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NOT MY MASCOT: PREJUDICE AND NATIVE AMERICAN MASCOTS ON
STEREOTYPE ACTIVATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATIVE
AMERICANS

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NOT MY MASCOT: PREJUDICE AND NATIVE AMERICAN MASCOTS ON
STEREOTYPE ACTIVATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATIVE
AMERICANS

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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Abstract

There is an ongoing controversy based on the possible negative outcomes of using Native American mascots as symbols for sport teams. The present research examines the effect of using Native American (NA) sports mascots on people's negative stereotypes, attitudes towards NAs, and the approval of NA mascots. In Study 1, people high in right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) primed with NA mascots were more likely to endorse negative stereotypes of NAs, compared to people in a control condition. Additional analyses revealed that the endorsement of negative stereotypes partially mediated the relationship between RWA and attitudes towards NAs in the priming condition. This relationship disappears when high RWA individuals view pictures of contemporary NA people (Study 2). Furthermore, correlational data suggests that people who support NA mascots genuinely believe that they represent positive attributes of NA people (Study 3). This research supports the view that the use of NA sports mascots primes negative stereotypes of NAs and can negatively impact attitudes of NA people.

Keywords: Native American mascots, attitudes, prejudice.

“Not My Mascot”

The debate over the appropriateness of using Native American (NA) images as mascots for sports team has persisted for several decades. Earlier this year, the MLB Cleveland Indians announced that they would be phasing out the use of their infamous Chief Wahoo name and logo at the end of the 2018 season for diversity and inclusiveness reasons (Hoynes, 2018). However, other teams have continued their support for the use of NA mascots. For example, in a 2013 letter to the team’s season-ticket holders, NFL Washington Redskins owner Dan Snyder famously defended the team name and mascot as a “badge of honor” (Snyder, 2013). Both these choices reflect the broader discourse surrounding NA mascots in that some people view them as outdated and racist, whereas others cherish these symbols as time-honored traditions.

The use of NA mascots in sports teams has become increasingly controversial within the past few decades. Decisions to retire NA mascots and logos have been met with criticism and opposition, especially from sports fans who argue that NA mascots reflect NAs’ bravery and pride and their use honors Native people as noble warriors (Neville, Yeung, Todd, Spanierman, & Reed, 2011; Steinfeldt, Foltz, Kaladow, Carlson, Pagano Jr., Benton & Steinfeldt, 2010; Vanderford, 1996), promote nostalgic feelings (Price, 2002; Rhode, 1994), encourage group cohesiveness among sports fans (Jacobson & Dashefsky, 2003), and provide an opportunity to learn about NA cultures (Hemmer, 2008). Regardless of intent, critics of NA mascots claim that they are based on racist stereotypes that can lead to negative attitudes towards NA people, foster unsafe campus environments (Baca, 2004), and can have a negative impact on both NA and non-NA people (Fryberg, 2008; Freng & Willis-Esqueda, 2010; Kim-Prieto, Goldstein, Okazaki

& Kirschner, 2010; Chaney, Burke, & Burkley, 2011; Burkley, Burkley, Andrade, & Bell, 2017). Although at odds with one another, both parties suggest that NA mascots and logos are influential on our perceptions of, and attitudes toward, NA peoples.

Starting in the 1940s, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) has actively opposed dehumanizing imagery of NAs that permeates popular culture, and since 1968, they have focused their efforts on NA mascots (Hylton, 2010; Grose, 2010). Since then, numerous professional organizations, like the American Psychological Association, have issued resolutions and statements in support of retiring NA mascots from sports teams. Many activists and NA scholars have denounced NA mascots as stereotypical representations that not only demean NA people but characterize them as warlike and aggressive (King & Springwood, 2000; King, 2001; Staurowsky, 2004; 2007).

Contemporary depictions of NAs made by non-Natives tend to ignore the complex realities of Native life. They either exaggerate issues such as high poverty, high suicide rates, and higher rates of medical issues (such as diabetes and alcoholism), or else portray NAs as “frozen in time” (Keene, 2015; Fryberg & Stephens, 2010; Pewewardy, 1999). Historically-based images of NAs with spears, bows and arrows, regalia (such as buckskin and headdresses), or on horses, make up the majority of NA mascots and imagery (King, 2008; Fryberg & Markus, 2003; Willis-Esqueda & Swanson, 1997; Trimble, 1988). Primed by these media representations of NA people as possessing these limited number of consistent traits, non-Natives likely connect actual NA people to these negative stereotypic associations (Fryberg et al., 2008).

NA mascot imagery shares similar features, such as depicting a generic and often cartoonish NA man wearing a feathered headdress and buckskin, evoking notions of wildness, violence, and danger. These inauthentic representations of NAs are not only encouraged in non-Native culture, but continue to be perpetuated when non-Natives “play Indian” inside and outside of the realm of sports (King, 2008; Pewewardy, 1999; 2004). For example, Washington Redskins fans adorn themselves in red face paint and fake headdresses, while Atlanta Braves fans perform the “tomahawk chop.” These stereotyped depictions of NAs indirectly influence opinions about NA people, especially among individuals who lack regular or significant contact with NA people (Fryberg et al., 2008). If non-Natives’ knowledge of NAs is indirectly formed through their exposure to NA mascots, then, theoretically, they could associate traits of NA mascots with actual NA people. Ultimately, NA mascots may have detrimental social and psychological consequences, such as contributing to a hostile learning environment for NA students, and encouraging “biases and prejudices that have a negative effect on contemporary Indian people” (USCCR, 2001).

Recently, researchers have begun to investigate non-Natives’ attitudes towards NA mascots and the negative consequences that may result from exposure to them (Burkley et al., 2017; Chaney, Burke, & Burkley, 2011; Freng & Willis-Esqueda, 2011; Kim-Prieto, Goldstein, Okazaki, & Kirschner, 2010; Fryberg et al., 2008). Bresnahan and Flowers (2006), for example, have shown that people who seek out sports, either through personal involvement, or by means of watching sports regularly as entertainment, show greater approval for the use of NA mascots. Additionally, research on Chief Illiniwek, a now-retired NA mascot from The University of Illinois, has shown

that endorsement of a colorblind ideology that denies the existence of racism is likely to predict disagreement with the mascot's removal (Neville et al, 2011). Thus, people who seem more likely to hold negative attitudes towards minorities apparently are more likely to endorse the use of NA mascots.

