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"They need to get over it..." The dismissal of Native American social issues

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"THEY NEED TO GET OVER IT…" THE DISMISSAL OF NATIVE AMERICAN SOCIAL ISSUES

By

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B.A. University of Maine, 2012

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

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(in Psychology)

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"THEY NEED TO GET OVER IT…" THE DISMISSAL OF NATIVE AMERICAN SOCIAL ISSUES

By Andrew Tomer

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Jordan LaBouff

An Abstract of the Thesis Presented
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
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Native Americans face adverse socioeconomic and academic disparities. In addition to these disparities, Native Americans must also contend with unfair stereotypes about their groups. These stereotypes about Native Americans are reinforced through a number of public portrayals including Native American mascots. These mascots reinforce the idea that Native Americans are anachronistically frozen in time, and promote both positive and negative stereotypes about them. Although a national call by the American Psychological Association was made to discontinue use of the mascots, as well as a relatively large body of research suggesting the harm that these portrayals of Native Americans, the use of these mascots persist in both professional and amateur sports. Those opposing these mascots, claiming that these portrayals promote harmful stereotypes and discrimination, get dismissed as being overly sensitive – that they need to get over it and move on to more important issues. These findings are consistent with past research that demonstrates claiming discrimination leads people to label those targets as "complainers".

The present research investigated the extent to which issues about Native Americans concerning their group image would be devalued compared to other issues Native Americans are facing, and similar group image issues other groups are facing. In Study 1 we investigated the extent to which a Native American target protesting the use of Native American mascots on the grounds of the mascot promoting

stereotyping and discrimination would be dismissed as the target being hypersensitive compared to when discrimination was being attributed to an unfavorable court decision. In Study 2 we extended the findings from Study 1 by examining how other forms of cultural of appropriation that targets Native Americans would be dismissed in the same fashion for comparable ethnic minority group (i.e., African Americans). Specifically we expected Native American cultural appropriation issues (i.e., *Redface*) to be dismissed more than African American cultural appropriation issues (i.e., *Blackface*). Findings from each of these studies indicate that people hold general dismissive attitudes toward cultural appropriation issues involving Native Americans. In Study 1, results indicate that participants labeled the Native American target as being hypersensitive and discouraged him from engaging in proactive behaviors to improve his situation when discrimination was being attributed to mascot use compared to when discrimination was being attributed to an unfavorable court decision. In Study 2, contrary to expectations, we found that those who protest *Blackface* were more likely to be labeled as hypersensitive and discouraged from engaging in proactive behaviors compared to those protesting *Redface* – these effects were predicted by a worldview that ignores racial differences (i.e., colorblind racial ideology).

These studies found that claiming discrimination leads to dismissive attitudes from outgroup members. However, future research is needed to develop intervention methods in order to increase the understanding by outgroup members as to why stereotypical portrayals of underprivileged minority groups. In particular, due to a lack of general social psychological research, future studies should increase focus on understanding prejudice and discrimination against Native Americans and developing methods to mitigate these outcomes.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Native Americans are one of the most disenfranchised groups in the United States. Approximately 39% of Native Americans fall into relative poverty compared to only 18% of Whites (Huyser, Takei, & Sakamoto, 2014). Additionally, a poll in 2010 suggested only 51% of Native Americans graduate high school (edweek.org, 2013). Native Americans also make up less than 1% of all college attendees, and only .7% of all who earn post-secondary degrees (U.S. Department of Education, as cited in the Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac, 2005–2006). In addition to facing socioeconomic and academic disparities, Native Americans must also contend with stereotypes about them in society. Modern depictions of Native Americans are anachronistic, freezing them in the 19th century (Levitt et al., 2015). These images promote resilient positive stereotypes (brave, religious, silent, and nature-loving) and negative stereotypes (lazy, lecherous, superstitious, untrustworthy, thieving, drunken Indian; Fryberg, 2003; King et al., 2002) about Native Americans.

Past literature has demonstrated that being the target of both positive stereotypes (i.e., inferred complimentary group-based characteristics; Czopp, Kay, & Cheryan, 2015; Siy & Cheryan, 2013) and negative stereotypes (i.e., inferred critical group-based characteristics; Devine, 1989; McCoy & Major, 2003) results in negative intergroup and affective consequences. For example, Siy and Cheryan (2013) found that when an outgroup confederate made Asian American participants the target of a positive stereotype (e.g., all Asians are good at math), participants evaluated the confederate as being prejudiced toward Asian Americans because being a target of positive stereotypes made them feel depersonalized (i.e., viewed through the lens of group membership rather than personal attributes) — demonstrating a disruption of intergroup harmony. McCoy and Major (2003) also demonstrated that when women (Study 1), and Latinos

(Study 2) who held their group membership close to their self-concept were more likely to report depressed affect when they were explicitly the target of negative stereotypes about their groups. Other research demonstrates that feeling evaluated through the lens of a negative stereotype about one's group leads to detrimental performances on academic tasks (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002), and work-related tasks (Inzlict & Kang, 2010).

For Native Americans, the historically oriented stereotypes they must face are often portrayed in the form of sports mascots (Davis, 1993). Much literature to date has addressed the potential harm to Native Americans caused by Native American mascots (NAMs; King et al., 2002; Staurowsky, 2007) due to the stereotypical nature of the mascots. It has been suggested that these stereotypes cause similar harmful effects as those described in the research above. In fact, the American Psychological Association (APA) issued a report that called for the retirement of NAMs in collegiate sports. It was stated that the mascot's racist nature may lead to "an unwelcome and often times hostile learning environment for American Indian students that affirms negative images/stereotypes that are promoted in mainstream society" (pp.1; *APA*, 2005).

Following this call to retire the mascots, psychological researchers took the task of empirically supporting the claims being made by the APA. For example, Kim-Preito and her colleagues (2008) found that when participants were primed with Native American mascots, it led to increased stereotyping about other racial groups (e.g., Asian Americans). Additionally, findings by Chaney, Burke, and Burkley (2010) demonstrated that participants who implicitly associated negative stereotypical terms for Native Americans with Native American mascots were also likely to expect that a Native American confederate would be more likely to enjoy a stereotype-consistent task (i.e., cultural knowledge or environmental knowledge task) over a stereotype- inconsistent task (i.e., math or verbal task). Further, research by Fryberg and her colleagues (2008) found that despite reported positive evaluations of NAMs, Native American participants reported lower levels of self-esteem, community worth, and an inability to foresee

themselves in high-achieving careers following exposure to NAMs. This research demonstrating the harmful effects that mascots have on intragroup perception of Native people and intergroup relations between White majority members and Native Americans.

Although this research clearly demonstrates the harmful effects of stereotypical of portrayals of Native people (e.g., Chaney, Burke, Burkley, 2010; Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman & Stone, 2008), supporters of NAMs tend to invalidate and dismiss any possible harm or notion of discrimination emanating these portrayals, claiming these images honor Native people (Clark, Spanierman, Reed, Sobel, & Cabana, 2011; Neville et al., 2011). This has resulted in conflict between public groups, such as school districts, and Native Americans (Tomer & LaBouff, 2016). In two studies, we investigated the extent to which concerns about media that stereotypes Native American are ignored or otherwise discounted in comparison to other social issues Native Americans face (Study 1), and compared to another ethnic group (i.e., African Americans; Study 2).

The costs of confronting discrimination

Past literature has demonstrated that stigmatized targets attribute negative outcomes to discrimination only in situations where there is 100% certainty that discrimination occurred (Ruggerio & Taylor, 1995; 1997). This is due to the perception that a target's discrimination claims will have damaging effects on their social self-esteem (Ruggerio & Taylor, 1997), and that they will be labeled as hypersensitive, overly emotional, and unpleasant (Feagin & Sikes, 1994). Research investigating the legitimacy of these social consequences found that when African Americans are faced with clearly articulated discrimination when being judged for an academic task (i.e., participants were told that the judges of the task were explicitly prejudiced against African Americans) and voiced their disapproval by attributing these negative outcomes to discrimination, observers dismissed these discrimination claims as the target being overly

sensitive relative to when poor evaluations were attributed to other external (i.e., task too hard) or internal (i.e., unprepared for task) causes (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; 2003). The results from these studies suggest that regardless of how blatant the discrimination against a stigmatized target is, observers still evaluate these targets negatively effectively minimizing their distress.

Research on Native American mascots demonstrates that observers dismiss the evidence that the mascots promote negative stereotypes about Native Americans in a similar fashion as described in the above research. Findings from this research (Clark et al., 2011; Steinfeldt et al., 2010) indicates that Native Americans who protested the use of Native American mascots were evaluated as contentious attention seekers. Although this research demonstrates that supporters of Native American mascots will denigrate those who protest these mascots, we understand less about how individuals react to these mascot issues compared to other issues of concern to Native people. In the study by Steinfeldt and colleagues (2010), the researchers found that approximately 8% of their sample minimized protests against the use of the mascots by stating that there are more salient issues Native Americans should be attending to. Similarly, Neville and colleagues (2010) also found that approximately 10% of their participants stated that there are more important issues at hand than Native mascots (Neville, Yeung, Todd, Spanierman, & Reed, 2011). These findings suggest that people may be inclined to view protesters' concerns with mascots as benign relative to other critical issues Native Americans face (e.g., poverty, educational disparities), denoting paternalistic attitudes toward Native American issues.

Support for Native American Mascots

An accumulation of evidence suggests that Native American mascots perpetuate stereotypes with negative implications for both targets and majority group members (Fryberg, 2003; Fryberg & Townsend, 2008; Fryberg et al 2008; Kim-Pireto et al, 2010; etc.), however, many supporters believe that these mascots represent pride, and honor Native people (King,

2010). Researchers have scarcely begun to develop an understanding as to why people continue to support these mascots despite this evidence. One possible explanation is that Native Americans are relatively socially invisible - their issues go unnoticed compared to other social groups (Fryberg & Townsend, 2008), therefore those who support mascots may do so because they simply do not see the harm they cause to Native people. Unfortunately no known empirical evidence exists to fully investigate this notion. Another potential reason for NAM support is that they promote positive stereotypes about Native Americans. Positive stereotypes are subjective, favorable constructions about members of social groups that either directly or indirectly assign domain-specific characteristics that are construed as being advantageous to the target group (Czopp, Kay, & Cheryan, 2015). However, positively stereotyping groups leads to some of the same negative intergroup consequences as negative stereotyping (i.e., intergroup anxiety, expectations of prejudice; Siy, & Cheryan, 2013; 2016).

The extent to which these consequences are unique to NAM's "positive" nature is currently unknown. It could be inferred, however, that in the context of sports, especially the emulated battlefields of American football (*Slate,* 2009), having a mascot that promotes aggression and savagery is likely intended as a compliment. Evidence indicates that people associate Native American mascots with warlike qualities after being exposed to those compared to White or animal mascots (Angle et al., 2016), and perceive Native Americans as more aggressive after exposure to NAMs compared to White mascots (Burkely, Burkely, Andrade, & Bell, 2016). These findings suggest that some of the support for NAMs may be motivated by the maintenance of positive stereotyping.

How might positive stereotypes impact the general support of Native American mascots? Researchers find that positive stereotypes, unlike negative stereotypes, are far more socially acceptable. For example, participants were more likely to positively evaluate a confederate who described social groups in terms of positive stereotypes than negative stereotypes (Mae &

Carlston, 2005). Further research by Kay, Day, Zanna, and Nussbaum (2013) demonstrates that positive stereotypes typically "fly under the radar" in social situations. Participants exposed to positive African American stereotypes were more likely to endorse those positive stereotypes about African Americans (i.e., athletically inclined) over negative stereotypes (i.e., intellectually inferior; Study 1), were less likely to express aversive emotions toward these positive stereotypes (Study 2), were more likely to endorse an essentialist perspective on intergroup differences (i.e., that African Americans are biologically different than Whites; Study 3), and were more likely to subsequently endorse negative stereotypes about African Americans (Study 4) compared to those exposed to positive stereotypes about Whites. This suggests NAMs may be resistant to critique because they evoke socially acceptable positive stereotypes that are interpreted as compliments. However, this does not necessarily explain people's obdurate support for these mascots when it is made clear that they promote harmful stereotypes (Chaney et al., 2010).

Researchers have indicated that positive stereotypes are often more prescriptive than negative stereotypes (Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Heilman, 2001). That is, positive stereotypes can describe how group members *are*, as well as create expectations for how group members *should* be. Research examining the impact of prescriptive stereotypes suggests that when group members attempt to escape or alter their stereotyped images, they are likely to face penalties from more powerful outgroup members as a means to maintain social inequalities (Phelan & Rudman, 2010). Czopp (2010) found that participants who read about an African American with an athletic scholarship who was struggling in school were more likely to encourage him to ignore academics in favor of athletics compared to participants who read about a comparable White student. This suggests that people prescriptively endorse positive stereotypes – that is, they are comfortable with giving ineffective advice to peers when that advice is consistent with the positive, prescriptive stereotypes about their groups.

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Rejecting Positive Stereotypes

The above research suggests that majority members are more receptive of positive stereotypes and motivated to maintain them. What happens in cases where minorities protest positive stereotyping? As previously reviewed, Kaiser and Miller (2001) found that even when discrimination was completely evident, African American confederates were viewed as complainers, unfavorable, and less true to themselves when they attributed a negative outcome to discrimination as opposed to when they attributed the failure to internal (i.e., was unprepared for the task) or alternative external factors (i.e., the task was too difficult).

