of the majority culture which can further lead to hostile disagreements between students of the majority culture or further segregation between the majority culture and American Indian students on campus.

This study provides evidence that American Indian students and Majority culture students are experiencing negative affect and psychological distress due to the “Fighting Sioux” nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy but at different levels. American Indian students are experiencing a significant amount of psychological distress and negative affect from simply seeing images that are supposed to be neutral. The Majority Culture students are not affected at all by seeing neutral images. What is interesting is that seeing images that are controversial increased the negative affect for each group. This is without even considering the added hype that occurs when a controversial issue is brought up on campus about the “Fighting Sioux” nickname/logo, such as discussion panels, newspaper articles, news stories on television, classroom discussions, discussions around campus, or simply hearing verbalizations from others. Imagine how an American Indian student may feel when taking the added propaganda into consideration. It would be interesting to see how much more this would contribute to their negative affect or if it would at all.

There were some limitations to the current study. One limitation of this study was the content of the controversial slide show. It can be agreed that the images shown were controversial, but the slide show had images that may have been offensive to one group and not to the other. Therefore, conclusions cannot be made about what exact images caused the negative affect for each group. Another limitation was that there was a smaller number of participants who were Lakota/Dakota/Nakota than was initially hoped for. It would be interesting to replicate the study using participants identified as Lakota/Dakota/Nakota to see how affected they would be psychologically by the “Fighting Sioux” nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy since they are the tribes

that the nickname/logo is supposed to be representing. A last limitation is that there were not enough American Indian participants classified into each cultural affiliation group to reach any valid conclusions as to how cultural affiliation plays a role in the psychological impact of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and the surrounding controversy.

American Indian psychological research needs more exploration. The area of cultural affiliation and how it affects American Indians especially needs to be addressed further. Currently, there are very few studies conducted that have examined the effects of culture on American Indians. Although this study provided some significant results, further research regarding the effects of American Indian stereotypical images is clearly needed. More specific and meaningful research needs to be done in this area, other than offering opinion polls. More evidence needs to be obtained regarding the direct psychological impact of using American Indians as nickname, logos, and mascots, not only on college campuses, but on a national level as well. It can only be hypothesized that other universities that have an American Indian logo, nickname, or mascot would find similar results to this study. This is a serious issue that needs more attention since the findings of the current study do not contribute to a healthy learning environment for American Indian students. If this problem is not addressed, this issue will continue to contribute to the many problems American Indians face and assist in hindering their psychological well-being. This study did not offer any potential solutions to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo issue, but it did offer an area that needs to be addressed in regard to the seriousness of how American Indian students are being affected. In fact, the issue regarding the continuance or discontinuance of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo is still far from a resolution that will satisfy everyone. Hopefully, this

study will contribute to the issue by providing further research in this area and by helping find a resolution to a long standing issue among schools, universities, and professional athletic teams.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

APPENDIX B: THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

APPENDIX C: THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT-RESEARCHER COPY

Introduction: My name is Angela LaRocque and I am a fifth-year graduate student in Clinical Psychology. I am inviting you to participate in a study that is attempting to investigate possible psychological effects of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo.

Purpose: The purpose of the study is to investigate to what extent, if any, the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo affects American Indian and Majority Culture college students emotionally. This study will compare American Indian and Majority Culture students in regards to their differences of emotional reactions and distress after viewing two different slide presentations using different images and usage of the "Fighting Sioux" Nickname/Logo.

Benefits: The results of this study may not benefit the participant on an individual basis, but the results will contribute to society as a whole in how individuals and different groups may be affected with negative emotions and distress related to American Indian logos and nicknames used by universities, colleges, and professional sport teams.

Procedures: I will first ask you to fill out a demographic questionnaire and the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List-Revised (MAACL-R). Native American participants will also fill out the Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory (NPBI) before he/she fills out the MAACL-R. I will then ask you to watch a five-minute slide presentation. After you watch the slide presentation, you will be asked to fill out the MAACL-R again. After you complete the MAACL-R, you will be asked to watch another five-minute slide presentation different from the first. After you watch the slide presentation you will again be asked to fill out the MAACL-R for the last time and the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale. The MAACL-R is an adjective checklist that measures state affect. Each time you fill out the MAACL-R you will be asked to check those adjectives that describe "how you feel now." The Nickname and Logo Distress Scale will ask you questions pertaining to psychological distress you may have experienced due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy while attending UND. The NPBI consists of questions asking you to rate your attitudes, feelings, and participation in American Indian and White culture. The study should take you approximately 60 minutes to complete. Please keep the "Informed Consent-Participant Copy" for future reference.