Other research has focused on the activation of stereotypes as a result of exposure to NA mascots. For example, Freng and Willis-Esqueda (2011) showed that people who had been subliminally primed with an image of Chief Wahoo tended to respond faster to the presentation of negative stereotypes of NAs. Supplemental analyses revealed that the stereotype activation observed in this study was neither predicted by prejudice towards NAs, nor by motivation to control prejudice. In a similar study, Kim-Prieto and colleagues (2010) found that exposure to an image of Chief Illiniwek increased people's tendency to endorse stereotypes about a different minority group (i.e., Asian Americans). As in the previous research, this study showed clear evidence of stereotype activation as a result of exposure to NA mascots. This study also showed that the activation of stereotypes "leaks" over, such that it affects attitudes toward other out-groups that differ from the target group (Kim-Prieto et. al, 2010).

In a recent study, Burkley and colleagues (2017) tested the assumption that exposure to NA mascots not only should facilitate the activation of negative stereotypes of NAs, but also that it should facilitate the application of stereotyped views of Natives (Kundan & Spencer, 2003). After priming participants with multiple NA mascots, Burkley and colleagues (2017) measured the extent to which they applied negative stereotypes in their judgments about NA people. The results of the study revealed that

after the priming manipulation, participants high in prejudice towards NAs were more likely to rate ambiguous behavior of a NA target as aggressive.

Current Study

Although previous research has shown a clear association between exposure to NA mascots and the activation and application of negative stereotypes of NAs, it does not directly test the assumption that exposure to NA mascots contributes to the formation and maintenance of negative attitudes toward NAs. This assumption lies at the crux of the controversy generated by the use of NA mascots in sports and one of the main goals of the current study is to test its validity. In addition, this study aims to address an important limitation of previous research. Although current research suggests that the activation (and application) of negative stereotypes of NAs is the direct result to the exposure of stereotyped images of NAs embodied in sport mascots, it is possible that sport mascots simply prime the general concept of NAs in non-NA people. In other words, exposure to non-mascot images related to NAs could yield similar results to the ones obtained in previous research. The current study will address these limitations and other relevant issues.

Stereotype Activation

Stereotypes are generalized associations about an individual or a group based on their membership to a specific social category. Stereotypes can be automatically activated in the presence of a stereotyped target—or symbolic equivalent—which can then influence attitudes and behavior towards them. Whether a person chooses to apply that stereotype to the target depends on a number of factors, such as situational cues

(Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 2001), processing goals (Legault, Green-Demers, & Eadie, 2008; Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Chartrand & Bargh, 1996), and availability of cognitive resources (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991), to name a few.

In addition, prejudice levels can also predispose some people to activate stereotypes more than others (high prejudice) or inhibit the likelihood of applying a stereotype (low prejudice) (Devine, 1989; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000; Lepore & Brown, 1997). Although most individuals may have knowledge of group stereotypes through the exposure to cultural norms, the *knowledge* of these stereotypes does not necessarily mean that individuals will *endorse* (Devine 1989), *activate* or *apply* the stereotype to target group members (Kawakami, Dion, and Dovidio, 1998; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998). Non-Black Americans, for example, are generally knowledgeable about the stereotypes of Black people. Yet individuals with a higher level of prejudice show stronger stereotypic associations for Black people following a Black prime in both controlled and automatic conditions (Kawakami, Dion, and Dovidio, 1998). In contrast, low-prejudiced individuals tend to be less likely to activate and apply these negative stereotypes.

Prejudice has been theorized as being both a consequence of stereotypes and a predictor of stereotypes (Allport, 1954). A major individual difference underlying prejudice, stereotyping, and hostility towards minority groups is Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA; Altemeyer, 1998; Whitley, 1999). People high in RWA tend to be prejudiced against a wide variety of groups, including feminists (Duncan, Peterson, & Winter, 1997), lesbians and gay men (Whitley & Lee, 2000), immigrants (Quinton, Cowan, & Watson, 1996), and, more importantly, NAs (Altemeyer, 1998).

Several personal characteristics of people high in RWA are likely to predispose them to prejudice. First, people high in RWA are likely to organize their worlds in terms of in-group versus out-groups. They tend to perceive out-group members as threats to their value systems, and the expression of prejudice towards these members allows them to reveal hostile attitudes without acting out physical violence (Whitley, 1999). Second, people high in RWA tend to show mental inflexibility. They see their worlds in simple terms, desire definite answers to questions, and have a high need for closure. This type of mental inflexibility predisposes them to activate and use stereotypes under different conditions. For example, individuals who are high in RWA consistently activate negative Black stereotypes in both a controlled condition—when individuals have time to inhibit their responses—and in an automatic condition, when less control is available (Kawakami, Dion, & Dovidio, 1998).

Purpose of present research

Thus far, no research has investigated the effects of prejudice and exposure to NA mascots on attitudes towards NAs. The following studies were designed to explore how the exposure of NA mascots on high-prejudice individuals influences their attitudes towards NAs. Research suggests that people who are high in prejudice not only have the same racial stereotype knowledge as those who are low in prejudice, but that they also have developed a stronger association between racial stereotypes and the targeted group, relying on them more often (Bargh, Chaiken, Govender, & Pratto, 1992; Chaiken & Bargh, 1993). Therefore, prejudiced individuals should be more likely to activate negative stereotypes when presented with NA mascots. Presumably, this activation should, in turn, influence their attitudes towards NA people. In contrast, low-

prejudice individuals might inhibit the activation of negative stereotypes in order to maintain an egalitarian identity and maintain more favorable attitudes towards NAs (Devine, 1989; Fein, Hoshino-Browne, Davies, & Spencer, 2003; Moskowitz, Gollwitzer, Wasel, & Schaal, 1999).