Following this paradigm, Diebels and Czopp (2011) examined the consequences of attributing positive, rather than negative, outcomes to discrimination. In the first study, participants were asked to evaluate three vignettes describing undergraduate student's scholastic experiences at a university. In each of three conditions (i.e., a positive stereotype condition, a lucky condition, and a proficient condition), the participants viewed an excerpt from an Asian confederate describing his experience with a piece of homework he received a favorable grade on. Relative to the conditions in which the confederate attributed his grade to luck, or personal proficiency, participants were more likely to evaluate the confederate as more hypersensitive, less favorable, and less approach worthy. This suggests that in cases when positive stereotypes lead to favorable outcomes, targets are expected to express gratification rather than disapproval, regardless of the reason. In each condition, participants read about an Asian American student who earned a good grade on a difficult assignment. When the student attributed their success to a professor positively stereotyping Asians as being intellectually superior, they were more likely to rate them as hypersensitive, less positively, and less approachable than when the their success was attributed to luck or their own proficiency. When minority groups acknowledge the influence of stereotypes, whether positive or negative, they are dismissed as hypersensitive complainers.

In the second study, participants were presented with a scenario where an Asian woman was selected for a job over an equally qualified White man. When the Asian woman attributed their success to stereotypes about their group rather than their qualifications participants rated her as being more hypersensitive, immodest, and less favorable than a White man in the same situation (i.e., being selected over a White woman and attributing their success to stereotypes about their group). This work suggests that minorities who protest prescriptive stereotypes about their groups face more severe consequences than their majority group counterparts.

To what extent do these patterns extend to NAMs? NAMs reflect positive stereotypes about Native Americans (e.g., tough, warrior-like). In cases where targets are making discrimination claims through the use of Native American mascots, the inferred complimentary nature of NAMs as positive stereotypes may lead those who are perceiving these discrimination claims to balk at such claims. Such dismissal may lead people to label claimants of discrimination as oversensitive.

Overview of the current research

Given that Native American issues typically go unnoticed (Fryberg & Townsend, 2008), and even in cases where they are noticed they are generally perceived as trivial (Clark et al., 2011; Neville et al., 2011; Steinfeldt et al., 2010) we sought to investigate the extent to which Native American mascot issues dismissed relative to other Native issues, and compared to other groups. In Study 1 participants read one of two different articles that addressed separate issues concerning Native Americans facing discrimination. In one scenario, a Native Americans student protested the discriminatory nature of their high school's mascot. In the other, a Native tribe protested the discriminatory nature of a court denying them of control of their historical land. In Study 2 we investigated whether similar types of discounting occurred when the discrimination claims were made because of analogous representations of Native Americans (i.e., *Redface*;

Strong, 2004). We also compared whether these claims of discrimination are more or less discounted than those claims made by a similar outgroup (i.e., African Americans; *Blackface*). Finally, we explored what individual differences precede these attitudes (e.g., prejudiced attitudes). In both studies we examine the extent to which people judge those who protest discriminatory representations as hypersensitive and unfavorable. We also examine whether participants believe these targets of stigma should put forth effort to respond to these representations.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

In study one, we investigated the extent to which a fictitious Native American target would be negatively evaluated on the basis of claims of discrimination. As described above, past research indicates that when racial minorities who attribute negative outcomes to discrimination are likely to be dismissed as complainers (Kasier & Miller, 2001), even when the stereotypes involved are positive (Diebels & Czopp, 2011). Given that people generally discount protests against NAMs (Neville et al., 2011; Steinfeldt et al., 2010), we expected that Native Americans who protest NAMs as discriminatory will be increasingly dismissed and negatively evaluated compared to Native Americans who protest the discriminatory nature of other issues – these effects were expected to be stronger when the stereotypes describing Native Americans were positive relative to when they were negative. We also expected that those who protested NAMs would be dissuaded from pursuing proactive solutions (i.e., going to an authority figure to improve the situation).

Method

Participants and Recruitment

Participants ($n = 274$) were recruited from *Amazon's Mechanical Turk* (138 female; 51%). Participants were paid $.50 upon completion of the survey. Age ranged from 18-69 ($M = 35.8$, $SD = 12.2$). Participant ethnicities were approximately 75% White/Caucasian, 10% Asian/Pacific Islander, 6% Black/African American, 6% Hispanic, 2% Multiracial/Biracial, and <1% Native American. Three participants were removed from final analysis due to failing a manipulation check, and one was removed because of ingroup affiliation (i.e., Native American) leaving our final total at $n = 270$.

Materials & Procedure

Participants first provided informed consent. They were then prompted:

"For the following, you will be evaluating articles that were submitted by students from various university journalism programs from across the country as part of their public portfolio. Your job is to examine and assess the works of the authors and the topics of their articles. In the next section, you'll be randomly presented with a particular author's piece for your review and recommendation of publication. Please carefully read the article and be prepared to answer some follow up opinion-oriented questions regarding the piece."

Participants then read a fabricated news piece about a social issue that pertains to Native Americans, describing them in terms of positive, negative, or no stereotypes. In each case, a Native American, Jonathon Falk, is attributing a negative outcome to discrimination. His description is accompanied by a rebuttal from outgroup members that describe positive, negative, or no stereotypes about Native people (please see Appendix A for materials).

In the positive stereotype condition, participants read about a high school in Bellevue, Kansas that is experiencing a controversy over the use of Native American mascots. Jonathan claims that Native people are being presented in a way that reflects historically-oriented stereotypes, and that since bringing the issue to an authority figure he has seen his grades and social life suffer. Next, a peer defends the mascot's intention as a symbol of the toughness and spirit of Native people, and that Native groups need to stop pulling the race card to get what they want. Finally, an authority figure presents a similar argument, stating that the mascot raises money for the school, and that it represents the pride and culture of the Native people who once lived on the land. In the negative stereotype condition, Jonathan protests the NAM as reflecting stereotypes of Natives as a bunch of broken drunks. His peer and the interviewed authority figure reinforce and endorse those negative stereotypes explicitly.

The control condition addresses a separate social issue. Jonathan protests a court decision denying his tribe rights to the Pemigewasset River in New England as discriminatory and claims

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he has faced backlash since speaking out about the issue. As in the experimental conditions, an authority figure rebuts the claims of discrimination but without endorsing any particular stereotypes.

Manipulation Check

Participants were then asked to describe, in as much detail as could be recalled, the article they just read. Next, participants completed two items that assessed whether the article was a credible piece of writing and if the article was characteristic of an article they might see online (7-point scale; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). In general, participants agreed that the article was credible ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.3$) and shared was consistent with online writing ($M = 5.47$, $SD = 1.2$). Additionally, there were no significant differences in these items across conditions ($p > 30$; $p = .25$, respectively).

Dependent measures

Target Evaluation

Participants next completed several measures evaluating Jonathon Falk. The first measure included three items that assessed the degree to which participants believed that the Jonathon should approach (i.e., "… should take this issue to a higher authority?), escape from (i.e., "… should relocate because of this issue?"), and avoid (i.e., "… should stop complaining and move on from this issue?") the issue presented in each condition. Each item was scored on a Likert 7-point scale (1 = *Definitely should not*; 7 = *Definitely should*).

Participants then completed measures of hypersensitivity and favorability of the target (Deibels & Czopp, 2015) on an 11-point scale (0 = *not at all*; 10 = *very much*). These items asked, "To what extent do you believe the following traits characterize Jonathon Falk?" Hypersensitivity was measured with eight items: hypersensitive, complainer, overreactive,

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irritating, argumentative, troublemaker, and (reverse-scored) appreciative and grateful. Favorability was measured with twelve items: likable, respectable, optimistic, independent, responsible, considerate, friendly, honest, genuine, open-minded, modest, and (reverse-scored) arrogant.

Attitudes

Next, participants completed items assessing attitudes toward Native Americans using Morrison, Morrison, Harriman, and Jewell's (2008) 14-item modified Modern Prejudice Attitudes toward Aboriginals Scale (MPATAS; modification changed "Aboriginals" to "Native Americans"). This scale included items such as "Native Americans should stop complaining about the way they are treated and simply get on with their lives," and "Native Americans still need to protest for equal rights" (reverse scored). All items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*).

Following this, attitudes toward mascots were assessed with 7 items adapted from Bresnahan and Flowers (2008), modified to generalize to all Native American mascots. This included items such as "Native American mascots are not offensive " (reverse scored) and "Native American mascots are racist", and was scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*) where higher scores indicate that participants find the mascot more offensive. Participants were also asked whether they believed Native American mascots *are* offensive to Native people and whether they believed the mascots *should be* offensive to Native people. These two items were scored on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much so*).

Demographics

Finally, participants provided demographic information on their age, gender, race, geographical information, and political orientation (1 = *extremely conservative*, 7 = *extremely liberal*).

Results

Relationships between dependent variables

Upon conducting a series of bivariate correlations, we found that modern prejudice toward Native Americans was associated positively with conservative political ideology ($r = .57$, $p = .001$) and inversely related to participant's attitudes toward Native American mascots, $r = -.70$, $p = .001$. This suggests that those who hold negative attitudes toward Native Americans were more likely to be more politically conservative and less likely to find Native American mascots offensive. Additionally, political conservatism was strongly predictive of whether the mascot was offensive, $r = -.60$, $p = .001$, where those who were more politically conservative were less likely to believe NAMs are offensive. All means, standard deviations, and correlations are provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations.

	Mean (*SD*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	α
1. Hypersensitivity	4.94 (2.28)	---								.89
3. Favorability	6.12 (2.03)	-.66**	---							.94
3. Attitudes toward NA	3.08 (0.94)	.66**	-.51*	---						.94
4. Mascot Attitudes	3.10 (1.21)	-.61**	.51**	-.70**	---					.95
5. Approach	4.99 (1.72)	-.64**	.54**	-.53**	.50**	---				---
6. Escape	2.72 (1.55)	.22**	-.14*	.22**	-.14*	-.11	---			---
7. Avoid	3.31 (1.99)	.76**	-.56**	.66**	-.61**	-.71**	.33**	---		---
8. Political Orientiation	3.43 (1.77)	.46**	-.36**	.57**	-.60**	-.35**	.22**	.42**	---	---

Note: * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01

Positive versus negative stereotypes

To test our initial hypothesis concerning whether positive stereotypes would lead participants to evaluate Jonathon more harshly than negative stereotypes, we conducted a series of one-way ANOVAs. Although we observed significant main effects of condition on our dependent variables (e.g., hypersensitivity; F (2, 268) = 5.45, p = .005, η_p^2 = .04) pairwise comparisons revealed no differences in perceptions of Jonathon the target whether he was being confronted with positive (e.g., M = 4.71, SD = 2.50) or negative stereotypes (M = 4.92, SD = 2.38) about his group (t (175) = .58, p > .30; see Figure 1 for all dependent measures between positive and negative stereotype condition). Therefore, we collapsed these conditions together and analyzed the data comparing participants who read about mascots (n = 178) to those who did not (n = 92).

Effects of Positive versus Negative Stereotypes on Dependent Measures
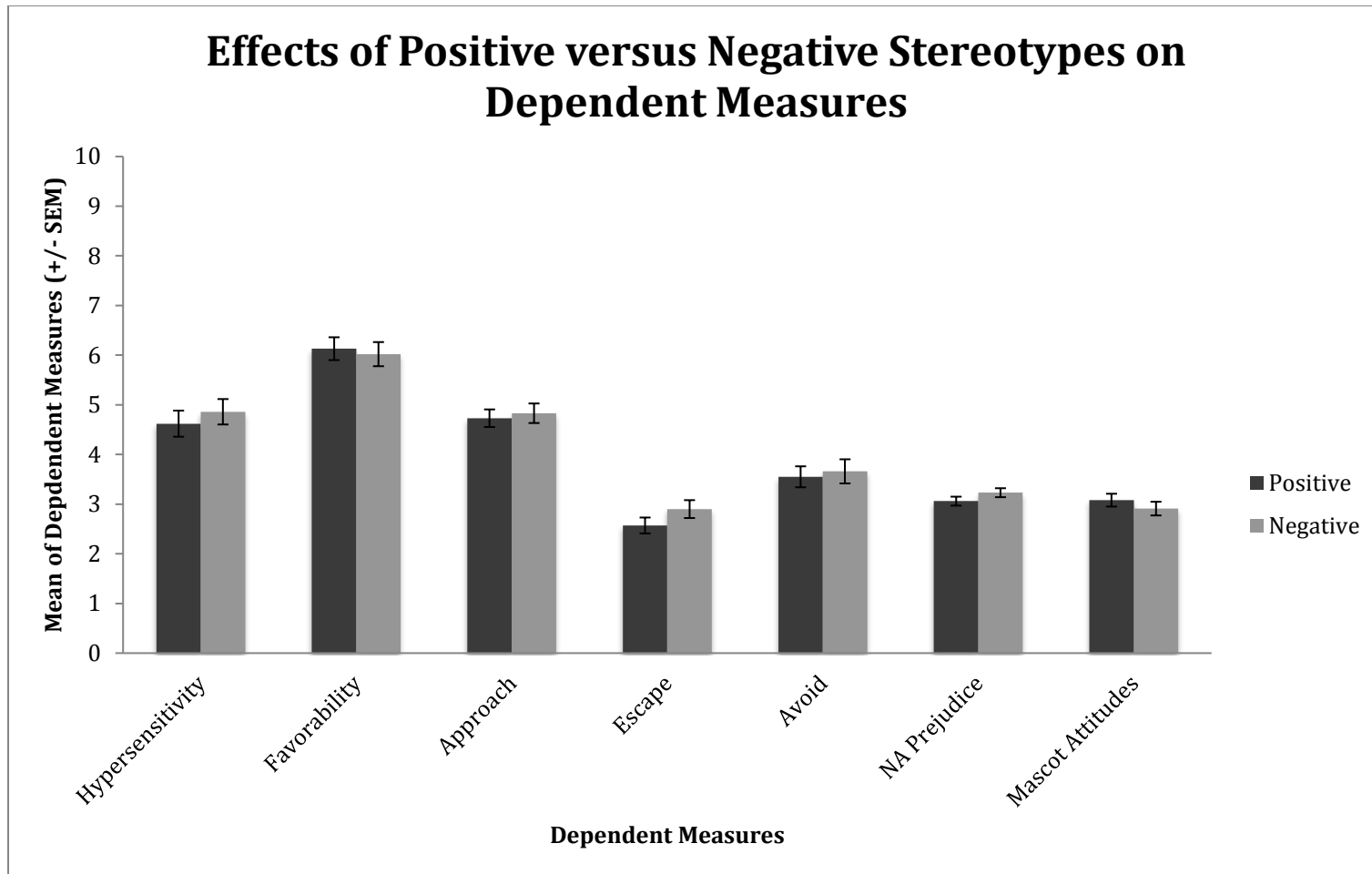
Figure 1. Participant self-reports between positive and negative stereotypes, *p*'s > .20

Mascots and target evaluations

Hypersensitivity and favorability

After collapsing across conditions, we conducted independent *t*-tests to test the hypothesis that those who read about Native American mascots would more harshly evaluate the target compared to those who read about Native American land rights. As expected, those in the mascot conditions were more likely to perceive Jonathon as hypersensitive ($M = 4.81$, $SD = 2.44$) than those in the land rights condition ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.79$, $t(263) = 3.23$, $p = .001$, $d = .44$; Figure 2). No differences emerged when examining the degree of favorability participants felt toward Jonathon between conditions, $t(268) = 1.38$, $p = .169$.