Risks: Viewing the slide presentations and completing the questionnaires about feelings and emotions can be distressing for some participants. If during the study you experience negative emotional reactions, contact the principle investigator and a referral to the Psychological Services Center will be made immediately. You may also contact the Psychological Services Center (777-3691) or University Counseling Center (777-2127) if desired. This survey is strictly anonymous and results of the questionnaires will not be reviewed until they have been separated from the consent form.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal: Participation is strictly voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without penalty, loss of benefits, or adverse impact to your relationship with the University of North Dakota or Department of

Psychology. In order to withdraw, simply inform the researcher you are withdrawing from the study.

Confidentiality: All information is strictly confidential and anonymous. Your name will appear only on the front of the informed consent form, which will be detached from the rest of the research packet immediately upon completion. You will be assigned a subject number and at no time will your name be used in the data collection, entry, or analysis process. The consent form and research packet will be kept in separate locked file cabinets in the principle investigator's office in Corwin-Larimore, which will only be accessible by the principle investigator. Your subject number will be the only link between the consent form and the research packet. The rationale for this is if there should ever be an audit of my study by the IRB or a question/complaint regarding a participant's reaction, the link between consent forms and the raw data will enable the person's data to be identified. It will also ensure during the audit that no fraud was attempted in the data collection process.

The raw data will be kept for a period of three years following the study and will then be destroyed by shredding. In addition, there is a slight risk of breach of confidentiality. The principle investigator will take all steps to protect against a breach, including limiting access to raw data to the principle investigator only, password protecting the raw data on disk, and locking the disk in a file cabinet accessible only by the principle investigator.

Payment for Participation: You will receive one hour of extra credit in a psychology course of your choice. If you are not enrolled in a psychology course, you will be given \$5.00 for your participation in this research. Please include an address below that your extra credit or \$5.00 can be mailed to.

Inquiries: If you have any questions regarding this study or any related matters, or if in the future you have questions or want to know the results, please feel free to contact the investigators. Dr. J. Doug McDonald is the supervisor of this study and can be reached at 777-4495. I, Angela LaRocque, am a clinical psychology graduate student, as well as the principle investigator, and can be reached at 701-550-9324. Both the supervisor and the investigator, as well as the research assistants, can be contacted at the Indians Into Psychology Doctoral Education Program (INPSYDE) at 777-4497. If you have any other questions or concerns, please call the Office of Research and Program Development at 777-4279.

I have read the above description of this research study. I have been informed of the risks and benefits involved, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. Furthermore, I have been assured that any future questions I may have will also be answered by a member of the INSYDE research team. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. I understand that I will retain a copy of the consent form.

Signature of Participant

Date

Please check your preference:

____ **I would like extra credit in a psychology course.**
NAID and address:

Psychology course in which you are (or plan to be) enrolled:

____ **I would like to receive \$5.00 for my participation.**
Provide name and address:

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT-PARTICIPANT COPY

Introduction: My name is Angela LaRocque and I am a fifth-year graduate student in Clinical Psychology. I am inviting you to participate in a study that is attempting to investigate possible psychological effects of the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo.

Purpose: The purpose of the study is to investigate to what extent, if any, the "Fighting Sioux" nickname and logo affects American Indian and Majority Culture college students emotionally. This study will compare American Indian and Majority Culture students in regards to their differences of emotional reactions and distress after viewing two different slide presentations using different images and usage of the "Fighting Sioux" Nickname/Logo.

Benefits: The results of this study may not benefit the participant on an individual basis, but the results will contribute to society as a whole in how individuals and different groups may be affected with negative emotions and distress related to American Indian logos and nicknames used by universities, colleges, and professional sport teams.

Procedures: I will first ask you to fill out a demographic questionnaire and the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List-Revised (MAACL-R). Native American participants will also fill out the Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory (NPBI) before he/she fills out the MAACL-R. I will then ask you to watch a five-minute slide presentation. After you watch the slide presentation, you will be asked to fill out the MAACL-R again. After you complete the MAACL-R, you will be asked to watch another five-minute slide presentation different from the first. After you watch the slide presentation you will again be asked to fill out the MAACL-R for the last time and the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale. The MAACL-R is an adjective checklist that measures state affect. Each time you fill out the MAACL-R you will be asked to check those adjectives that describe "how you feel now." The Nickname and Logo Distress Scale will ask you questions pertaining to psychological distress you may have experienced due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy while attending UND. The NPBI consists of questions asking you to rate your attitudes, feelings, and participation in American Indian and White culture. The study should take you approximately 60 minutes to complete. Please keep the "Informed Consent-Participant Copy" for future reference.

Risks: Viewing the slide presentations and completing the questionnaires about feelings and emotions can be distressing for some participants. If during the study you experience negative emotional reactions, contact the principle investigator and a referral to the Psychological Services Center will be made immediately. You may also contact the Psychological Services Center (777-3691) or University Counseling Center (777-2127) if desired. This survey is strictly anonymous and results of the questionnaires will not be reviewed until they have been separated from the consent form.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal: Participation is strictly voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without penalty, loss of benefits, or adverse

impact to your relationship with the University of North Dakota or Department of Psychology. In order to withdraw, simply inform the researcher you are withdrawing from the study.