Another important issue that this research aims to address is the finding that a significant number of presumably non-prejudiced individuals approve the use of NA mascots, considering them non-offensive, and argue that they provide positive views of NAs, such as bravery and assertiveness (Bresnahan and Flowers, 2006). Although psychological research on stereotypes has mostly focused on negative stereotypes, the integration of the implications and possible consequences of positive stereotypes has yielded interesting results (Glick & Fiske, 1998; Czopp & Monteith, 2006). Stereotypes about groups are not uniformly negative and can be multidimensional; people can and often think well of outgroup members (Allport, 1954). However, seemingly-positive stereotypes can still yield negative attitudes. For example, men who view women as nurturing and kind may simultaneously harbor negative attitudes towards them (Glick & Fiske, 1998). Similarly, people who endorse the positive stereotype of Black people as musicians and superior athletes still show prejudice towards them (Czopp & Monteith, 2006). I contend that NA mascots represent a form of ambivalence towards NAs. Accordingly, this research will also explore the association between the approval of NA mascots and negative attitudes toward NAs.

Study 1

Study 1 tested the hypotheses that (1) individuals who are high in prejudice would be significantly more likely to endorse negative stereotypes of NAs after being

primed with NA mascots, and (2) the activation of negative stereotypes of NAs should mediate the relationship between high-prejudice and overall negative attitudes towards NAs.

Method

Participants

One-hundred and forty participants (82 women, 60 men) took part in the study at the University of Oklahoma in Norman. Ages ranged from 18 to 35 years ($M = 19.03$, $SD = 1.9$). Participants were predominately White (75%; 7.9% = African American; 5.7% = Asian; 4.3% = Latino/Hispanic; 5.0% = Native American; .7% = Middle Eastern; 1.4% = Other). Participants received credit toward a course requirement for their participation in the study.

Measures

Right-wing authoritarianism. Prejudice was measured in this study using the RWA scale. This scale was created to measure peoples' responses to authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism (Altemeyer 1996; see Appendix A). A short 22 item scale version (Rattazzi, Bobbio, and Canova 2007) was used in this study. Participants indicated how much they agreed with each item on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (disagree very much) to 9 (agree very much). Sample items from this measure include: "Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us" and "The 'old-fashioned ways' and the 'old-fashioned values' still show the best way to live." This scale was found to be highly reliable ($\alpha = .94$).

Native American stereotypes. This measure consists of stereotypes that are consistent with how NAs are represented in popular culture and contains items previously used in NA stereotype research (Freng & Willis-Esqueda, 2010; Trimble, 1988). The scale included five negative stereotypes of NAs: rude, high-strung, cruel, primitive, and violent ($\alpha = .69$). Participants were asked to rate how typical these traits of Native Americans were on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (not typical) to 9 (very typical). Higher ratings in this scale indicated endorsement of negative stereotypes.

Attitudes toward Native Americans. This measure was adapted from the “Attitudes toward Blacks scale” (Brigham, 1993), by substituting “Native Americans” for “Blacks”. In this 12-item scale, participants indicated how much they agreed with each item on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (disagree very much) to 9 (agree very much). Sample items from this measure include: “I would rather not have Native Americans live in the same apartment building I live in” and “It would not bother me if my new roommate was Native American”. Items expressing negative attitudes were reverse scored so that higher scores reflected positive attitudes toward NAs ($\alpha = .79$).

Design and Procedure

Participants completed all study materials using a computer in a research lab. After consenting, participants first completed a battery of questionnaires (see Appendix D) that included the RWA scale. Next, participants completed a priming task, in which, dependent on condition, they were primed with either NA mascot images or neutral mascot images (control condition) (for images used in both conditions, see Appendix E).

Specifically, the priming task began with instructions asking participants to ignore all images that appeared onscreen while deciding as quickly as possible whether strings of letters (flashed on the computer screen) began with vowels or consonants. Each trial consisted of the following components: Participants were first shown a fixation point (+) in the center of the screen for 1000 ms, then a mascot image (i.e., NA mascot or neutral mascot) or a filler picture (e.g., animals, houses, and landscapes) appeared in the center of the screen for 500 ms; finally, a string of letters appeared in one of the four corners of the screen for 250 ms. Participants decided whether each string of letters began with a consonant or vowel by pressing one of two designated keys on their keyboard. All participants completed 20 control trials and 10 prime trials.

Immediately after the priming task, participants completed a series of filler questionnaires in addition to our DV measures of interest: negative stereotypes of NAs and Attitudes toward NAs.

Analyses and Results

To examine the effect of the manipulation on stereotype activation, a regression analysis was conducted using a 2 (high RWA vs. low RWA) X 2 (NA mascot condition vs. neutral condition) between subject design, with RWA as a quasi-experimental variable, and using negative stereotypes as the dependent variable (Table 1). After centering condition, RWA, and computing the Condition X RWA interaction term (Aiken & West, 1991), the two predictors and the interaction were entered into a simultaneous regression model. The analysis revealed a significant main effect of RWA, $b = .254$, $SE_b = .062$, $\beta = .325$, $p < .001$, indicating that high prejudiced participants (i.e., higher RWA scores) were more likely to endorse negative stereotypes

of NAs than low prejudice participants (i.e., higher ratings of negative stereotypes). More importantly, the predicted Condition X RWA interaction was also significant, $b = .295$, $SE_b = .125$, $\beta = .187$, $p = .020$. The results of this interaction are shown in Figure 1 (based on predicted means at one standard deviation above and below the total sample mean for RWA). Regression analysis predicting positive stereotypes was not significant.

To explore the significant interaction, simple slopes analyses were conducted as outlined in Aiken & West (1991). For the purposes of these analyses, low RWA was defined as 1 SD below the mean and high RWA was defined as 1 SD above the mean. Test of simple slopes revealed that high RWA individuals in the NA mascot condition endorsed higher ratings of negative stereotypes of NAs, $b = .39$, $SE_b = .09$, $\beta = .494$, $p < .001$. As predicted, high RWA individuals in the control condition did not endorse negative stereotypes of NAs, $b = .09$, $SE_b = .09$, $\beta = .118$, $p = .32$.