Coping behaviors

Next, we investigated whether those who read about mascots would be less likely to encourage Jonathon to engage in proactive behaviors than those who read about land rights. Those in the mascot condition were less likely to encourage him to approach an authority figure ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.76$) than those in the land use condition ($M = 5.36$, $SD = 1.57$, $t(268) = 2.57$, $p = .011$, $d = .34$). Similarly, we also found that those in the mascot condition were more likely to encourage Jonathon to stop complaining about the situation and move on ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 2.10$) than those in the land use condition ($M = 2.73$, $SD = 1.67$, $t(267) = 3.52$, $p = .001$, $d = .46$; Figure 2). No differences emerged between conditions in whether participants believed that Jonathon should escape from this issue, $t(268) = .37$, $p > .30$. Taken together, these results suggest that participants take Jonathan more seriously when he protests discrimination in land use than when he protests discrimination in NAMs.

Target Evaluation by Condition
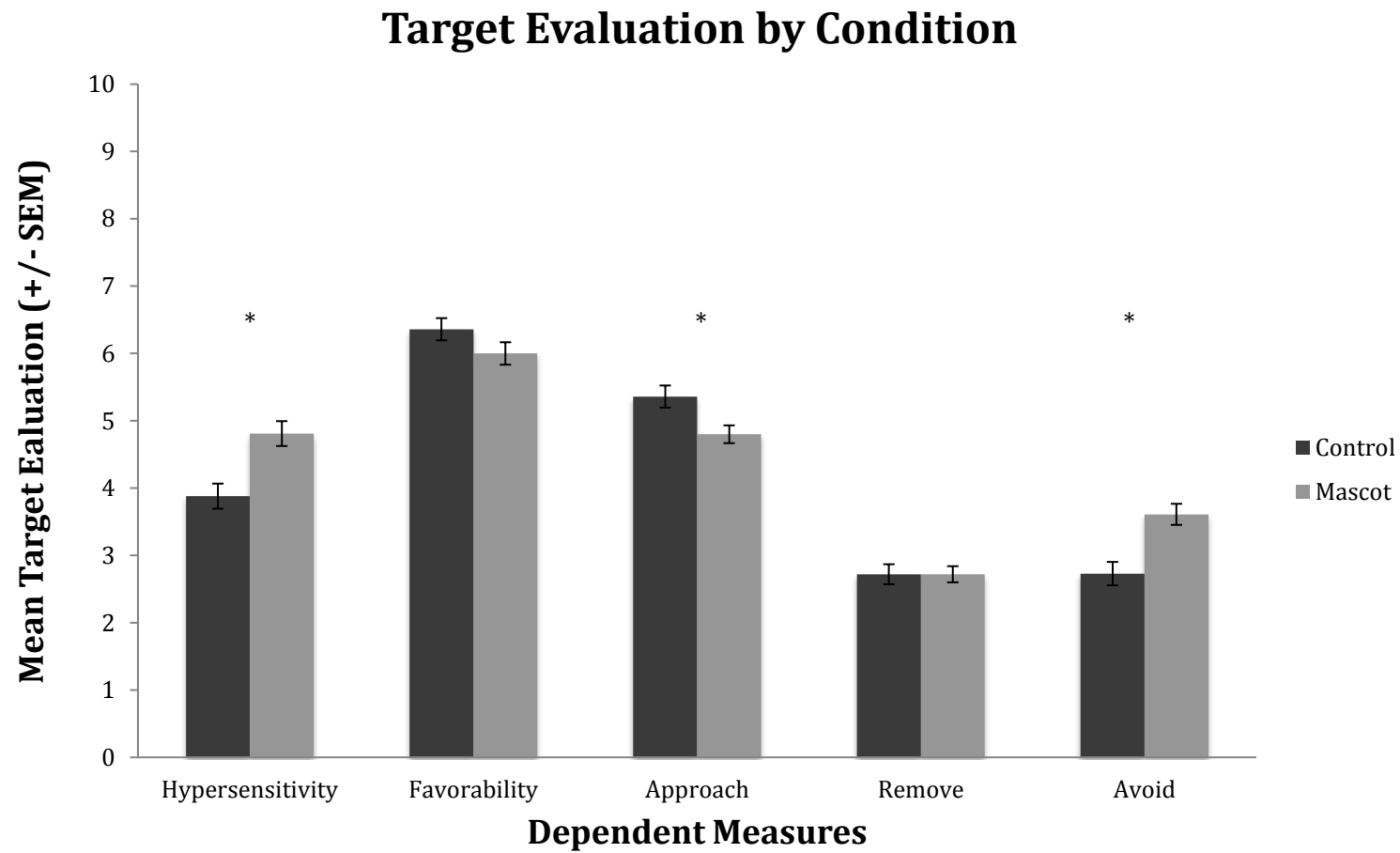
Figure 2. Participant evaluations of Jonathon between conditions. Note: * $p < .05$

Native American prejudice and Native American mascot attitudes

Data indicate that those in the mascot condition were no more likely to be prejudiced toward Native Americans ($M = 3.13$, $SD = .97$) than those in the control condition ($M = 2.98$, $SD = .89$, $t (268) = 1.16$, p = .247; Figure 3). Likewise, participants in the mascot condition were no more likely to believe mascots were offensive ($M = 3.01$, $SD = 1.26$) than those in the control condition ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.10$, $t (268) = 1.29$, $p = .198$). These results suggest that participant attitudes toward Native American and Native American mascots are not influenced by the manipulations in our study.

The effect of political ideology

Hypersensitivity

As seen in Table 1, political ideology had moderate-to-strong relationships with several of our dependent measures. To follow up the influence of these relationships, we conducted post-hoc moderated regressions using Process Macro (Hayes, 2013). We found that condition predicted the participant's labeling of Jonathon as hypersensitive, $b = .795$, $t (261) = 3.10$, $p = .002$ such that those who read about the mascot issue were more likely to label Jonathon as hypersensitive relative to those who read about the legal issue. Additionally, those who self-reported more conservative political ideologies were more likely to label Jonathon as hypersensitive, $b = .555$, $t (261) = 8.04$, $p < .001$. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between condition and political orientation, $\Delta R^2 = .021$, $F (1, 261) = 7.35$, $b = .402$, $p = .007$ (see Figure 3). Conservatives were increasingly likely to label Jonathan as hypersensitive in the mascot condition, compared to the land use condition, $b = 1.51$, $t (261) = 3.99$, $p < .001$, whereas liberalism was unrelated to condition such that liberals in the mascot

condition were no more likely to label Jonathon as hypersensitive than those in the land use

condition, $b = .083$, $t(261) = .234$, $p > .30$.

Hypersensitivity ratings as Fucntion of Condition and Political Orientation
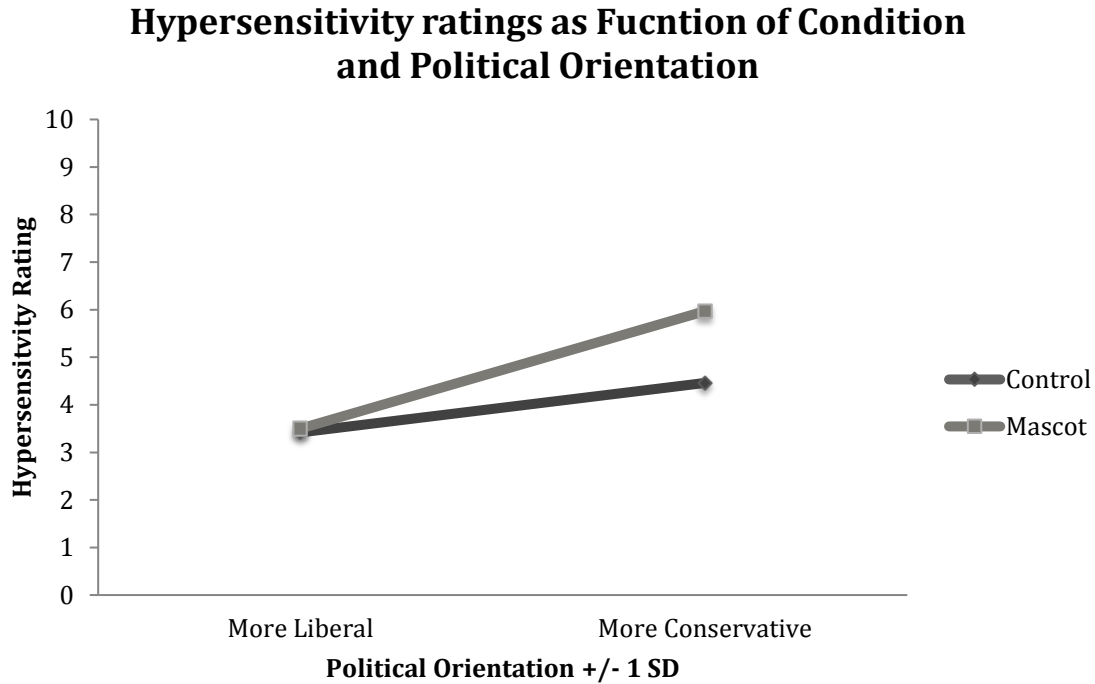
Figure 3. Moderating role of politcal orientation on hypersensitivity ratings by condition

Approach and avoid

Similar effects were observed for participants' tendency to encourage Jonathon to

proactively cope. Participants in the mascot condition were more likely to discourage Jonathon

from approaching authority figures to improve the situation than when they read about the legal

issue, $b = -.497$, $p = .016$. Additionally, conservatives were more likely to discourage Jonathon

from approaching an authority figure, $b = -.318$, $p < .001$. These effects were qualified by a

significant interaction between condition and political orientation, $\Delta R^2 = .024$, $F(1, 266) = 7.73$,

$p = .006$ (see Figure 4). Conservatives were more likely to discourage Jonathon from approaching

an authority figure in the mascot condition compared to the land use condition, $b = -1.08$, $t(266)$

= -3.58, $p <.001$. However, liberals were no more likely to discourage Jonathon from approaching an authority figure regardless of condition, $b = .084$, $t (266) = .297$, $p = .299$.

Encouragement to Approach an Authority figure as a function of Condition and Political Orientation

Figure 4. Moderating role of political orientation on encouraging Jonathon to approach an authority figure by condition.

The same pattern emerged for encouragement of avoidant responses. Participants in the mascot condition more strongly encouraged an avoidant response, $b = .799$, $p < .001$, as did conservatives, $b = .446$, $p < .001$. These effects were qualified by a significant interaction between condition and political ideology, $\Delta R^2 = .048$, $F (1, 265) = 14.426$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 5). Conservatives were more likely to encourage Jonathon to give up on the issue in the mascot condition than the land use condition, $b = 1.77$, $t (266) = 5.07$, $p <.001$. For liberals, there was no effect of condition $b = -.071$, $p = .258$.