Confidentiality: All information is strictly confidential and anonymous. Your name will appear only on the front of the informed consent form, which will be detached from the rest of the research packet immediately upon completion. You will be assigned a subject number and at no time will your name be used in the data collection, entry, or analysis process. The consent form and research packet will be kept in separate locked file cabinets in the principle investigator's office in Corwin-Larimore, which will only be accessible by the principle investigator. Your subject number will be the only link between the consent form and the research packet. The rationale for this is if there should ever be an audit of my study by the IRB or a question/complaint regarding a participant's reaction, the link between consent forms and the raw data will enable the person's data to be identified. It will also ensure during the audit that no fraud was attempted in the data collection process.

The raw data will be kept for a period of three years following the study and will then be destroyed by shredding. In addition, there is a slight risk of breach of confidentiality. The principle investigator will take all steps to protect against a breach, including limiting access to raw data to the principle investigator only, password protecting the raw data on disk, and locking the disk in a file cabinet accessible only by the principle investigator.

Payment for Participation: You will receive one hour of extra credit in a psychology course of your choice. If you are not enrolled in a psychology course, you will be given \$5.00 for your participation in this research. Please include an address below that your extra credit or \$5.00 can be mailed to.

Inquiries: If you have any questions regarding this study or any related matters, or if in the future you have questions or want to know the results, please feel free to contact the investigators. Dr. J. Doug McDonald is the supervisor of this study and can be reached at 777-4495. I, Angela LaRocque, am a clinical psychology graduate student, as well as the principle investigator, and can be reached at 701-550-9324. Both the supervisor and the investigator, as well as the research assistants, can be contacted at the Indians Into Psychology Doctoral Education Program (INPSYDE) at 777-4497. If you have any other questions or concerns, please call the Office of Research and Program Development at 777-4279.

I have read the above description of this research study. I have been informed of the risks and benefits involved, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. Furthermore, I have been assured that any future questions I may have will also be answered by a member of the INSYDE research team. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. I understand that I will retain a copy of the consent form.

Signature of Participant

Date

Please check your preference:

____ **I would like extra credit in a psychology course.**
NAID and address:

Psychology course in which you are (or plan to be) enrolled:

____ **I would like to receive \$5.00 for my participation.**
Provide name and address:

APPENDIX C
Demographic Questionnaire

Please complete the following information as accurately as possible. All information is strictly confidential and anonymous. This form will not include your name, only a subject number and at no time will your name be used in the data collection process. This will ensure that you will not be linked to the information given. Please complete all questions. Thank You.

1. Your age: _____
2. Your gender (check one): Male _____ Female _____
3. Your year in school:
 - a. Freshman
 - b. Sophomore
 - c. Junior
 - d. Senior
 - e. Graduate
1. Your major: _____
2. Number of years you have attended the University of North Dakota _____
3. If you are American Indian, what is your tribal affiliation _____
- A. If non-Indian, please circle your primary ethnic identification:
 - a. Caucasian/majority culture
 - b. African American
 - c. Asian American
 - d. Latino/Hispanic American

APPENDIX D Nickname and Logo Distress Scale

The following questions ask you to describe your experiences in relation to possible psychological distress regarding the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and issue at the University of North Dakota (UND). Please read each question carefully and circle the number that seems most accurate for you. Answer each question according to your experience since the time you first came to UND. Do not skip or leave any questions blank. Thank you for your participation.

1. To what extent are you adversely affected by the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?

1	2	3	4
Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal
2. To what extent have you experienced stress related to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?

1	2	3	4
Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal
3. To what extent have you experienced symptoms of anxiety due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?

1	2	3	4
Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal
4. To what extent have you experienced symptoms of anger due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?

1	2	3	4
Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal
5. To what extent have you experienced symptoms of depression due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?

1	2	3	4
Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal
6. To what extent has the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy had an effect on your ability to perform well in your coursework at UND?

1	3	3	4
Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal

Total Score: _____

APPENDIX E

NPBI (Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory)

college

These questions ask you to describe your attitudes, feelings, and participation in Indian and White culture. Some of the questions may not apply to you. In these cases, one of the possible answers allows you to note this.

Read each question. Then fill in the number above the answer that seems most accurate for you, as in the example below. In the case of attitudes and feelings, your first impression is usually correct. We are interested in how much you are influenced by Indian and White culture regardless of your own ethnic background, keeping in mind that no two people have the same background.

Example: What is your degree of comfort with paper and pencil questionnaires?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. <u>X</u>	5. ____
No		Some		Great
comfort		comfort		comfort

In this example, the person felt moderate but not complete comfort with paper and pencil questionnaires, so filled in 4.