To test whether negative stereotypes mediated the relationship between RWA and ATNA (in the NA mascot condition), a mediational analysis was conducted using the Process Macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2013). In Step 1 of the mediation model, the regression of RWA on attitudes towards NAs (ATNA), ignoring the mediator, was found to be significant, $b = -.352$, $t(75) = -4.48$, $p < .001$. Step 2 showed that the regression of RWA on the mediator, negative stereotypes of NAs, was also significant, $b = .407$, $t(75) = 4.22$, $p < .001$. Step 3 of the mediation process showed that the mediator (negative stereotypes of NAs), controlling for ATM, was significant, $b = -.264$, $t(74) = -2.94$, $p = .004$. Finally, Step 4 of the analyses revealed that, controlling for the mediator (negative stereotypes of NAs), RWA scores were still a significant

Table 1

Summary of Simple Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Negative Stereotypes

($N = 140$)

Variable	B	$SE B$	β	CI
Condition	-1.32	0.54	-.54*	[-2.40, -.24]
RWA	-.20	0.20	-.26	[-.60, .20]
RWaxCondition	.30	0.13	.80*	[.05, .54]
R^2			.14	
F			7.24**	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

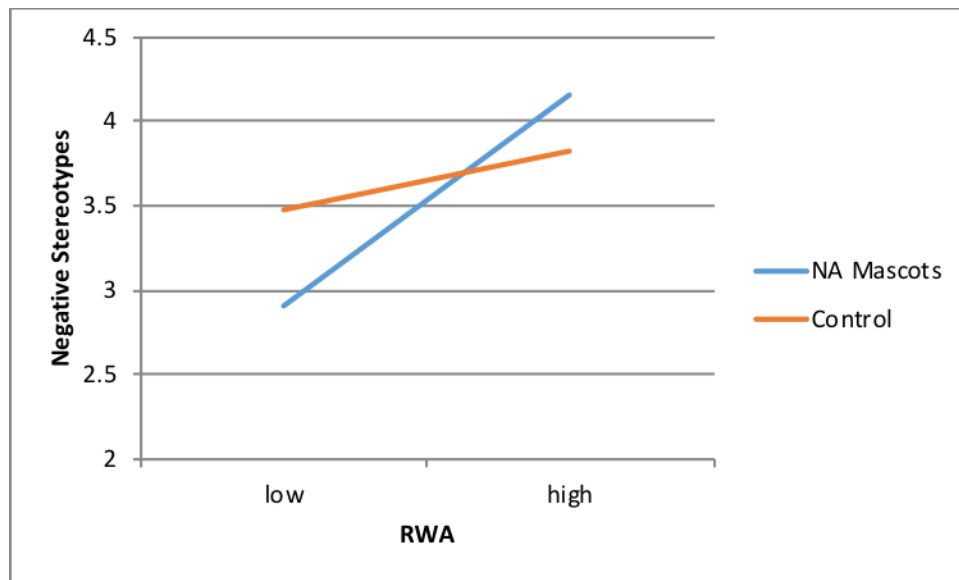


Figure 1. Predicted scores for high vs low RWA by condition.

predictor of ATNA, $b = -.244, t(74) = -2.94, p = .004$. These results indicate that the activation of NA mascots partially mediates the relationship between RWA and

ATNA. Approximately 21% of the variance in ATNA was accounted for by the predictors ($R^2 = .211$). The indirect effect was tested using a bootstrap estimation approach with 5000 samples (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). These results indicated the indirect coefficient was significant, $b = -.107$, $SE = .046$, 95% CI = $-.2187, -.0344$ (Figure 2).

Discussion

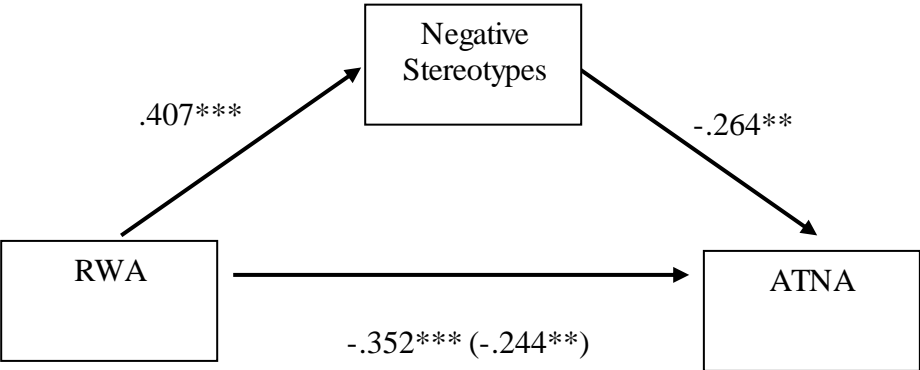
Results from Study 1 support the hypothesis that exposure to NA mascots influences attitudes towards NAs. This relationship is moderated by RWA such that more-prejudiced individuals were more likely to activate negative stereotypes of NAs in the experimental condition only. A mediational analysis revealed that this activation of negative stereotypes led to more negative attitudes towards NAs. High levels of RWA did not predict the endorsement of negative stereotypes in the control condition. This research differs from previous research by directly testing the effects of NA mascots on the activation of negative stereotypes of NAs before the manipulation thereby insulating

Study 2

Despite the interpretations provided for the findings of Study 1, it could be argued that these results were caused by general stereotypes of NAs and not the mascot itself. That is, a more-prejudiced individual might react similarly to seeing a NA mascot as they would to seeing any NA person, because the mascot is simply evoking the concept of “Indianness.” In other words, high-prejudice individuals might be responding to indicators used in NA mascot images—such as feathers, headdresses, and face paint—that prime them with NA people. To rule out this alternative explanation,

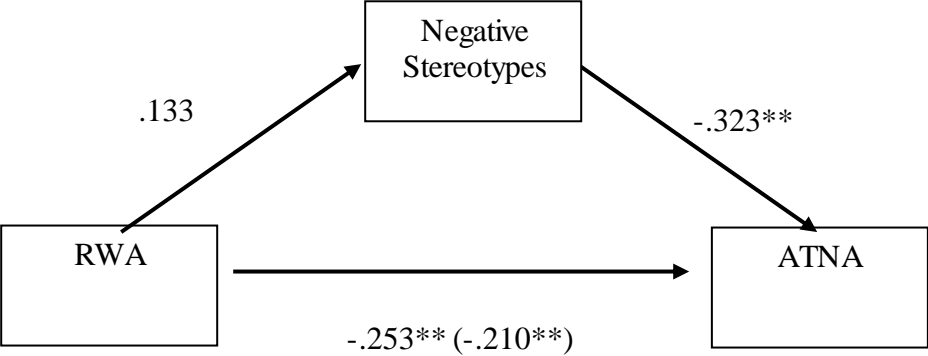
Study 2 was designed to test whether NA mascots activate negative stereotypes solely because they are priming individuals with NA people.