**Encouragement to Give up on the Issue as a function
of Condition and Political Orientation**
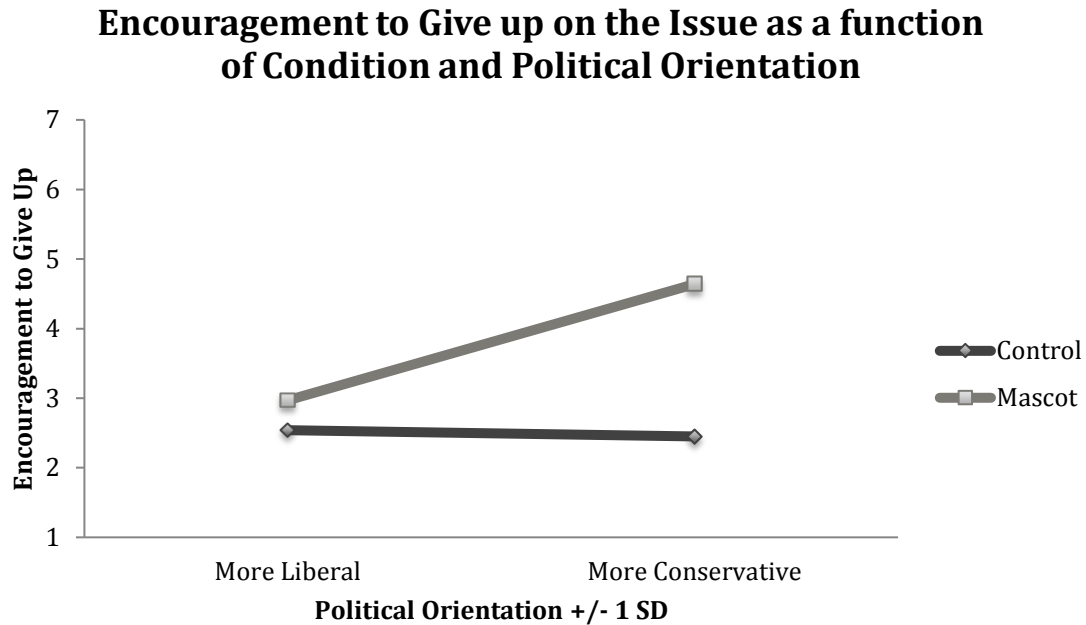
Figure 5. Moderating role of political orientation on encouraging Jonathon to stop complaining about the issue and give up.

Perceptions of hypersensitivity as mediator

Approach

We conducted a mediation analysis uisng the Process Macro (Hayes, 2013) to examine the process by which mascot issues influenced participants' proactive suggestions via perceptions of Jonathon's hypersensitivity. 95% confidnece intervals were obtained with 5000 bootstrap resamples. There was a significant main effect of condition such that the mascot condition negatively predcited suggestions to approach authority to improve the situation, $b = -.58$, $p = .008$, and positivley predictied participants' ratings of Jonathon as hypersensitive, $b = .93$, $p = .001$. It was also found that hypersensitivity ratings negatively related to particpants' suggestions to approach authority, $b = -.47$, $p < .001$. After controlling for hypersensitivity ratings, the relationship between condition and approach was no longer significant, $b = -.15$, $p > .30$. Those in

the mascot condition were less likley to believe that Jonathon should approach an authority figure than in the land use condition, because the protest against the mascots led participants to percieve him as hypersensitive, b = -.44, 95% CI [-.71, -.19]; see Figure 8.

Figure 6. Indirect effect of condition on encouragement to approach through ratings of hypersensitivity. b = -.44, 95% CI [-.73, -.19]

Note: *p < .05 **p < .001

Avoid

We then conducted another mediation analysis to examine whether the relationship between condtion and participant's tendecies to encourage Jonathon to stop complaining and give up the situation was indirectly influenced by the participant's perception of Jonathon's hypersensitivity. We found a significant main effect of condition such those who read about mascots were more likely to encourage Jonathon to give up on the situation than those who read about legal issues, b = . 92, p < .001, and were more likley to perceive Jonathon as being hypersensitive, b = .95, p = .001. We also found perceptions of hypersensitivity lead participants to believe that the target should give up on the issue, b = .65, p < .001. When controlling for hypersensitivity ratings, the relationship between condition and suggested avoidance was no longer significant, b = .30, p = .078. Participants who read about mascots were more likley to