1. What is your degree of comfort around White people?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. ____	5. ____
No		Some		Great
comfort		comfort		comfort

2. What is your degree of comfort around Indian people?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. ____	5. ____
No		Some		Great
comfort		comfort		comfort

3. How interested are you in being identified with Indian culture?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. ____	5. ____
No		Some		Great
desire		desire		desire

4. How interested are you in being identified with White culture?

1. ____	2. ____	3. ____	4. ____	5. ____
No		Some		Great
desire		desire		desire

5. How often do you think in English?
 1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
 Rarely or Half the time Often or
 never think think in always think
 in English English in English
6. How often do you think in an American Indian language?
 1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
 I rarely or Half the Often or
 never think in time think in always think in Indian
 language Indian language in Indian language
7. How much confidence do you have in a medical doctor?
 1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
 I do not Have some Have strong
 use medical faith in faith in medical
 doctors medical doctors medical doctors
8. How much confidence do you have in a medicine man/woman?
 1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
 I do not Have some Have strong
 use the faith in the faith in the
 medicine medicine medicine
 man/woman man/woman man/woman
9. How much is your way of tracing ancestry White (focus on biological relative, descent through father)?
 1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
 I trace none I trace some I can trace
 of my ancestry of my ancestry all of my ancestry
 according to according to White according
 White custom custom White custom
10. How much is your way of tracing Indian ancestry Indian (cousins same as brothers and sisters, descent more through mother)?
 1. ____ 2. ____ 3. ____ 4. ____ 5. ____
 I trace none I trace some I can trace
 of my ancestry of my ancestry all of my
 according to according to ancestry
 Indian custom Indian custom according to
 Indian custom

11. How often do you attend Indian religious ceremonies (sweat lodge, Peyote churches, Sundance, vision quest)?
- | | | | | |
|---|---------|--|---------|---|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I have never
attended Indian
religious ceremonies | | I sometimes
attend Indian
religious ceremonies | | I attend Indian
religious ceremonies
frequently |
12. How often do you attend Christian religious ceremonies (Christenings, Baptisms, Church services)?
- | | | | | |
|--|---------|--|---------|--|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never attend
Christian
religious
ceremonies | | I sometimes
attend Christian
religious
ceremonies | | I attend
Christian
religious
ceremonies |
13. How often do you participate in popular music concerts and dancing?
- | | | | | |
|--|---------|--|---------|--|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never participate
in popular
concerts/dances
frequently | | I sometimes
participate in
popular concerts/
dances
frequently | | I participate in
popular
concerts/
dances
frequently |
14. How often do you participate in Indian dancing (Indian, Owl, Stomp, Rabbit, etc.)?
- | | | | | |
|--|---------|--|---------|--|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never
participate in
Indian dances | | I sometimes
participate in
Indian dances | | I participate
Indian dances
frequently |
15. To how many social organizations do you belong where a majority of the members are Indian?
- | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---------|---|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I belong to
no Indian
organizations | | I belong to
some Indian
organizations | | Several of the
organizations
I belong to are Indian |
16. To how many social organizations do you belong where a majority of the members are non-Indian?
- | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---------|---|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I belong to no
non-Indian
organizations | | I belong to
some non-Indian
organizations | | Several of the
organizations belong
to are non-Indian |

17. How often do you attend White celebrations (White ethnic festivals, parades, barbecues)?
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|---------|--|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never attend White celebrations | | I attend some White celebrations | | I attend White celebrations frequently |
18. How often do you attend Indian celebrations (Pow-wows, Wacipi, Indian rodeos, Indian softball games, Indian running events)?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never attend Indian celebrations | | I attend some Indian celebrations | | I frequently attend Indian celebrations |
19. Does anyone in your family speak an American Indian language?
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| They rarely or never speak Indian | | They speak Indian part of the time | | They often or always speak Indian |
20. How often does your family use English?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| They rarely or never speak English | | They speak English part of the time | | They often or always speak English |
21. What is your use of English?
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I rarely or never speak English | | I speak English part of the time | | I often or always speak English |
22. Do you speak an American Indian language?
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I rarely or never speak Indian | | I speak Indian part of the time | | I often or always speak Indian |
23. To what extent do members of your family have traditional Indian last names (like "Kills-in-Water")?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| None have Indian names | | Some have Indian names | | All have Indian names |