Figure 2. Mediation Analyses for Study 1.



Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Mediation Analysis for Control (non-Native American Mascots) Condition.



Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Non-Native American mascots Condition. The indirect coefficient was not significant, $b = -.043$, $SE = .033$, 95% CI = $-.1265, .0096$.

these scores from the effects of the manipulation.

Study 2 included two conditions: a NA mascot condition, and a contemporary photos of NAs condition. The same pattern of results as Study 1 was expected in Study

2—that high-prejudice individuals will be significantly more likely to endorse negative stereotypes when primed with NA mascots, compared to (1) low-prejudice individuals in the same condition; and (2) high-prejudice individuals in the contemporary NA condition. There should be no significant difference between high-prejudice and low-prejudice individuals when primed with images of contemporary NA people in their endorsement or non-endorsement of negative NA stereotypes. Finally, the study tested whether the activation of negative NA stereotypes would mediate the relationship between high-prejudice and overall negative attitudes towards NAs in the NA mascot condition.

Method

Study 2 was designed as a replication and follow-up of Study 1. Its main goal was to rule out the possibility that NA mascots are simply priming individuals with NA people.

Participants

Sixty-six participants completed this study (51 women, 15 men) at the University of Oklahoma in Norman. Ages ranged from 18 to 37 ($M = 19.39$, $SD = 2.57$). Participants were predominately White (69.7%; 7.6% = Latino/Hispanic; 7.6% = Native American; 6.1% = Asian; 4.5% = African-American; 4.5% = Other). Those who participated in Study 1 were restricted from participating in Study 2. Participants received credit toward a course requirement.

Measures

The same measures were used from Study 1 and were administered in the same

order. The reliabilities for each measure were as follows: RWA ($\alpha = .92$), ATNA ($\alpha = .78$), and NS ($\alpha = .80$).

Procedure

Participants completed the same RWA scale and DV measures in the same procedure detailed in the first study. The only difference was in the priming condition, where pictures of NA people were used in place of non-NA mascots (the control condition used in Study 1). Pictures unencumbered by items that could be perceived as “stereotypical” of NAs—like regalia or headdresses—were chosen to showcase contemporary NA people. A pilot study showed that non-Natives viewed each person depicted in the pictures as being identifiably NA. To summarize, participants were either randomly assigned to view pictures of contemporary NAs (control) or NA mascots (experimental) (Appendix F). The same priming procedure was used from Study 1.

Analyses and Results

To examine the effect of the manipulation a regression analysis was conducted using a 2 (high RWA vs. low RWA) X 2 (NA mascot condition vs. neutral condition) between subject design, with RWA as a quasi-experimental variable, and using negative stereotypes as the dependent variable (Table 2). After centering condition and RWA and computing the Condition X RWA interaction term (Aiken & West, 1991), the two predictors and the interaction were entered into a simultaneous regression model. The analysis revealed a significant main effect of RWA, $b = .308$, $SE_b = .124$, $\beta = .23$, $p < .05$, meaning that prejudiced people (i.e., higher score of RWA) endorsed negative

stereotypes of NAs (i.e., higher ratings of negative stereotypes). The predicted Condition X RWA interaction was also significant, $b = .500$, $SE_b = .242$, $\beta = .245$, $p < .05$. The results of this interaction are shown in Figure 3 (based on predicted means at one standard deviation above and below the total sample mean for RWA). Regression analysis predicting positive stereotypes was not significant.

To explore the significant interaction, simple slopes analyses were conducted as outlined in Aiken & West (1991). For the purposes of these analyses, low RWA was defined as 1 SD below the mean and high RWA was defined as 1 SD above the mean. Test of simple slopes revealed that high RWA individuals in the NA mascot condition endorsed higher ratings of negative stereotypes of NAs, $b = .530$, $SE_b = .169$, $\beta = .518$, $p = .003$. As predicted, high RWA individuals in the control condition did not endorse negative stereotypes of NAs, $b = .027$, $SE_b = .173$, $\beta = .026$, $p = .876$.

To test whether negative stereotypes mediated the relationship between RWA and ATNA (in the NA mascot condition), a mediational analyses was conducted using the Process Macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2013). In Step 1 of the mediation model, the regression of RWA on attitudes towards NAs (ATNA), ignoring the mediator, was significant, $b = -.266$, $t(32) = -2.66$, $p = .012$. Step 2 showed that the regression of RWA on the mediator, negative stereotypes of NAs, was also significant, $b = .525$, $t(32) = 3.19$, $p = .003$.

Step 3 of the mediation process showed that the mediator (negative stereotypes of NAs), controlling for ATM, was significant, $b = -.251$, $t(31) = -2.53$, $p = .017$. Step 4 of the analyses revealed that, controlling for the mediator (negative stereotypes of NAs), RWA was no longer a significant predictor of ATNA, $b = -.134$, $t(31) = -1.26$, $p = .216$.

Table 2

Summary of Simple Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Negative Stereotypes
($N = 66$)

Variable	B	$SE B$	β	CI
Condition	-2.09	1.06	-.75	[-4.21, .03]
RWA	-.52	0.39	-.50	[-1.31, .26]
RWaxCondition	.54	0.25	1.15*	[.04, 1.03]
R^2			.14	
F			3.47*	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