encourage Jonathon to stop complaining and give up on the issue because they perceived him as being hypersensitive, $b = .61$, 95% CI [.27, .95]. See Figure 7.

```
                          ┌──────────────────────┐
              .95*        │   Hypersensitivity   │      .65**
                          └──────────────────────┘
         ┌──────────────────┐                    ┌──────────────────┐
         │    Condition     │───────────────────▶│      Avoid       │
         └──────────────────┘                    └──────────────────┘
                              .30 (.92**)
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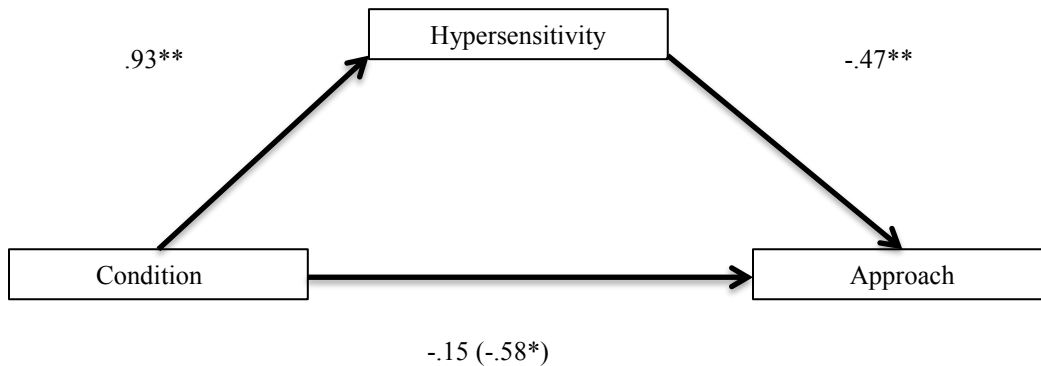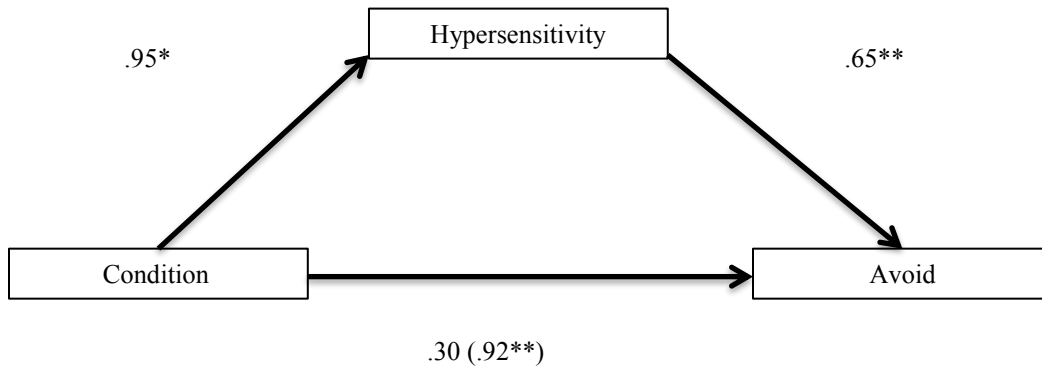*Figure 7.* Indirect effect of condition on encouragement to adapt through ratings of hypersensitivity. $b = .61$, 95% CI [-.23, -.06]

Note: $*p < .05$ $**p < .001$

Do participants believe mascots should be offensive to Native Americans?

Lastly, we explored whether participants believed NAMs *are* generally offensive to Native American people and compared that reponse to whether they believed NAMs *should be* offensive to Native Americans. Overall, participants agreed that Native American mascots are offensive to Native American people ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 2.05$). However, participants were significantly less likely to agree that Native Americans should be offended by NAMs ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 2.22$), $t(269) = 10.04$, $p < .001$, $d = .46$. There were no significant differences of these ratings between conditions, suggesting that participants generally exhibit dismissive attitudes regarding Native American mascots.

Discussion

Summary of findings

The results from Study 1 partially supported our main hypotheses. Participants who read about a situation in which a Native American target, Jonathon, described Native American mascots as discriminatory were more likely to be socially discounted by being labeled as hypersensitive than when Jonathon made similar discriminatory claims about a court ruling. However, we found no differences in the favorability of Jonathon between these conditions.

Further, we found that participants in the mascot condition were likely to encourage Jonathon to stop complaining and to discourage him from approaching an authority figure compared to the land use condition. These results suggest that individuals may be more likely to discount Native American discrimination claims about mascots than other salient discrimination claims. These findings are consistent with past research that demonstrates tendencies to discount discrimination claims regarding Native American mascots (Clark et al., 2011; Steinfeldt, et al., 2010).

We did not find support, however, for differences between positive and negative stereotypes. Past literature has demonstrated that Native American mascots purportedly portray Native Americans in a stereotypically positive manner (Fryberg et al., 2008), and positive stereotypes are more permissible than negative stereotypes (Kay et al., 2012) due to their perceived complimentary nature (Czopp et al., 2015). Additionally, research has demonstrated that when targets of positive stereotypes attribute their success to a complimentary stereotype about them (i.e., Asian Americans are naturally intelligent), they are subsequently labeled as hypersensitive, less favorable, and less approach-worthy then when that success is attributed to other internal (i.e., I'm smart) or external (i.e., I got lucky) causes (Diebels & Czopp, 2011). In both situations, regardless of the valence of the stereotype, the outcome did not favor Jonathon

(as opposed to Diebels & Czopp where the outcome was favorable). It may be possible that participants did not construe the positive stereotypes as the functionally distinct mechanism through which the negative outcome occurred. This may have resulted in the negligible differences between the positive and negative stereotype conditions. It is also possible, and more likely, that the discrimination claims made because of the mascot were more salient than the stereotypes that stemmed from them. Past research (Bresnahan & Flowers, 2008; Neville et al., 2011) has demonstrated that individuals generally view the claims to race-based discrimination through the mascot as a non-issue. These individuals tend to dismiss and lash out at those who make such claims (Stiendfeldt et al., 2010) – this discounting of the mascot issue may have superseded any stereotypes the mascots may have activated.

Post hoc analyses reveal that the relationships found in the main hypotheses were influenced by participant's political orientation such that those who self-reported as more conservative were more likely to perceive Jonathon as hypersensitive, less likely to encourage him to approach an authority figure, and more likely to encourage him to give up on the situation when they read about the mascot issue compared to those who self-reported as more liberal, and those who read about the legal issue. This suggests that those who are more politically conservative are more likely to denigrate those who protest against group image-based discrimination compared to other forms of racial discrimination.

Past literature has found that conservatism is associated with the endorsement of stereotypes about gays and lesbians (Heaven & Oxman, 1999), and African Americans (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992). Additionally, endorsement of racial stereotypes causes conservatives to hold negative attitudes toward group-equity policies such as affirmative action (Reyna, Henry, Korfmacher, & Tucker, 2006). It may be that because the Native American mascot elicits ambivalent stereotypes about Native Americans (Fryberg et al., 2008) that conservative's endorsement of those stereotypes leads them to hold more dismissive attitudes toward those who

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hold counter-stereotypical attitudes. This suggests that conservatives may have held more negative attitudes toward a counter-stereotypical target who sought to engage in a policy change that would benefit his or her group (i.e., removal of the mascot from the school).

We also explored the mediating role of hypersensitivity in the effect of mascots on suggested proactive response. We found that when participants read about mascots they were less likely to encourage Jonathon to approach authority figures to resolve the issue, and more likely to encourage him to give up on the issue because participants perceive Jonathon as hypersensitive. This suggests that people dismiss protesting against Native American mascots as an expression of hypersensitivity, encouraging protesters to remain silent rather than seek social justice.

Limitations

Although the results from Study 1 do demonstrate findings that are both internally consistent and consistent with past literature regarding social discounting, we acknowledge several limitations to this study. First, participants read articles that were fictitious, and although they indicated across all conditions that the articles were credible, it may be more ecologically valid to expose participants to articles about real-world events. We also acknowledge the possibility that our results may be slightly skewed due to the fact that our control condition was not only free of Native American mascots, but stereotypes about Native Americans in general. It is unclear whether general stereotypes activated by the mascots led participants to dismiss discrimination claims compared to a situation where no stereotype activation is likely to have occurred. However, it could also be argued that it would be impossible to have a "no-stereotype" mascot condition given that mascots are stereotypical portrayals of Native Americans. The negligible effects of our separate mascot conditions justify this notion. Additionally, the use of mascots versus a court decision as our manipulation could make the results difficult to interpret as

Native American mascots present a functionally different social issue than cultural land issues. Next, we believe it would make more sense to give items that measured Native American prejudice and attitudes toward Native American mascots temporal precedence as predicting variables. Although it was valuable to observe the rigidity of these attitudinal constructs, it seems more valuable to examine the extent that these variables lead to dismissive attitudes. Finally, we only used one social group, Native Americans, in the current study and can only conclude that the importance of Native American issues as perceived by outgroups varies by what type of issue it is. It is important to also explore how the perception of Native American issues compare to other disenfranchised social groups (e.g., African Americans), In Study 2 we addressed the above limitations by investigating whether outgroups perceive Native American issues as being more or less important than similar issues faced by African Americans.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2

In study 2, we sought to extend the findings from study 1 to broader forms of cultural appropriation. Specifically, we found that Native American mascots (e.g., *Chief Wahoo* of the Cleveland Indians) were conceptually analogous to the racially charged caricature, *Blackface*. Dating back to America's antebellum, *Blackface* was a caricature that portrayed African Americans in a stereotypical, racist manner for the purposes of entertaining White crowds (Lhamon, 1998). However, unlike Native American mascots, *Blackface* is severely socially proscribed, and portrayal of this caricature can result in severe consequences. For example, a student from the University of Central Arkansas was recently expelled from his fraternity for wearing *Blackface* as a Halloween costume to mock Bill Cosby (*ABC 13*, 2016). However, in the context of Native American mascots, sometimes referred to as *Redface* (Strong, 2004), supporters large numbers of people tend to rationalize and justify a similar behavior. Given this endorsement of NAMs relative to *Blackface*, punishment for the portrayal of *Redface* is likely negligible.

In this study, we compared the extent to which those who protested the use of either *Redface* or *Blackface* would be socially dismissed. Additionally, we sought to understand the underlying mechanisms that would predict these outcomes. Specifically, we examined the extent to which individual differences such as endorsing colorblind ideology (Bonilla-Silva, 2013), and prejudice toward Native Americans (Morrison, Harriman, & Jewell, 2008) or African Americans (Henry & Sears, 2002) would lead participants to socially discount protesters, or view Native American mascots as offensive, extending research on social discounting (Diebels & Czopp, 2011; Kaiser & Miller, 2001).

Previous research investigating the effects of individual endorsement of colorblind ideology, the minimization or ignoring of racial issues, has demonstrated that those who are more

colorblind are more likely to hold negative implicit and explicit attitudes toward African Americans (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Additionally, those who are colorblind are less likely to support race-based equity policies such as affirmative action (Mazzacco, Cooper, & Flint, 2012). Neville and colleagues (2011) found that those who endorsed a colorblind perspective were less likely to view Native American mascots as being offensive, and perceived these mascots as a symbol of honor for Native people. Other research by Steinfeldt and Wong (2010) found that those who were colorblind prior to a multicultural intervention were unlikely to perceive Native Americans mascots as offensive.

We expected that, because the portrayal of *Blackface* appears to elicit harsher consequences to the perpetrator compared to *Redface*, participants would be more likely to socially discount those who protest the use of *Redface*. We also expected that those who read about *Redface* would be more likely to discourage protestors to engage in positive coping behaviors (i.e., approaching an authority figure). Additionally, we expected that those who endorsed colorblind ideology would hold more prejudiced attitudes toward each racial group, as well as be more likely to discount those who protest these issues. We also expected that those who did not find Native American mascots to be offensive would be more likely to socially discount protests of *Redface*.

Replicating the findings from Study1, we expected that the relationships between these variables would be influenced by political conservatism. Further, we expected that hypersensitivity would be the mechanism encouraging participants to discourage proactive behaviors (i.e., bringing the issue to a higher authority), and encourage avoidant-oriented behaviors (i.e., giving up on the issue) to *Redface*.

Method

Participants and Recruitment

Participants (*n* = 197) were recruited through the University of Maine's introductory psychology subject pool. 18 participants were removed due to either providing no or incorrect details in the manipulation check leaving our total at *n* = 179. Age ranged between 18 and 32 (*M* = 19.16, *SD* = 2.00). We obtained a relatively homogeneous sample: 91.8 % White/Caucasion, 2.4% Asian/Pacific Islander, 2.9% Hispanic, 4.1% Black/African American, and 1.2% identified as other. All participants were awarded partial course credit for their participation.

Materials and Procedure

Prescreen session