24. To what extent do members of your family have last names that are not traditional Indian last names (like "Smith")?
- | | | | | |
|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| None have | | Some have | | All have |
| White names | | White names | | White names |
25. How often do you talk about White topics and White culture in your daily conversation?
- | | | | | |
|------------------|---------|------------------|---------|--------------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never engage | | Sometimes | | I engage in |
| in topics of | | engage in topics | | topics of |
| conversation | | of conversation | | conversation about |
| about Whites and | | about Whites and | | about Whites and |
| their culture | | their culture | | their culture |
| frequently | | | | |
26. How often do you talk about Indian topics and Indian culture in your daily conversation?
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never engage | | Sometimes | | I engage in |
| in topics of | | engage in topics | | topics of |
| conversation | | of conversation | | conversation |
| about Indians and | | about Indians and | | about Indians |
| their culture | | their culture | | and their culture |
| frequently | | | | |
27. Do you wear White fashion jewelry?
- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|--------------|---------|--------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never | | I sometimes | | I often |
| wear fashion | | wear fashion | | wear fashion |
| jewelry | | jewelry | | jewelry |
28. Do you wear Indian jewelry?
- | | | | | |
|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never | | I sometimes | | I often |
| wear Indian | | wear Indian | | wear Indian |
| jewelry | | jewelry | | jewelry |
29. How Indian is your preference in clothing (dressing in bright colors, clothes with Native artwork)?
- | | | | | |
|---------------|---------|-----------------|---------|---------------|
| 1. ____ | 2. ____ | 3. ____ | 4. ____ | 5. ____ |
| I never dress | | I sometimes | | I often dress |
| according to | | dress according | | according to |
| Indian style | | to Indian style | | Indian style |