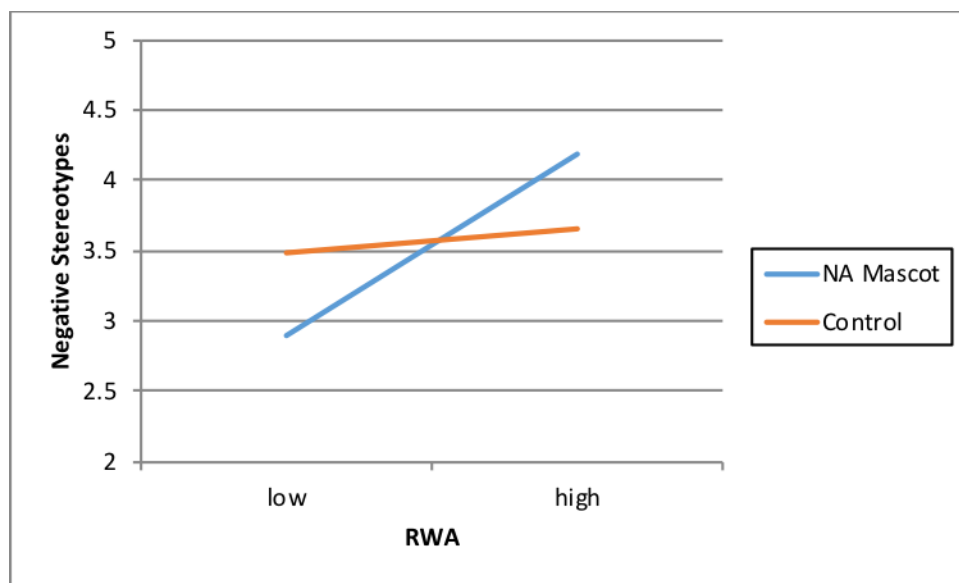
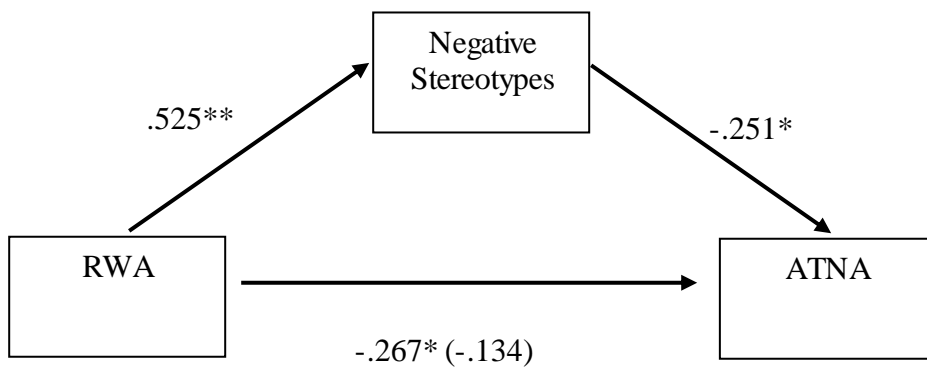


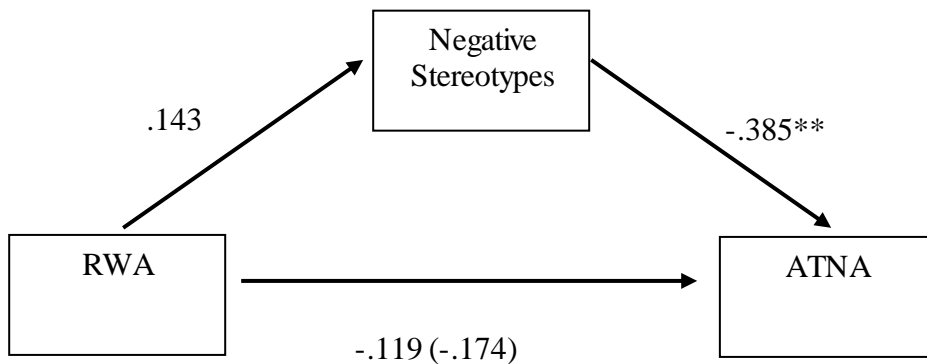
Figure 3. Predicted scores for high vs low RWA by condition.

This indicates that the activation of NS fully mediates the relationship between RWA and ATNA. Approximately 32% of the variance in ATNA was accounted for by the predictors ($R^2 = .321$). The indirect effect was tested using a bootstrap estimation approach with 5000 samples (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). These results indicated the indirect coefficient was significant, $b = -.132$, $SE = .066$, 95% CI = $-.2958, -.0234$ (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Mediation Analysis for Study 2.



Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Native American Mascots Condition.



Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Native American portraits Condition. The indirect coefficient was not significant, $b = -.055$, $SE = .087$, 95% CI = $-.2502, .1146$.

Discussion

Results from Study 2 provide further evidence that exposure to NA mascots can have a negative effect on attitudes towards NAs. This study served as a replication of Study 1 by showing that individuals who are high in prejudice are more likely to activate negative stereotypes of NAs, but only after viewing NA mascots. The activation of negative stereotypes mediates the relationship between RWA and attitudes towards NAs. However, when primed with pictures of contemporary NAs, people who are high in prejudice were not significantly more likely to activate negative stereotypes of NAs. It could be that when high RWA people viewed actual NA people, they did not want to appear overtly prejudiced of NA people. Yet, these same inhibitions disappear when viewing a NA mascot.

Study 3

Another gap in the literature that needs to be addressed is the potential relationship between the approval of NA mascots and prejudice. The Attitudes toward Mascots Scale (Bresnahan & Flowers, 2006) measures the degree to which an individual *does not* find NA mascots offensive, but does not tap into attitudes about what NA mascots represent to those who support them. Team names, like “Braves” and “The Indians” could have been chosen to reflect the team’s bravery and warrior-like spirit, much like animal mascots are chosen for their strength and fierceness. This argument is often used as a justification as to why NA mascots were created and why they should continue to exist. Bresnahan and Flowers (2006) found that sports fans (i.e. individuals who enjoyed watching and playing sports) were more likely to support the use of NA mascots, in addition to regarding them as inoffensive. What is less known is

whether that relationship is related to the belief that NA mascots represent positive aspects of NA people. Is it possible that people who are high in prejudice will be more likely to approve the use of NA mascots? I would argue that this is the case. Studies specific to campuses with NA mascots—The University of North Dakota and The University of Illinois—showed that when relatively anonymous, bloggers protesting the decision to remove their beloved mascots are comfortable stereotyping NA people in order to demean and invalidate them (Clark, Spanierman, Reed, Soble, & Cabana, 2011), behaviors indicative of right wing authoritarianism.

Study 3 was conducted to investigate the relationship between prejudice (RWA), the approval of NA mascots, and the belief that NA mascots represent positive attributes of NA people. It was predicted that people high in prejudice would be more likely to approve of the use of NA mascots and view NA mascots as positive representations of NA people.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and fifty-six participants participated in this study (187 women, 69 men) for course credit at the University of Oklahoma. Ages ranged from 17 to 28 ($M = 19.79$, $SD = 1.11$). Participants were predominately White (71.7%; 9.8% = Latino/Hispanic; 4.9% = Native American; 5.7% = Asian; 5.3% = African-American; .8% = Middle Eastern; and 1.9% = Other).