Prior to their experimental session, participants first filled out several individual difference measures. Endorsement of colorblind ideology was measured using Neville et al.'s (2000) 20-item Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). These items were scored on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) Likert scale, and included items such as "Race problems in the US are rare, isolated situations", and "Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison" (reverse scored; a = .86). Prejudice toward African Americans was measured using Henry and Sears' (2002) 8-item measure. This scale included items such as "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder, they would be as well off as Whites", and "Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve" (reverse scored). These items are scored on a 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*) scale with the exception of one item, "Some say that Black leaders are trying to push too fast. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?" which is scored as 1 = *Trying to push very much to fast*, 2 = *Going too slowly*, and 3 = *Moving at about the right speed* (a = .78). We also measured participant attitudes toward African Americans and Native American groups using

feeling thermometer items which assessed how cold or warm participants felt toward these group members. Native American prejudice (Morrison, Morrison, Harriman, & Jewell (2008; $a = .68$), attitudes toward Native American mascots (Bresnahan & Flowers, 2008; $a = .96$), and political ideology were all measured using the measures in Study 1.

Experimental session

Similar to Study 1, participants were brought to an online survey and told that they would be reading a selected piece of online journalism and would follow up this reading with some opinion questions. Diverging from Study 1, we explained to participants that they would read about a random social issue from around the United States; in actuality they were randomly assigned to read an article that described a situation where an individual was facing punitive consequences for wearing *Redface* or *Blackface* – these articles, unlike the ones in the previous study, were from real events.

In the *Redface* condition, participants read about an annual 5k race in Kentucky celebrating colonial history by having re-enactors dress in *Redface* as Native Americans, and chase competitors to the end of the finish line – The article describes how the organizer of the race is facing scrutiny for this event. Those in the *Blackface* condition read about students at the University of North Dakota who are under investigation for sending a picture of themselves from *Snapchat* in *Blackface* with the caption "Black lives matter" mocking the U.S. protest movement against police violence against African Americans. This article also describes a similar recent incident at the university which resulted in a student being expelled from her sorority. We manipulated the ending of the *Redface* article so that the organizer of the race faces indefinite suspension for his involvement in the race so that the perpetrators in each article faced similar consequences (See Appendix B for these materials). Participants then completed the dependent measures listed below and were debriefed and thanked for their time.

Dependent Measures

Manipulation check

After reading the articles, participants were asked to spend two minutes writing in as much detail as they could about what they had just read. Participants were asked to describe what occurred in each event they read about, and if possible, recall any of the names of the actors in these articles.

Approach and Avoid

Participants completed the same measurements assessing whether targets should approach an authority figure to resolve the situation, or if targets should stop complaining about the situation and move on as in Study 1. We omitted the item assessing whether participant's believed the target should relocate from the situation entirely since this did not reliably differ across conditions in the previous study.

Hypersensitivity and Favorability

Participants then completed the same measures of hypersensitivity ($a = .77$) and favorability ($a = .93$) used in Study 1.

Offensiveness of caricature

Finally, participants completed similar items from Study 1 assessing the degree to which they believed the racial caricatures *are* offensive to Native Americans and African Americans, and the degree to which Native Americans and African Americans *should be* offended by these caricatures.

Results

Relationships between variables

Similar to Study 1, we found expected relationships between Native American prejudice and several variables of interest. Both Native American prejudice as well as Afriacan American prejudice were negatively associated with attitudes toward Native Americand mascots, $r = -.58$, $p = .01$, $r = -.69$, $p < .01$, respectively, suggesting that those who held negative attitdues toward these groups were less likley to perceive the mascots as being offensive. We also found, as expected, that endorsing a colorblind perspective was postively associated with negative attidues toward Native Americans, $r = .56$, $p < .01$, as well as African Americans, $r = .78$, $p < .01$. As displayed on Table 2 the data demonstrates that, colobindness, Native American prejudice, and African Ameican prejudice were associated with increased labeling of the protestors as hypersensitve, decreased favorability ratings, less encouragement to appraoch an authority figure to improve situation, and increased encouragement to give up on the issue, regardless of condition. All correlations, means, standard deviations, and reliabilties are displayed on Table 2.

Table 2 Descriptive statistics and correlations.

	Mean (*SD*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	*a*
1. NA Prejudice	3.52 (.39)	---									.68
3. AA Prejudice	1.92 (.52)	.64**	---								.78
3. Colorblindness	3.24 (0.79)	.54**	.78**	---							.86
4. Hypersensitivity	4.45 (1.84)	.26**	.42**	.39**	---						.77
5. Favorability	4.79 (2.51)	-.10	-.24**	-.30**	-.54**	---					.93
6. Approach	5.03 (1.62)	-.35**	-.56**	-.50**	-.55*	.40**	---				---
7. Avoid	3.01 (1.79)	.27**	-.52**	.52**	.57**	-.37**	-.62**	---			---
8. Mascot Attitudes	3.13 (1.07)	-.57**	-.69**	-.65*	-.42**	.32**	.40**	-.44**			.96
9. Political Orientiation	3.63 (1.52)	-.46**	.54**	.53**	.27**	-.18*	-.29**	.35**	-.50**	---	---

Please note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Dismissal of Redface and Blackface

Hypersensivity and favorability

We conducted a series of indpendent *t*-tests to test the hypothesis that those responding to *Redface* would be more likely to discount protesters than those responding to *Blackface*. Surprisingly, participants who read about *Redface* were less likley to label the protesters of this issue as being hypersensitive ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.82$) compared to those who read about *Blackface* ($M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.75$), $t(177) = 3.35$, $p = .001$, $d = .50$. Consistent with this finding, and contrasting our hypothesis, those in the *Redface* condition were more likley to evaluate protesters favorably ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 2.44$), compared to those in the *Blackface* condition ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 2.52$), although this effect was not statistically significant, $t(177) = 1.74$, $p = .083$, $d = .26$; see Figure 8.

Approach and avoid

We also examined the extent to which participants encouraged proactive behaviors. Participants were no more likely to encourage proactive behaviors in the *Redface* condition ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 1.63$) than the *Blackface* condition ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.58$), $t(179) = 1.57$, $p = .118$. However, participants were more likely to encourage avoidant behaviors in the *Blackface* condition ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.90$) compared to the *Redface* condition ($M = 2.67$, $SD = 1.60$), $t(179) = 2.45$, $p = .015$, $d = .36$; see Figure 8.
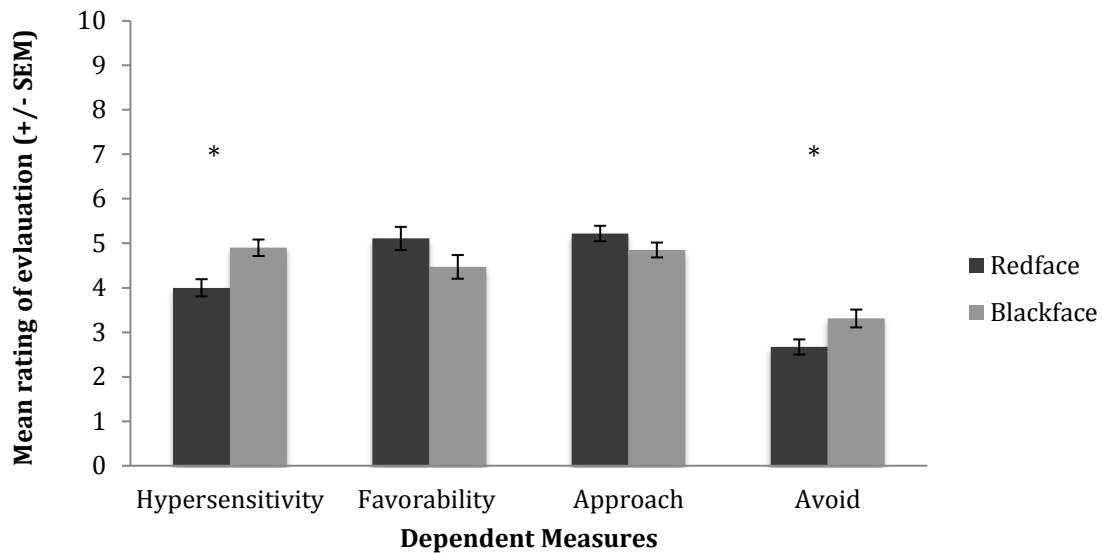
Effects of Article Type on Protester Evaluation

Figure 8. Shows the effects of reading about either *Redface* or *Blackface* on discounting protesters, *p* < .05, **p* < .01.

Participant's perception of offensive represenation of Native Americans and

African Americans

We next examined whether there was a discrepency between participants' agreement that *Redface* and *Blackface* are offensive to their corresponding groups. Consistent with our hypotheis, those in the *Redface* condition were significantly more likely to recognize its offensiveness to Native people ($M = 6.24$, $SD = 1.15$) than they were to agree that this depiction *should be* perceived as offensive ($M = 5.53$, $SD = 1.73$), $t(86) = 4.57$, $p < .001$, $d = .48$. Similarly, in the *Blackface* condition were significantly more likely its offensiveness to African American people ($M = 6.22$, $SD = 1.27$) than they were to agre that this depction *should be* perceived as offensive ($M = 5.52$, $SD = 1.63$), $t(86) = 5.20$, $p < .001$, $d = .48$; see Figure 9. There were no

differences as to whether participants belived either Native Americans or African Americans should be offended by these racist depictions of their groups ($p > .30$).

Ratings of whether racial caricatures are offensive versus whether racial caricatures should be offensive
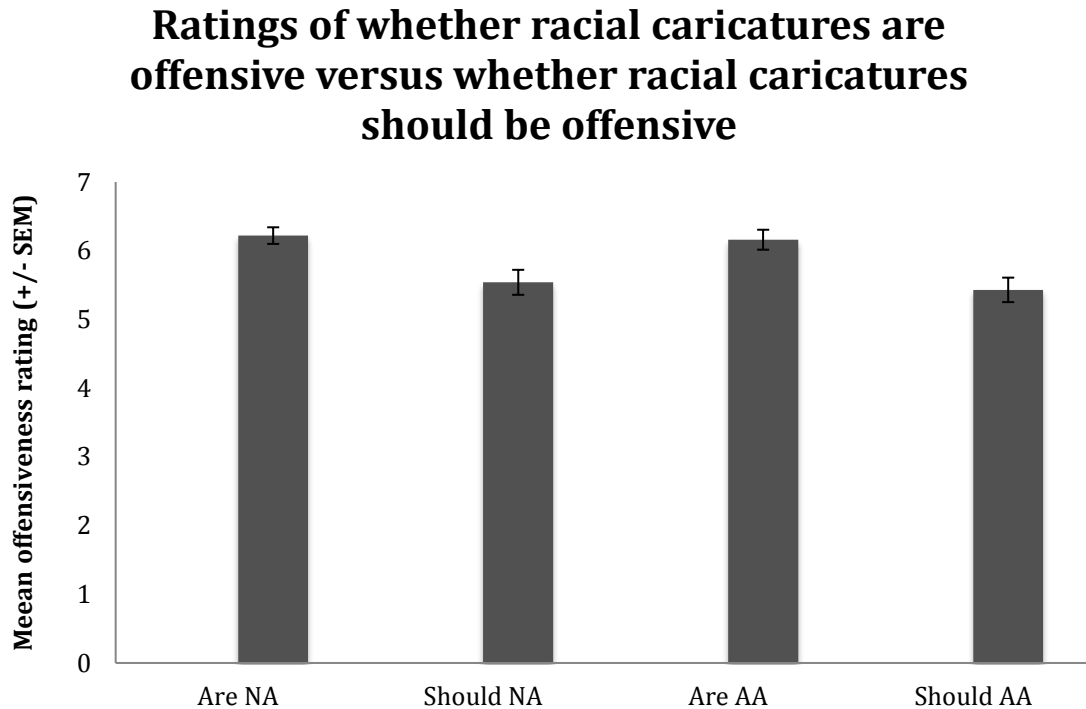
Figure 9. Differences as to whether participants believed Native Americans are offended by racial caricatures versus whether they should be offended.

Effect of political orientation

We then tested our hypotheses concerning colorblind idology, political orientation, and hypersensitivity. We expected that conservatives and colorblind idealogues would view protesters as hypersensitive and less favorable. We conducted moderated regressions using Process (Hayes, 2013). Five participants were removed from these analyses as multivariate outliers. Results indicate that endorsing a colorblind perspective postively predicted participants' tendency to evaluate protesters across conditions as hypersensitive, $b = .76$, $t(172) = 3.96$, $p < .001$, and negativly predicted favorability perceptions, $b = -.86$, $t(172) = -3.11$, $p = .002$. However, in this

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sample, political orienation did not predict these outcomes ($b = .11$, $p = .29$; $b = -.05$, $p > .30$, respectively). Additionally, the main effects between coloblindness, and hypersensitivity and favorability were not qualified by significant interactions ($\Delta R^2 = <.001$, $b = -.02$, $p > .30$; $\Delta R^2 = <.001$, $b = .02$, $p > .30$, respectively). The remainder of the analyses revealed that political ideology did not moderate any of the relationships between prejudice variables and other outcomes (i.e., encouraging approach, and avoidant behaviors), and therefore will not be discussed further.

Mediating role of hypersensitivity

Approach

Next, we conducted similar mediation analyses to those in Study 1, testing the hypothesis that perceiving protesters as hypersensitive would indirectly influence their encouragement of positive coping behaviors. We found that condition did not significantly predict approach endorsement, $b = -.33$, $p = .17$. However, the *Blackface* condition significantly predicted ratings of hypersensitivity, $b = .91$, $p < .001$, and ratings of hypersensitivity negatively predicted approach endorsement, $b = -.47$, $p < .001$. When controlling for hypersensitivity, the relationship between condition and encouraging approach behaviors significantly decreased, $b = .09$, $p > .30$. Although the condition did not directly influence participant's encouragement of proactive behaviors, data indicate that this relationship is indirectly influenced by participant's perception of hypersensitivity, $b = -.42$, CI 95% [-.70, -.20], demonstrating that those who viewed the *Blackface* article were more likely to discourage approach-oriented behaviors because they

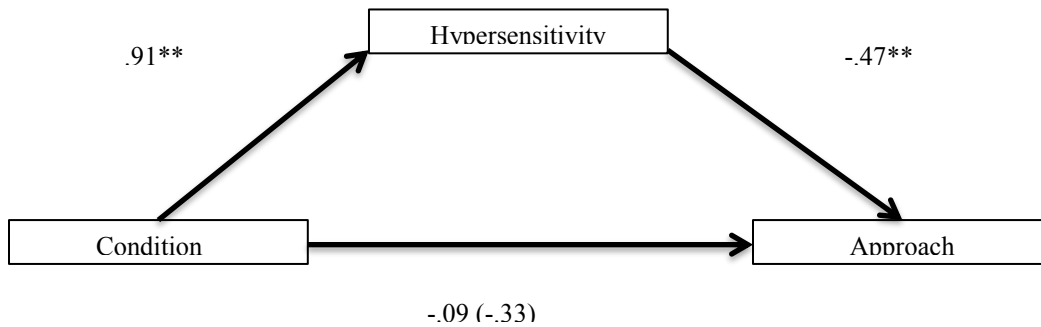found protesters to be overly sensitive about the issue; Figure 10.

Figure 10. Indirect effect of condition on encouragement to approach through ratings of hypersensitivity. $b = -.42$, 95% CI [-.70, -.20]

Note: $*p < .05$ $**p < .001$

We then conducted the same analyses with endorsement of avoidance as the outcome of interest. *Blackface* condition positively predicted both avoidance, $b = .64$, $p = .013$, and hypersensitivity, $b = .91$, $p < .001$. Hypersensitivity positively predicted avoidance, $b = .54$, $p < .001$. When controlling for hypersensitivity, the relationship between condition and avoidance was no longer significant, $b = .15$, $p > .30$. Participants in the *Blackface* condition were more likely to encourage protesters to stop complaining and give up on the issue because they perceived the protesters as being hypersensitive, $b = .49$, CI 95% [.20, .85]. Taken together these results are partially consistent with our hypothesis that hypersensitivity would mediate the relationship between condition and suggested response, however, in the opposite direction; Figure 11.
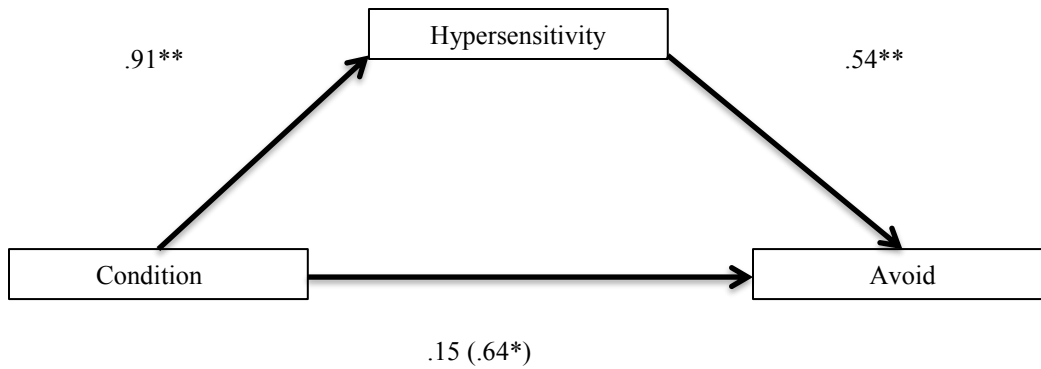
```
                    ┌──────────────────────┐
          .91**     │   Hypersensitivity   │    .54**
                    └──────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐                          ┌──────────────────┐
│    Condition     │ ────────────────────────▶│      Avoid       │
└──────────────────┘                          └──────────────────┘