30. How White is your preference in clothing (dress according to White style and fashion)?

1. ____

I never dress
according to
White style

2. ____

3. ____

I sometimes
dress according
to White style

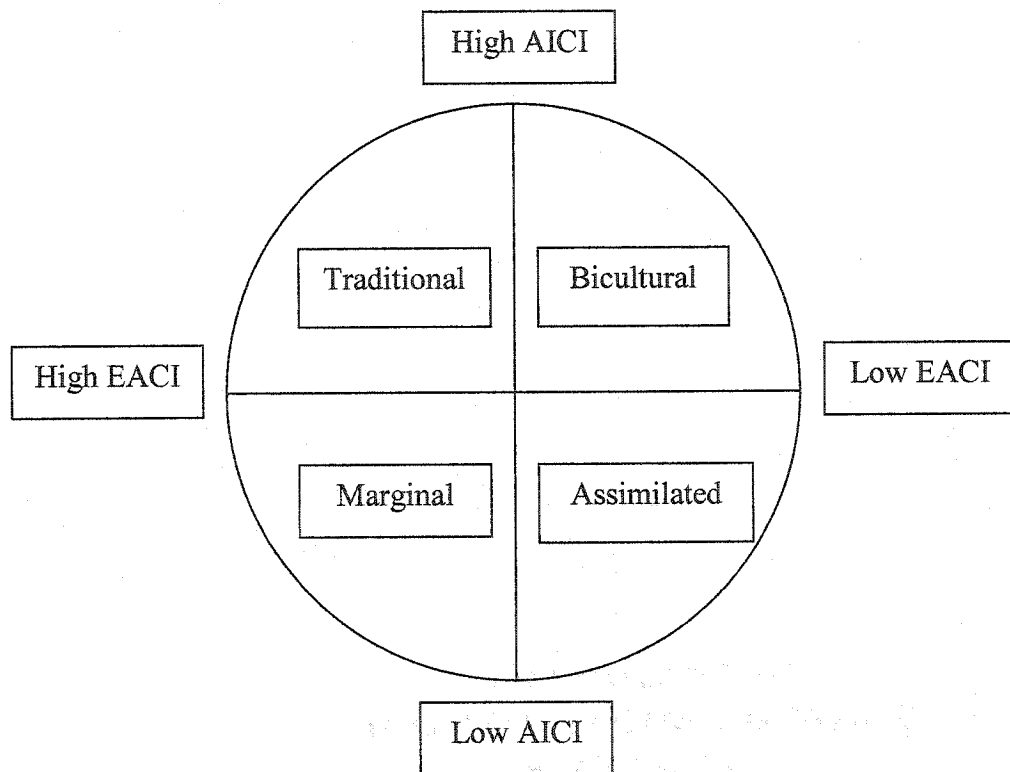
4. ____

5. ____

I often dress
according to
White style

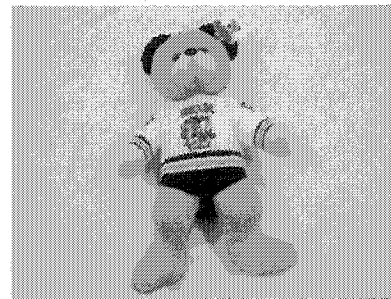
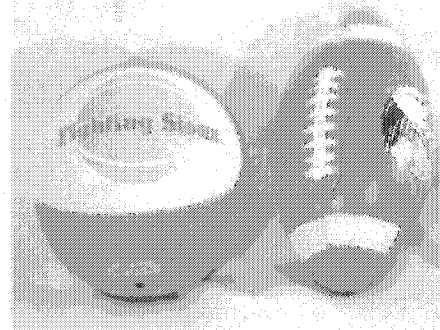
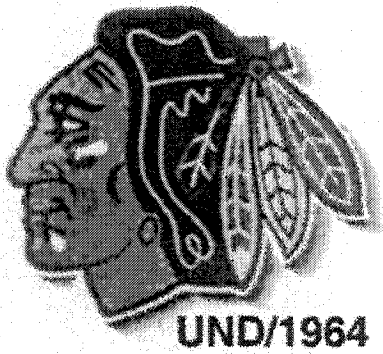
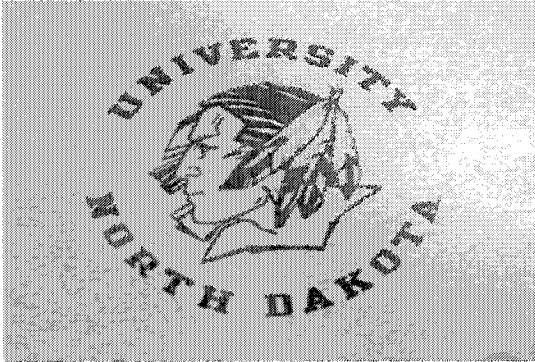
APPENDIX F

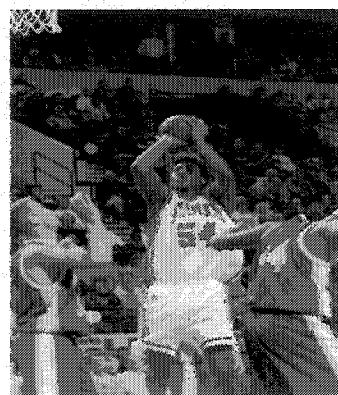
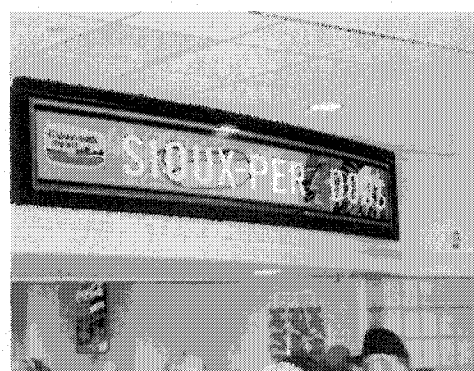
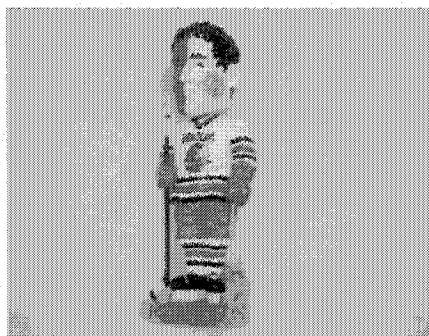
The Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism

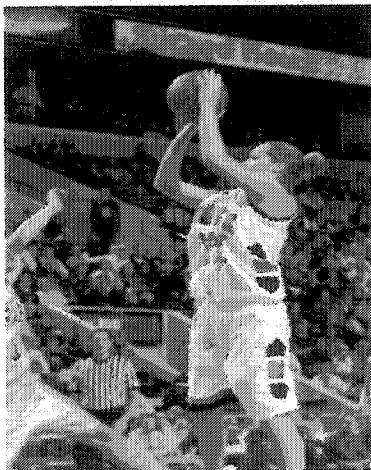
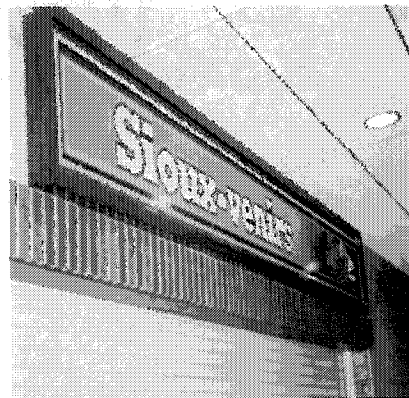
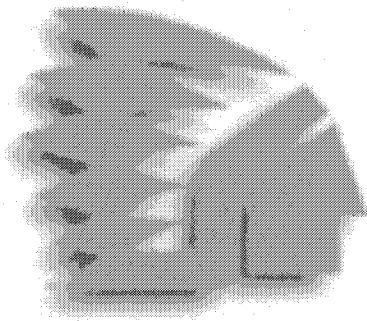