Procedure

All measures were completed online.

Measures

Right-wing authoritarianism. This study used the same scale that was used in Study 1 and Study 2 ($\alpha = .84$).

Attitudes toward Native Americans. This study used the same scale that was used in Study 1 and Study 2 ($\alpha = .84$).

Attitudes toward Mascots scale. A measure assessing the approval of NA mascots was created by Bresnahan and Flowers (2008) (Appendix C). This is a 7-item scale and participants indicated how much they agreed with each item on a scale ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (strongly agree). Sample items from this measure include “The use of Native Americans as mascot in sport teams is not offensive” and “The use of Native Americans as mascot in sport teams is racist” (reverse score). This measure was shown to be reliable ($\alpha = .93$).

Positive mascot items. For the purposes of the study, five statements that reflect the belief that NA mascots represent positive characteristics of NA people were created: “Native American mascots are a source of pride for Native American people,” “Native American mascots emphasize Native American’s fighting spirit,” “Native American mascots represent Native American people as brave warriors,” “Native American mascots depict Native Americans as strong-willed,” and “The continued use of Native American mascots celebrates Native American cultures.” This 5-item measure was shown to be reliable ($\alpha = .94$).

Analyses and Results

Correlations and descriptive statistics for ATNA, RWA, and ATM are presented in Table 3. As predicted, there is a significant relationship between RWA and ATM, $r(262) = .40, p < .001$. This correlation suggests that people who are prejudiced (higher in RWA) are more likely to approve of NA mascots. ATNA is negatively correlated with both RWA, $r(258) = -.43, p < .001$, and ATM, $r(258) = -.32, p < .001$, meaning that individuals who are low in prejudice and who are less likely to approve of the use of NA mascots are more likely to have positive attitudes of NAs. Conversely, the correlational data suggests that individuals who are high in prejudice and approve of the use of NA mascots are more likely to have negative attitudes of NAs.

In Table 4, the correlations and descriptive statistics for RWA, and ATNA are presented along with the correlation for the positive mascot items (PMI). The relationships between these variables mirror the relationships between RWA, ATNA, and ATM. As predicted, there is a significant relationship between RWA and PMI, $r(257) = .35, p < .001$, which suggests that people high in prejudiced are more likely to believe that NA mascots emphasize positive characteristics of NAs. Again, ATNA is negatively correlated with both RWA, $r(258) = -.43, p < .001$, and also with PMI, $r(258) = -.28, p < .001$, meaning that individuals who are low in prejudice and who are less likely to endorse the idea that NA mascots represent good things about NAs, are more likely to have positive attitudes of NAs. Conversely, the correlational data suggests that individuals who are high in prejudice and believe that NA mascots emphasize positive characteristics of NAs are more likely to have negative attitudes of NAs.

Discussion

As hypothesized, there is a moderate correlation between prejudice and the approval of NA mascots. Thus, people who find the use of NA mascots to be acceptable are in fact more prejudiced. Additionally, prejudiced individuals support the belief that NA mascots represent positive attributes of NA peoples, such as being brave and warrior-like.

It is clear that supporters of NA mascots genuinely believe that those mascots are positive reflections of NA people, in that they emphasize bravery and pride. This can be seen in Dan Snyder's words that the moniker of "Washington Redskins" is "a badge of honor" (Snyder, 2013). Yet, these results show that there is more to the story. As indicated by the negative correlation between the positive mascot items and attitudes towards NAs, supporters of NA mascots harbor negative attitudes towards NA people. Thus, contrary to what the supporters claim, the acceptance and approval of NA mascots does not coincide with positive sentiments towards NA people; much like men's ambivalent attitudes towards women (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

General Discussion

The current research supports the perspective that exposure to NA mascots leads to negative consequences for NA people. Study 1 showed that when exposed to NA mascots, people who are prejudiced are more likely to endorse negative stereotypes of NAs and that it is the activation of negative stereotypes that partially mediates the relationship between prejudice and negative attitudes toward NAs. In order to rule out the possibility that the activation of negative stereotypes was primarily the result of priming NA people and not due to the mascots themselves, Study 2 was conducted. The results of Study 2 replicated the results of Study 1, and also showed that the activation

of negative stereotypes was unique to NA mascots themselves. Thus, I was able to show that the activation of negative stereotypes of NAs was unique to the mascots and not from viewing NA people. When viewing actual NAs, prejudice was not a significant predictor of negative stereotypes of NAs. Furthermore, there is clear evidence that despite claims that the acceptance of NA mascots positively impacts NA people (Brown, 2002; Price, 2002; Robidoux, 2006), supporters of NA mascots are generally more prejudiced and hold negative attitudes of NA people. Study 3 showed that there is a significant relationship between RWA and ATM, suggesting that people who are prejudiced are more likely to endorse the use of NA mascots. Because supporters of NA mascots argue that the use of mascots both honor NAs and emphasize positive traits of NA people, it should be expected that this belief correlates with positive attitudes of NAs. Yet, when positive mascot items were created and included in Study 3, the exact opposite was found.

Results from Studies 1 and 2 extend and strengthen the results from studies conducted by Freng and Willis-Esqueda (2011) and Burkley et al. (2017) by providing explicit evidence for stereotype activation. Burkley et al. (2017) showed that people who were prejudiced towards NAs would be more likely to engage in stereotype application after viewing a NA mascot. While stereotype application provides evidence for stereotype activation, this process was not measured in their study. Furthermore, results from Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated that the activation of negative stereotypes of NAs was shown to occur in individuals who were high in RWA—prejudiced in general—and not confined to people who are prejudiced towards NAs. Additionally

Table 3 *Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Key Study Variables*

	<i>M (SD)</i>	ATNA	RWA	ATM	PMI
ATNA	7.36 (1.15)	(.)			
RWA	3.69 (1.06)	-.43**	(.)		
ATM	4.11 (1.51)	-.34**	.41**	(.)	
PMI	4.07 (1.56)	-.28**	.35**	.86**	(.)
N		255	259	259	260

Note. Study 3. ATNA = Attitudes toward NAs; RWA = Right Wing Authoritarianism (Short); ATM = Attitudes toward NA mascots

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

these negative attitudes are a function of the activation of negative stereotypes caused by viewing a NA mascot, and not by viewing a NA person. Consistent with Freng and Willis-Esqueda's (2010) finding that the exposure to Chief Wahoo did not facilitate faster responses to positive stereotypes, regression analyses predicting positive stereotypes were not significant in either Study 1 or Study 2.