                        .15 (.64*)
```

Figure 11. Indirect effect of condition on encouragement to approach through ratings of hypersensitivity. *b* = .49, 95% CI [.20, .85]

Note: *p* < .05 **p* < .001

Discussion

Summary of findings

In Study 2 we again found only partial support for our hypotheses. Consistent with past research (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007) participants' endorsement of colorblind ideology led to a stronger endorsement of negative attitdues toward African Americans. We found a similar and novel associaton betweeen colorblindness and Native American prejudice. We also found that colorblindness and prejuidce toward Native Americans and African Americans led particiapnts to believe that those who protest aginst the racially charged caricatures were hypersensitive, unfavorable, and increased the tendency for participants to discourage protesters from engaging in positive coping behaviors. Although this is not the first study to demonstrate that holding prejudiced attidudes leads to subsequent negative discounting (Martin & Nezlek, 2014), this is the first study to our knowledge that examines the relationship between Native American prejudice and this type of social discounting. Additionally, past research (Diebels & Czopp, 2011; Kaiser & Miller, 2001) only exmained the outcomes of vignettes in which confederates attributed ambivalent outcomes to discrimination; the current study replicated this paradigm, to an extent, and found factors, such as

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colorblindness and prejudice, leads to this type of discounting. Finally we found that, consistent with reaserch by Neville and colleagues (2011) and Steinfeldt and Wong (2010), those who endorsed a colorblind perspective were less likley to perceive Native American mascots as offensive.

Contrary to expecations, we found that participants were more dismissive of concerns about *Blackface* than *Redface*. Those who read about *Blackface* were more likley discount protests as hypersensitive, and were more likley to encourage protesters to stop complaining and move on than those who read about *Redface*. Although we are unaware of any empirical evidence that would anticipate these effects, Native American culture has been theoriezed to be uniquely invisible due to a general lack of social representation (Fryberg & Townsend, 2008). Additionally, research (Clark et al., 2011; Steinfedlt et al., 2010) indicates that people generally discount Native American group image issues such as Native American mascots, and do so for reasons akin to the variables explored in this study (i.e. hypersensitivity). However, evidence in the current study would suggest that although concerns *Redface* did get dismissed, concerns about *Blackface* were dismissed more severely.

One possible explanation for this unexpected effect may involve relevant current social issues surrounding Native and African Americans. Recently, there has been national media coverage of the Standing Rock Sioux in North Dakota amidst recent industrial developments that will streamline oil pipelines directly through Standing Rock sacred land (i.e, "#NoDAPL"; BBC.com, 2017), ostensibly protected by the federal government (BIA.gov, 2016). In contrast, African American issues, particularly involving police violence, have been highligted by "Black Lives Matter" in order to bring attention to the disproportionate negative treatment that African Americans face from the police force in the United States. Although this group is explcitly geared toward social justice, recent *Pew Research Center* (Horowitz & Livingston, 2016) data indicates a misunderstanding of the central motivations of Black Lives Matter where a third of Americans

indicated they do not understand the goals of the movement, and a fifth do not support the movement. It is possible that these circumstances indirectly impacted particpants perceptions of the articles they read, especially since in Black Lives Matter was involved in our *Blackface* manipulation. Participants could have potentially have had negative preconceptions about this movement – addtionally during the time of data collection, the University of Maine campus held a flag raising ceremony specifically honoring Black Lives Matter which may have amplified these negative preconceptions leading participants to perceive protesters of *Blackface* as more hypersensitive than protesters of *Redface*.

Another potential reason as to why we observed results contrary to our expectations could have been because those who read about *Blackface* were reading about a functionally different scenario than those who read about *Redface*. In the *Blackface* scenario, the people involved in portraying *Blackface* were college-aged students engaging in this activity through social media, while not performing any other stereotype-consistent behavior – while in the *Redface* scenario, the perpetrator was clearly engaging in stereotypical behavior (i.e., dressing in stereotypical clothing, and engaging in aggressive behavior toward 5k participants). Additionally the scenarios took place in entirely different contexts: *Blackface* condition occurred in a campus setting, while the *Redface* condition occurred at a 5k race. These differences may have lead participants to perceive these incidents as entirely separate from one another, leading them to interpret the *Blackface* scenario as more benign than the *Redface* scenario given the circumstances.

Further, the sample the we obtained for this study was 91.8% White, a represeative sample for the state of Maine (approximately 95% White; Census.gov, 2010). Given this population disparity between Whites and non-Whites, it is highly unlikely that there has been frequent intergroup contact between Whites and African Americans. According to theories of intergroup contact, attitudes about groups and their members forms as a result of how much contact groups have with one another and the extent of that contact (Miles & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, Tropp,

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Wagner, & Christ, 2011). Increasing intergroup contact results in less prejudiced attitudes, as well as an increase in empathy for racial outgroups (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Tam, Hewstone, Harwood, & Voci, 2006). However, limited or no contact is related to increased stereotyping and negative attitudes toward racial outgroups (Pettigrew, 1998). It is likely that our participants did not view concerns about *Blackface* as legitimate, perhaps, because they lack an understanding of the severity of the issue that is related to infrequent contact with African Americans. Conversely, issues concerning Native Americans are made more salient in Maine (e.g., Tomer & LaBouff, 2016). In addition, the University of Maine campus is within close proximity to Native American populations (i.e., Penobscot Nation), increasing the liklihood of intergroup contact with Native people.

Another, more data driven possibility is that *Redface*, *Blackface*, and Native American mascots might not be as similar as we anticipated. Pilot data from our sample suggests that participants believed that Native Americans *should be* significantly less offended by Native American mascots than *Redface*, and they perceive that Native Americans *are* significantly less offended by Native mascots than *Redface* – the same is true for the relationship between NAMs and African Americans, and *Blackface*. Although these two constructs appear to be functionally analogous, participant perceptions of these two racially charged portrayals would suggest that they are not. Additionally, perceptions that Native American mascots are generally offensive was strongly associated with whether Native Americans should be offended by mascots, whereas these attidues were weakly associated with whether Native Americans should be offended by *Redface*. Although more research needs to be conducted investigating how Native American mascots and *Redface* compare to one another in the eyes of perceivers, it is clear that in this sample these depictions of Native people may not be construed as being the same. This is especially true given that participants in the present study viewed *Blackface* and *Redface* as equally offensive to their target groups.

We did not find any support for the hypothesis that political orientation influenced the relationship between our predictor variables (i.e., colorblindness, prejuidce) and our outcome variables (i.e., discounting). In the current sample, we had a disproportionate number of particiapnts who were more liberal (41%), while 33% of our sample was between liberalism and conservatism, and only 24% self-reported that they were more conservative. Additionally, compared to Study 1, we observed relatively weak relationships between political orientation and participant's social discounting; this is likley due to a third of our sample self-reporting a neutral political orientation. It is suggested that future research recruits a more conservative sample as it is often associated with more negative attitudes toward racial outgroups (Hodson, & Busseri, 2012) and may influence the extent of discirminatory outcomes.

Finally, we again found that the reason participants were more dismissive of discrimination claims was because they perceived targets to be hypersensitive. This dismissal led participants to support avoidant, maladaptive behaviors, and discourage approaching, proactive behaviors. These effects were most evident when participants were exposed to concerns about *Blackface*.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Summary of current studies

The current pair of studies investigated the extent to which Native American social issues, particularly about group image, are discounted compared to other salient issues Native Americans face (Study 1) and to other similar issues faced by another social group (i.e., African Americans; Study 2). The current research also fills a gap in the intergroup relations literature concerning prejudice and discrimination toward Native Americans. Findings from Study 1 indicate that individuals discount Native American targets who make discrimination claims about Native American mascots compared to when those discrimination claims are about legal access to land. These findings are somewhat consistent with past research (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; 2003) that demonstrates when stigmatized group members make attributions of negative outcomes to group-based discrimination compared to other external or internal attributions, those group memebers are evaluated unfavorably.

In Study 2, we anticipated that, because *Blackface* elicits more severe consequences (e.g., expulsion from fraternities/soroities) than the widely-endorsed *Redface* (seen in Native American mascots from around the coutnry in both amatuer and professional sports), participants would discount protestors of *Redface* more. We found, however, that participants even more severely dismissed claims of discrimination surrounding stereotyped images of African Americans (i.e., *Blackface*). Results indicated that participants viewed protesters of *Blackface* as more hypersensitive protestors of *Redface* This is also in light of existing evidence suggesting that people generally find Native Americans mascots to be inoffensive (Bresnahan & Flowers, 2008; Clark et al., 2011; Frybeg et al., 2008; Neville et al., 2011; Stienfeldt et al., 2010; Stienfeldt & Wong, 2009).

As previously mentioned, it is possible that *Redface* and Native American mascosts may serve identical functions in the way that they protray Native Americans in a mocking fashion – data from the Study 2 would suggest otherwise. However, we suggest, given the findings from the current study, that *Redface* and *Blackface* are perhaps equally proscribed in most social settings. It may be worth investigating whether the findings from Study 2 were simply characteristic of the sample we obtained, or whether social issues about these portrayals are perceived differently across a more broad sample. Future research should explore how issues concerning how Native American mascots and *Redface* would differ in social discounting employing the paradigm used in the current studies, as well as how these differ from other forms of cultural appropriation.

In the present studies, we found that the mechanism by which people dismiss targets of discirimination is by perceiving them as hypersensitive. This suggests that when people are faced with concerns about Native American mascots, or about other types of cultural appropriation (i.e., *Redface*), those concerns were dismissd as being an overreaction, and led to suggestions of avoidant rather than proactive approach behaviors. This extends the findings by Kaiser and Miller (2001), as well as Diebels and Czopp (2011) by testing one of many potential negative outcomes of being dismissed targets of stigma. Furture research should exmaine more real-world consequences of having discrimination claims be rejected and labeled as an overreaction.

In Study 1, but not Study 2, we found that those who were more conservative were more likely to discount targets' discrimination claims and justice-seeking behaviors when they read about NAMs, while liberals were no different between conditions. Additionally, we found in both studies that those who are more conservative tend to have more prejudiced attidues toward racial outgroups. This is consistent with previous research that demonstrates that those who are more conservative tend to endorse racial stereotypes about racial outgrous (Heaven & Oxman, 1999). It is therefore likely that those who were more conservative in Study 1 had less support for a target attempting to counter stereotypes about their group, especially given that participants discounted

significantly less when the discrimination in the control article was not attributed to a stereotype-consistent depiction of Native Americans. However, in Study 2 we did not observe an effect of political orientation. This may be due to the disproportionate amount of liberals compared to conservatives from our university sample. Future research would likely benefit from exploring further the role of political orientation when examining prejudice and discrimination against Native Americans.

Study 2 also sought to investigate the role of ideologies other than political orientation to predict dismissing racial discrimination claims. We found that endorsing a colorblind perspective predicted participant's attitudes toward both African Americans and Native Americans. To our knowledge, this is the first study that has found a relationship between colorblind ideology and negative attitudes toward Native Americans, and extends previous findings concerning the relationship between colorblindness and African American prejudice (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Colorblindness, unique to this research, also predicted that participants would be less likely to encourage a target of discrimination to engage in proactive behaviors to correct the issue, and be more likely to promote avoidant behaviors. Research should further explore how endorsing colorblindness leads to these dismissive outcomes in situations where stigmatized targets are claiming discrimination, and examine the extent to which this ideology promotes the encouragement of inaction for other forms of social justice (i.e., Black Lives Matter).

Limitations

These studies found novel evidence suggesting that Native American issues revolving around mascots may not be taken as seriously as other salient Native American issues, but may be taken more seriously than similar African American issues. However, there were some limitations in these studies that must be addressed. First, although we found evidence that Native American issues and African American issues differ in terms of how seriously they were taken by

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participants, this does not necessarily explain why it is more permissible to have Native American sports mascots than it is to have African American sports mascots. The implication is that in order for one to have an African American sports mascot be presented in the same way that Native American mascots like the Cleveland Indians' *Chief Wahoo* (i.e., a cartoonish, *Redface*-like caricature), it would mean that sports organizations would have to support, to some extent, the image of *Blackface*. However, since *Blackface* is heavily socially proscribed, an African American mascot will likely never re-emerge. Findings from Study 2 support this by suggesting that Native American mascots were perceived as being more permissible (i.e., less offense-worthy to their corresponding outgroup) than *Blackface*.

Another limitation that must be addressed is the manipulations that participants were exposed to. In Study 1, participants were exposed to *fictitious* scenarios that were functionally different from one another. One scenario was themed as a Native American high school student protesting against the use of NAMs while the other detailed a Native American tribal member protesting against a court decision. It is difficult to interpret the extent to which participants dismissed discrimination claims through mascots given the distinct differences between these scenarios. Similarly, in Study 2 we acknowledge that the scenarios involving *Redface* and *Blackface* also diverged. The *Redface* condition involved stereotype-consistent behaviors in addition to the stereotype-consistent portrayal of the perpetrator, while the *Blackface* condition involved only stereotype-consistent portrayal in a more neutral, college campus setting. Future research should create more controlled, and similar scenarios that give participants functionally similar situations. This will assist us in better understanding the degree that Native American mascot issues are dismissed when discrimination is being attributed to NAMs compared to when they are being attributed to some other cause (Study 1). Additionally, in order to understand how cultural appropriation issues are dismissed, similar scenarios need to be created for participants to

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be able to interpret the same punitive outcomes for those who commit cultural appropriation acts under different portrayals of that appropriation (i.e., *Redface* versus *Blackface*).

Next, although these studies did extend existing literature on how majority group members discount those who attribute negative outcomes to discrimination (e.g., Kaiser & Miller, 2001), these studies did not utilize a truly neutral control condition in which we compared these outcomes being attributed to something other than racial discrimination (Study 1), or other punitive consequences of exhibiting socially proscribed behaviors (Study 2). In order to gain a further understanding the extent of discounting claims of discrimination, it would be useful to expose participants to scenarios, real-world or otherwise, that do not make race salient – for example, manipulating attributions to discrimination based on personal qualities rather than group-based attributions. This would also be useful when examining constructs such as colorblind ideology that minimizes or distorts race-based issues as a means to ostensibly maintain an egalitarian worldview while actually promoting racial inequalities. Although the findings do extend research on how colorblindness can lead to prejudice and discrimination (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Mazzocco, Cooper, & Flint, 2012), it would be valuable to examine this construct comparatively in situations that involve race versus those that do not involve race to demonstrate the extent to which colorblindness relates to race-based discounting.

Future directions

Future research should take care to continue to explore what predicts Native American prejudice. Current intergroup bias literature examining this group is rather sparse. Research investigating prejudice and discrimination against Native Americans is increasing, but pales in comparison to the literature examining bias against African Americans. This is despite Native Americans being North America's longest tenured inhabitants, as well as the historically tense relations between the United States and various Native nations.

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It is also important to explore potential interventions to increase intergroup harmony between White Americans and Native Americans given the historical atrocities that have left these two groups in conflict (Brown, 1971; Stannard, 1993). Given that colorblindness appears to be a rather prevalent ideology that reinforces racial inequalities (Bonilla-Silva, 2013), it is important to explore ways to reduce the consequences of these ideologies and inequalities. Employing multicultural, or the acknowledgement and celebration of group differences (Fowers & Davidov, 2006), interventions has been shown to elicit lower prejudiced attitudes toward outgroups (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004) as well as increasing perspective-taking tendencies when situations about race were made salient compared to when a colorblind message was delivered (Todd & Galinsky, 2011). Multiculturalism research has been demonstrated that being primed with multiculturalism lead to feelings of similarity toward outgroup interaction partners as well as increased self disclosure (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2010), these being key elements in effect intergroup interactions (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998). This suggests the potential for individuals to alter their perspectives on group image-based issues, increasing empathy toward the targets of stigma, and perhaps reduce the tendencies to dismiss and invalidate targets of discrimination.

Conclusions