APPENDIX G

Images Shown in the Neutral Slideshow

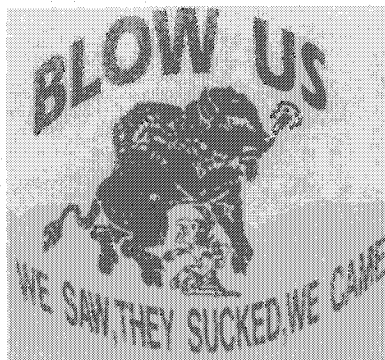
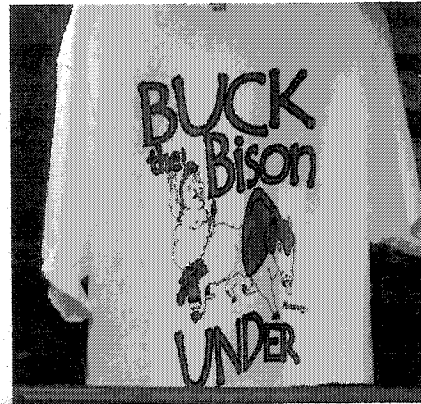
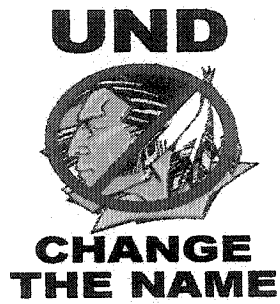






APPENDIX H

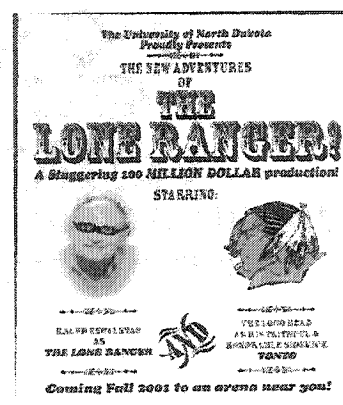
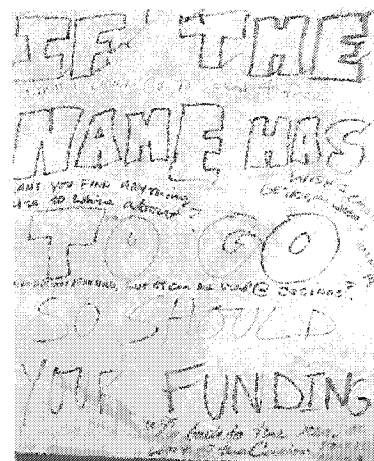
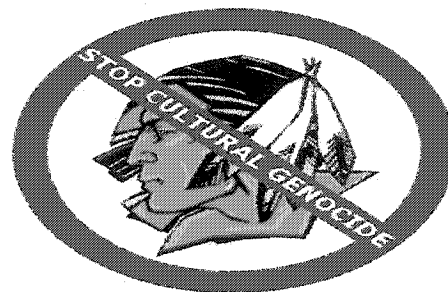
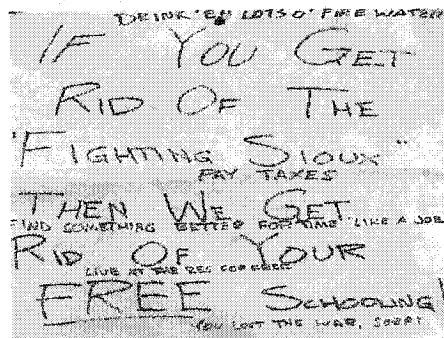
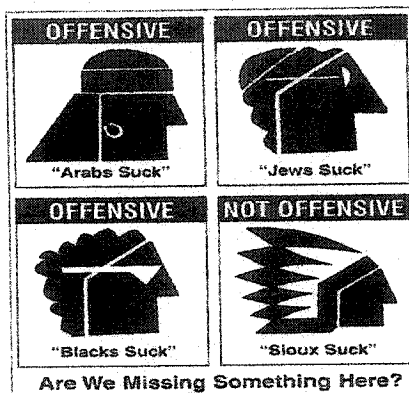
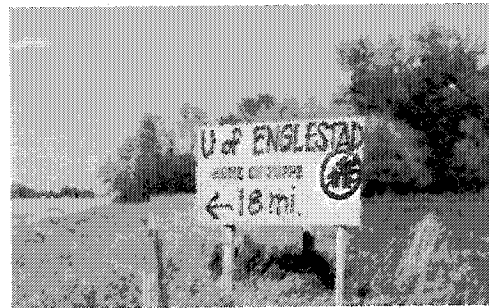
Images Shown in the Controversial Slideshow



Both of these things are just like the other...