Thus far, no research has investigated the relationship between the approval of NA mascots and the belief that they represent good attributes of NA people. One of the main arguments for keeping NA mascots is that they emphasize positive attributes of NA people, which leads to more positive attitudes toward NA people (Neville, Yeung, Todd, Spanierman, & Reed, 2011; Clark et. al, 2011, Snyder, 2013). However, findings from this study indicate that this is not the case. Supporters of NA mascots are more likely to be both racist and harbor negative views of NA people despite believing that NA mascots emphasize positive attributes of NA people. This provides further evidence

for the counter-argument that non-NA people are in favor of keeping NA mascots for their own benefit at the expense of NA people (Davis, 1993; King, 2001).

The current studies are also important because they highlight the hypocrisy of statements in favor of keeping NA mascots; namely, that the use of NA mascots is meant to honor NA people. If non-Natives truly believed that NA mascots are positive, then why should they activate negative stereotypes?

Glick and Fiske (1996) have investigated the consequences of seemingly positive beliefs and positive stereotypes of women. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory measures attitudes towards women in terms of hostile and benevolent sexism. Although at the surface men might believe that women are caring and nurturing, they can simultaneously endorse the idea that women should not be able to compete within the workplace. This ambivalence—having both positive and negative views of a group of people—can theoretically be extended to Native Americans. Historically, Native Americans have been viewed as being helpful and friendly, like Pocahontas and Squanto, but also savage and rebellious—labels extended towards Native leaders like Crazy Horse and Geronimo. Given factors like Native Americans' relatively low percentage of the overall United States population today; the isolation of larger tribal nations from the majority population; and the conflicting ways information is taught about them to children; it would be no surprise to find that non-Natives continue to display ambivalent attitudes towards Native Americans. NA mascots are the epitome of ambivalence. On one hand, individuals can wield their support of NA mascots like a shield while simultaneously harboring prejudiced attitudes of NA people.

Although these studies focused on high-prejudice individuals, data on low-prejudice individuals remains noteworthy. While NA mascots seem to open the racist floodgates for high-prejudice people, low-prejudice people reacted oppositely. Consistent with previous research, low-prejudice and high-prejudice individuals reacted differently to groups when primed with a category, or category member (Devine, 1989; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000; Lepore & Brown, 1997). People who were low in RWA were typically less likely to endorse negative attitudes and negative stereotypes of NAs (Studies 1 and 2) and also less likely to endorse the belief that NA mascots emphasize positive attributes of NA people (Study 3). Upon viewing NA mascots, low-prejudice participants seemed particularly reluctant to negatively stereotype the target group. This shows that NA mascots have an effect on both high- and low-prejudice individuals; however, when given enough time, low-prejudice individuals are motivated to disrupt the stereotype activation process, possibly in an attempt to remain egalitarian (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002) or because they are less responsive to the prime (Lepore & Brown, 1997).

Limitations and Future Research

It is important to acknowledge that the sample size for Study 2 was about half the size of the sample used for Study 1. Despite this, effect sizes reported for Study 2 were consistent with the effect sizes reported from Study 1. This research was conducted using a university sample, meaning that the results may have less generalizability. Conducting this research with a sample that better represents the overall population would provide more insight to this issue. Future research could incorporate social dominance orientation as a moderator. Critics of NA mascots claim

that non-Native possessiveness of NA mascots can be attributed to power and privilege, as controlling NA imagery ensures that NAs are viewed as subordinate (Farnell, 2004). Another suggestion for future research could be to investigate the relationship between positive stereotypes of NAs and positive attitudes of NA people. While the priming procedure was timed, participants were able to take as much time as they needed to answer the stereotypes and ATNA measures. Future research could investigate whether low-prejudice individuals react similarly to high-prejudice individuals when under a time constraint. Although this research focuses on NA mascots, other imagery of NAs might be worth investigating. Brand imagery often uses similar NA logos, and while they are not as popular today, there are still companies that rely on NA images and names (Land O'Lakes; Jeep; Indian Motorcycles). Angle et. al (2016) looked at stereotype activation using a NA brand, but focused only on one stereotype (warlike).

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Appendix A

Right-Wing Authoritarianism

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Disagree				neither agree				Agree
Very Much				nor disagree				Very Much

1. The established authorities generally turn out to be right about things, while the radicals and protestors are usually just “loud mouths” showing off their ignorance.

2. Women should have to promise to obey their husbands when they get married.

3. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us.

4. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else.

5. It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people’s minds

6. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.

7. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.

8. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.

9. Our country needs free thinkers who have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.

10. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.

11. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else.

12. The “old-fashioned ways” and the “old-fashioned values” still show the best way to live.

13. You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority's view by protesting for women's abortion rights, for animal rights, or to abolish school prayer.
14. What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path.
15. Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way things are supposed to be done."
16. God's laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished.
17. There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action.
18. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.
19. Our country will be great if we honor the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything.
20. There is no "ONE right way" to live life; everybody has to create their own way.
21. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional family values."
22. This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society.

Appendix C

Attitudes Toward Native Americans

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6.....7.....8.....9

Disagree Very Much

Neither Agree nor Disagree

Agree Very Much

1. If I had a chance to introduce Native American visitors to my friends and neighbors, I would be pleased to do so.
2. I would rather not have Native Americans live in the same apartment building I live in.*
3. I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Native American in a public place.*
4. I would not mind at all if a Native American family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door.
5. I think Native American people look more similar to each other than Whites do.*
6. I get very upset when I hear a White make a prejudicial remark about Native Americans.
7. It would not bother me if my new roommate was a Native American.
8. Native American and White people are inherently equal.
9. Whites should support Native Americans in their struggle against discrimination.
10. Generally, Native Americans are not as smart as Whites.*
11. Over the past few years, Native Americans have gotten more economically than they deserve.*
12. Most Whites can't understand what it's like to be Native American.

Appendix E

NA and non-NA mascots (Study 1)





Appendix F

Native American Portraits (Study 2)