The current studies effectively shed light on a relatively understudied group - Native Americans - and the ways in which they are discriminated against. Amidst the current academic (U.S. Department of Education, as cited in the Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac, 2005–2006) and socio-economic (Huyser, Takei, & Sakamoto, 2014) disparities they face, Native Americans also contend with maintaining a group image that portrays them as members of modern society (Leavitt et al., 2015). Amplifying this struggle, individuals appear unwilling to perceive these issues as being serious, as the current studies demonstrate. They also label Native people as being overly sensitive for raising the issue.

Native Americans struggle with finding high status group-relevant role models, and as such may not feel as though they belong in high status positions (Covarrubias & Fryberg, 2015) – this is especially true when the most visible images of Native people effectively mock their culture by perpetuating negative stereotypes via sports mascots (Fryberg et al., 2008; Fryberg & Townsend, 2008). Past research has indicated that having high-achieving, positive self-relevant role models leads women to have more positive implicit attitudes toward STEM programs (Stout, Dasgupta, Hunsinger, & McManus, 2011), as well as alleviates performance decrements for African Americans (Marx & Goff, 2005). If Native American voices that call for an end to discrimination against their groups continues to go unheard, it decreases the likelihood of possessing a positive representation of the self that fits into society (Oyserman, Kemmelmier, Fryberg, Brosh, & Hart-Johnson, 2003). In turn this reduces the likelihood of attaining high-achieving self-relevant role models that help pave the future for Native people.

It is hoped that the current research will spark the interest of other social psychologists in further investigating general prejudice and discrimination against Native American groups. It is also hoped that these results, will elicit curiosity and future research that will elucidate the role of predictors and inhibitors of Native American discrimination.

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Prompt for fabricated article

For the following, you will be evaluating articles that were submitted by students from various university journalism programs from across the country as part of their public portfolio. Your job is to examine and assess the works of the authors and the topics of their articles. In the next section, you'll be randomly presented with a particular author's piece for your review and recommendation of publication. Please carefully read the article and be prepared to answer some follow up opinion-oriented questions regarding the piece.

Positive Stereotype Condition

Not so fast times at Bellevue High: Mascot Called into Question by Concerned Student

Recently, Native American mascots have become a controversial issue in a number of high school, collegiate, and professional teams. Over the past 5 years numerous high schools have abandoned Native mascots because of their reportedly-offensive nature. Many schools, however, persist in their use of Native American mascots. Bellevue East High School in Bellevue, Kansas is embroiled in this controversy as one of its students, Jonathon Falk of the Sac and Fox tribe, claims that the mascot, *Indians* is a racist representation of his people that endorses and perpetuates stereotypes.

"It makes me feel like my people are being presented in a way that reflects how Native people used to live, rather than presenting how they're living now," says the 17 year-old junior, "people keep telling me that the *Indian* is a symbol of honor and pride, and that I should be grateful of this honor, but all I feel is discrimination and a reminder that Native people are seen as museum artifacts rather than regular everyday people." Falk went on to say that he's faced backlash and ridicule for raising his concern and as a result has seen his grades decline.

Another student at Bellevue High, 18 year-old senior Jason Smitts, disagrees that the school's mascot is racist. "I really don't get this whole [Native American] mascot controversy. We promote the highest respect for the Native people who inhabited this area - the toughness and sprit of those who endured the atrocities of the past. If anything, I would think that the Native groups of the Bellevue area would be grateful for this honor and not see it as offensive." He further says, "I think these groups need to stop with this whole [political correctness] movement, and pulling the race card to get what they want – they're spoiling our tradition of the *Indian* at our school."

Martin Paul, Bellevue's principal agrees: "East Bellevue has a long tradition as the *Indians*. They are our symbol and tradition. It brings the community together, and helps raise funds for our programs and athletic teams. We love the *Indian*, and we love him because he represents the pride and culture of the Native people who lived in this land. I don't see it as a major issue, and I don't think we should stop using the *Indian* to represent East Bellevue."

Currently, Falk is working to replace the *Indian* as East Bellevue's mascot.

Not so fast times at Bellevue High: Mascot Called into Question by Concerned Student.

Recently, Native American mascots have become a controversial issue in a number of high school, collegiate, and professional teams. Over the past 5 years numerous high schools have abandoned Native mascots because of their reportedly-offensive nature. Many schools, however, persist in their use of Native American mascots. Bellevue East High School in Bellevue, Kansas is embroiled in this controversy as one of its students, Jonathon Falk of the Sac and Fox tribe, claims that the mascot, *Indians* is a racist representation of his people that endorses and perpetuates stereotypes.

"It makes me feel like my people are being presented in a way that reflects how Native people used to live, rather than presenting how they're living now," says the 17 year-old junior, "people keep telling me that the *Indian* is a symbol of tradition at the school, and that I should be grateful that my people are being portrayed this way rather than as being seen as a bunch of broken alcoholics. I was shocked; I couldn't believe that people honestly just think that Native people are just a bunch of drunks. All I feel now is discrimination and a reminder that Native people are seen as worthless, rather than regular everyday people." Falk went on to say that he's faced backlash and ridicule for raising his concern and as a result has seen his grades decline.

Another student at Bellevue High, 18 year-old senior Jason Smitts, disagrees that the school's mascot is racist. "I really don't get this whole [Native American] mascot controversy. We promote the highest of respect for the Native people who inhabited this area. If anything, I would think that the Native groups of the Bellevue area would be grateful for this honor and not see it as offensive." He further says, "I think these groups need to really think about how they want to be portrayed. Would you rather be seen as a bunch of useless drunks? They need to get over themselves."

Martin Paul, Bellevue's principal agrees: "East Bellevue has a long tradition as the *Indians*. They are our heritage and tradition. It brings the community together, and helps raise funds for our programs and athletic teams. We love the *Indian*, and we love him because he honors the Native people who lived in this land. Honestly, it's much better to have a mascot that represents the traditional values of the town of Bellevue as a role model for these students, rather than the reality of current Native people. I don't see it as a major issue, and I don't think we should stop using the *Indian* to represent East Bellevue."

Currently, Falk is working to replace the *Indian* as East Bellevue's mascot.

Not so fast times at Bellevue High: Mascot Called into Question by Concerned Student.

Recently, Native American mascots have become a controversial issue in a number of high school, collegiate, and professional teams. Over the past 5 years numerous high schools have abandoned Native mascots because of their reportedly-offensive nature. Many schools, however, persist in their use of Native American mascots. Bellevue East High School in Bellevue, Kansas is embroiled in this controversy as one of its students, Jonathon Falk of the Sac

and Fox tribe, claims that the mascot, *Indians* is a racist representation of his people that endorses and perpetuates stereotypes.

"It makes me feel like my people are being presented in a way that is inaccurate and disrespectful," says the 17 year-old junior, "people keep telling me that that I should be grateful, but all I feel is discrimination." Falk went on to say that he's faced backlash and ridicule for raising his concern and as a result has seen his grades decline.

Another student at Bellevue High, 18 year-old senior Jason Smitts, disagrees that the school's mascot is racist. "I really don't get this whole [Native American] mascot controversy. We promote the highest respect for the Native people. If anything, I would think that the Native groups of the Bellevue area would be grateful and not see it as offensive." He further says, "I think these groups need to stop with this whole [political correctness] movement– they're spoiling our tradition of the *Indian* at our school."

Martin Paul, Bellevue's principal agrees: "East Bellevue has a long tradition as the *Indians*. They are our symbol and tradition. It brings the community together, and helps raise funds for our programs and athletic teams. I don't see it as a major issue, and I don't think we should stop using the *Indian* to represent East Bellevue."

Currently, Falk is working to replace the *Indian* as East Bellevue's mascot.

Manipulation check

For the next 2-3 minutes, please take the time to summarize what the article was about in as much detail as possible. Please try to include any details you can recall about each of the people described in the article.

Action of the Actor

Please answer the following questions about the article you just read:

To what degree do you believe Jonathon Falk should take this issue to a higher authority such as a superintendent?

Definitely should not	Most likely should not	Probably should not	No opinion on this	Probably should	Most likely should	Definitely should
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

To what degree do you believe Jonathon Falk should transfer into another school because of this issue?

Definitely should not	Most likely should not	Probably should not	No opinion on this	Probably should	Most likely should	Definitely should
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

To what degree do you believe Jonathon Falk should stop complaining and move on from this issue?

Definitely should not	Most likely should not	Probably should not	No opinion on this	Probably should	Most likely should	Definitely should
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Evaluation of the Actor

To what extent do you believe the following traits characterize Jonathon Falk?

Not at all										Very much
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Hypersensitive

Honest

Appreciative

Arrogant

Open-Minded

Genuine

Overreactive

Modest

Irritating

Argumentative

Grateful

LIkeable

Friendly

A troublemaker

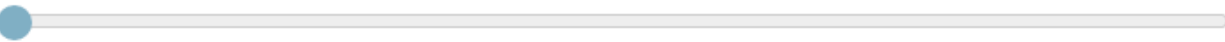Respectable

Considerate

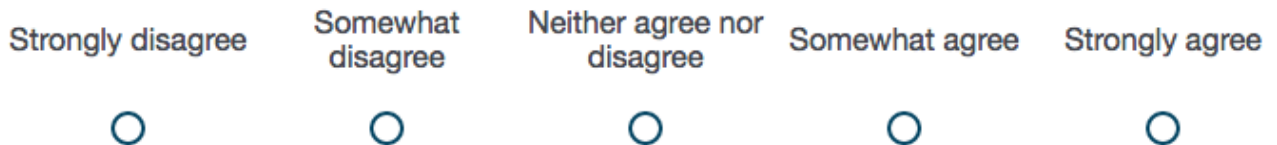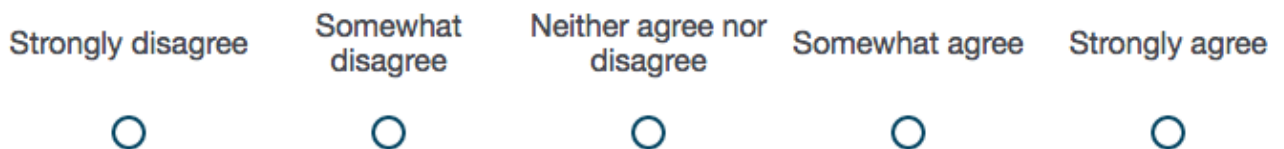A complainer

Independent

Optimistic

Responsible

Attitudes Toward Native Americans

Native Americans should stop complaining about the way they are treated, and simply get on with their lives.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
O	O	O	O	O

The United States needs to stop apologizing for events that happened to Native Americans many years ago.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
O	O	O	O	O

Non-Native people need to become more sensitive to the needs of Native people.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Native Americans should pay taxes like everyone else.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Native Americans seem to use their cultural traditions to secure special rights denied to non-Native Americans.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

The government should support programs designed to place Native Americans in position of power.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

It is now unnecessary to honor treaties established with Native Americans.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Special places in academic programs should not be set aside for Native American people.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Native people still need to protest for equal rights.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Native Americans should simply get over past generations' experiences at boarding schools.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Many of the requests made by Native Americans to the United States government are excessive.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Native people should be satisfied with what the government has given them.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Native Americans should not have reserved placements in universities unless they are qualified.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
O	O	O	O	O

Government agencies should make every effort to meet the needs of Native Americans.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
O	O	O	O	O

<u>Attitudes Toward Native American Mascot</u>

For the following, please indicate to the extent to which you agree or disagree.

1. Native American mascots are not offensive.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
O	O	O	O	O

2. Native American mascots are racist.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
O	O	O	O	O

3. Native American mascots are acceptable.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
O	O	O	O	O

4. Native American mascots attack Native American groups.

Strongly Disagree ○   Disagree ○   Neither Agree nor Disagree ○   Agree ○   Strongly Agree ○

5. Native American mascots are appropriate.

Strongly Disagree ○   Disagree ○   Neither Agree nor Disagree ○   Agree ○   Strongly Agree ○

6. Native American mascots deliver an ethnic insult.

Strongly Disagree ○   Disagree ○   Neither Agree nor Disagree ○   Agree ○   Strongly Agree ○

7. Native American mascots are stereotypical.

Strongly Disagree ○   Disagree ○   Neither Agree nor Disagree ○   Agree ○   Strongly Agree ○

To what degree do you believe that Native American mascots *are* offensive to Native Americans?

Not at all ○   Moderately not ○   Slightly not ○   Neither are or are not ○   Slightly so ○   Moderately so ○   Very much so ○

To what degree do you believe that Native American mascots *should be* offensive to Native Americans?

Not at all ○   Moderately not ○   Slightly not ○   Neither are or are not ○   Slightly so ○   Moderately so ○   Very much so ○

<u>Article Evaluations</u>

To what extent to you agree or disagree that this article is a credible piece of writing?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

To what extent do you agree or disagree that the piece written is characteristic of an article that you would see online?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

<u>Demographics</u>

Please indicate your age in years in the box below.

[   ]

Please indicate below the racial group that you consider yourself affiliated most with.

○ Black/African American

○ Asian/Pacific Islander

○ Hispanic

○ White/Caucasian

○ Native American/Alaskan Naitive (name tribe you are enrolled with below)

○ Multiracial/Biracial (describe below)

Please provide your gender

○ Male

○ Female

○ Other (specify below)

Please list the highest level of education achieved.

○ Did not finish high school

○ GED or equivalent

○ High school diploma

○ Some college

○ Bachelor's Degree

○ Master's Degree

○ Doctoral or higher

Please indicate the extent to which you consider yourself politically liberal or conservative

Extremely Conservative	Conservative	Slightly Conservative	Neutral	Slightly Liberal	Liberal	Extremely Liberal

Prompt for article

For the following you will be evaluating articles from current events in American culture. The theme of these articles is "Social Issues in America" and will revolve around current issues being faced by different social groups and organization from across the country. You will be randomly assigned an article that deals with various social issues being faced by these particular groups. Please pay attention to the groups that are being affected by the issue at hand, and the central theme of the issue being presented as you will be asked some follow up opinion-oriented questions regarding the piece you read.

Blackface Condition

North Dakota Students Spark Outrage with 'Blackface' Snapchats Mocking Black Lives Matter

The University of North Dakota is investigating two racially charged photos of students that were posted on Snapchat within 48 hours of each other last week.

The first one, which shows four white students covered in black clay face masks with the caption "Black Lives Matter," is disturbingly similar to another post by a Kansas State University student posted on the platform a week earlier.

In it, a young blond-haired woman, later identified as Paige Shoemaker, is pictured with a friend making gang hand signs. The post prompted an immediate backlash and a formal apology from the university after the snap was posted on Twitter and went viral. The student was booted from school, crucified on social media, and expelled from her sorority.

UND President Mark Kennedy issued a statement on Sept. 22 in reaction to the two incidents: "I am appalled that within 48 hours two photos with racially charged messages have been posted on social media and associated with the UND campus

community," he wrote. "I have been disappointed to learn that we have people in our university community who don't know that the kind of behavior and messaging demonstrated in these two photos is not ok, and that, in fact, it is inexcusable."

The UND Police Department and the Office of Student Rights and Responsibilities are investigating the incidents.

Redface Condition

Redface Race: 'Indian Attack' Slated for 5K Run/Walk in Kentucky Draws Ire

In celebration of its colonial history, a city in Kentucky will host a 5K run where Native American reenactors painted in redface will chase runners into an imitation fort, according to reports.

The "James Ray 5K Indian Attack" is scheduled for August 15 as one part of the annual Pioneer Days celebration weekend in Harrodsburg, Kentucky. The race is named after General James Ray who relocated to Kentucky from North Carolina in 1775. Ray was reportedly an Indian fighter and spy.

"You can either run or walk, but don't be surprised if you encounter some obstacles and come under attack when Indians chase you to the finish!" reads the race registration form. "Show your pioneer spirit by coming in costume."

The fort at the end of the race is meant to symbolize safety from Indians on the attack, according to reports.

"In the end, it's a celebration of the Indian removal of the area," Assistant Professor of Native American Studies Theo Van Alst of the University of Montana told *ICTMN*.

But the supporters of the "Indian Attack" disagree. They argue the race is about the city's heritage and not about offending Native Americans.

Race Director Terry Wasson has been since indefinitely banned from organizing the annual 5K pending further investigation of this issue.

For the next 2-3 minutes, please take the time to summarize what the article was about in as much detail as possible. Please try to include any details you can recall such as the central issue of the article and anything mentioned by the people in the article.

Action of opposing parties

To what degree do you believe those in opposition of this issue should stop complaining and move on from this issue?

Definitely should not	Most likely should not	Probably should not	No opinion on this	Probably should	Most likely should	Definitely should
O	O	O	O	O	O	O

To what degree do you believe those in opposition of this issue should take this issue to a higher authority?

Definitely should not	Most likely should not	Probably should not	No opinion on this	Probably should	Most likely should	Definitely should
O	O	O	O	O	O	O

Evaluation of Opposing Parties

To what extent do you believe the following traits characterize those who are in opposition to this issue?

Not at all										Very much
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Hypersensitive

Honest

Appreciative

Arrogant

Open-Minded

Genuine
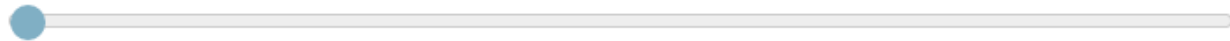
Overreactive

Modest

Irritating

Argumentative

Grateful

LIkeable

Friendly

A troublemaker

Respectable

Considerate

A complainer

Independent

Optimistic

Responsible

Degree of Offensiveness (groups will be separated during the session)

To what degree do you believe that those depicted as Redface/Blackface *are* offensive to Native Americans/African Americans?

Not at all	Moderately not	Slightly not	Neither are or are not	Slightly so	Moderately so	Very much so
O	O	O	O	O	O	O

To what degree do you believe that those depicted as Redface/Blackface *should be* offensive to Native Americans/African Americans?

Not at all	Moderately not	Slightly not	Neither are or are not	Slightly so	Moderately so	Very much so
O	O	O	O	O	O	O

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Andrew Tomer was born October 22, 1988 in Bangor, Maine. He grew up on Indian Island in Old Town. He spent his undergraduate career studying psychology at the University of Maine where he received his Bachelor's degree. He then continued on to study for a graduate degree in social psychology at the University of Maine. Andrew is a candidate for the Master of Arts degree in Psychology from the University of Maine in May 2017.