H₂O is a brand of bottled water produced for and sanctioned by the University of North Dakota

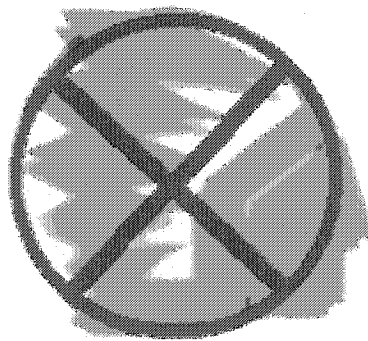
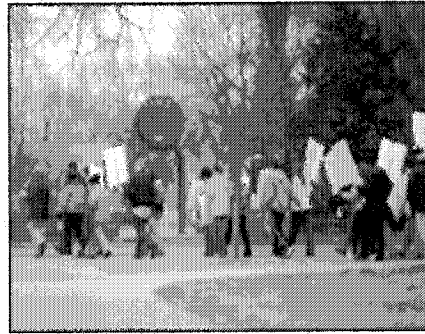




UND/1960/70s

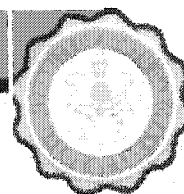
So, this is what
"honor" looks
like, huh?

University of North Dakota's
"Fighting Sioux" mascot
unable to fight back...



APPENDIX I

History of the Fighting Sioux Nickname at the University of North Dakota



DR. CHARLES E. KUPCHELLA
PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

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.⁽²⁾ 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 Harneson, 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.

FOOTNOTES

1. Besides team names, some reservations and Native American organizations continue to use graphic representations that are not unlike some of those that have been criticized at UND. See for example the home page of the Indian College Fund at <http://www.collegefund.org>.

2. Ice hockey, introduced into Canada by British soldiers stationed in Nova Scotia and first played in an organized fashion in Montreal in the 1870s, is thought by some authorities to be derived from the Native American game of lacrosse.

3. In 1992, after intense controversy, the Grand Forks School Board voted to end the "Redskins" team name of Central High School. A visible "Redskins Forever" sentiment simmered in the background for some years, and perhaps contributed to the polarizing of views about the team name issue at UND.

4. "Good evening and welcome to the University of North Dakota's Hyslop Sports Center. Tonight's game features the Bison of North Dakota State University against your Fighting Sioux. The University of North Dakota is the home of the Fighting Sioux. UND officially adopted the name of the Fighting Sioux in the 1930s to honor the American Indian tribes of the state. We ask that you cheer your team to victory and exhibit good sportsmanship, as well as respect for the American Indians and their rich culture and heritage. And now to honor America, please rise and join in the singing of our national anthem."

5. The Native American Programs Office has compiled the following list of American Indian-related programs and initiatives: Ah'jo gun; American Indians into Computer Science and Engineering; Chemistry/NSF Research Experience for Undergraduates; Collaborative Rural Interdisciplinary Service Training and Learning; Computer Science/NSF Research Experience for Undergraduates; Disability Research Encompassing Native Americans in Math and Science; Educational Opportunity Center; Elders Leading Breast Cancer Awareness; Excellent Beginnings; Family and Domestic Violence Training Project; Fort Berthold Community College and Turtle Mountain Community College Teacher Training Project; Howard Hughes Medical Biological

Sciences Improvement Project; Indian Studies; Indians into Medicine; Indians into Psychology Doctoral Education; Minority Access to Research Careers; Multicultural Scholars into Dietetics Program; National Resource Center on Native American Aging; Native Media Center; Native American Programs; Native Elder Research Center; Native American Law Project; Northern Plains Tribal Judicial Training Institute; Physics/NSF Research Experience for Undergraduates; Prairie Lands Addiction Technology Transition Center and Center of Excellence in Native American Substance Abuse; Recruitment/Retention of American Indians into Nursing; Ronald E. McNair Post Baccalaureate Achievement Program; Science: A Great Adventure; Science, Engineering and Math Technical Assistance Center; Student Support Service; Talent Search; and Upward Bound.

6. *The definition of who qualifies to be an Indian can be a matter of dispute, and varies from tribe to tribe. The author's mother, a one-quarter blood enrolled member of the Chippewa Tribe of Minnesota who never lived on a reservation, in the early 1990s shared in the White Earth Land Settlement; her children, although also enrolled members, did not qualify.*

7. *In June 1993, 39 leaders of various subgroups of the Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota Nations and Bands met in Kyle, S.D., for their periodic summit meeting. Included were representatives from the then Devils Lake Sioux Tribe (now Spirit Lake Nation), Peter Belgarde; Standing Rock Tribe, Charles Murphy; Sisseton-Wahpeton Tribe, Lorraine Rousseau; and Turtle Mountain Ojibwe Band, Betty Lavurdure. The summit adopted a resolution that "the Nations and bands here assembled denounce the use of any American Indian name or artifacts associated with team mascots, and that the Nations call upon all reasonable individuals in decision making-positions to voluntarily change racist and dehumanizing mascots."*

8. <http://www.und.nodak.edu/org/span/bridges>

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