

**Native American Mascots:  
A Quantitative and Qualitative Study  
of Students' Acceptability Perceptions of Native Mascots  
Versus Theoretical Use of Other Ethnic Groups'  
Iconology by Sports Teams**

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**Abstract**

*United States' sports teams have made use of the faces, cultures and traditions of the indigenous people of our country for many years. Despite the perception that many Native Americans feel this practice is racist and/or insulting, it continues. This study helps further analyze perceptions that lead to the acceptability by the public of continued use of Native American iconology by sports teams for their logos, names, nicknames and mascots. Students report that the use of such iconology is a compliment to Native Americans, whereas it is an insult to other ethnic groups when represented in the same manner.*

The use of Native American culture, tradition, and beliefs in the form of sports team names, mascots, logos and nicknames (hereinafter referred to as "Native iconology") can be construed as evidence of continuing racism against this ethnic group. Seemingly a matter of little import to the majority of society, there are those who view the racism involved and the unwillingness to correct it as indicative of the fact that Western Euro-American culture does not understand the impact Native iconology use can have on Native peoples in the United States (E. Duran & B. Duran, 1976). In the United States, there are approximately five professional sports teams and approximately 35 college sports teams using Native iconology in football, baseball, and hockey (American Indian Sports Team Mascots; AISTM.org, 2009). Yet sports teams do not utilize mascots or team names representing other minority races (e.g., African American, Hispanic/Latino, and Asian). Why does American society seem to feel it is acceptable, even complimentary to use Native American iconology but not iconology of other minority races? This raises the question: is the use of terms and images relating to Native American culture and traditions for sports team names, nicknames, mascots and logos an accolade or an insult?

There is considerable research on the use of Native iconology by sports teams. Generally speaking, the overall message is perceived acceptance of Native iconology use. Native American participants in these studies, however, consider the use of their cultural and traditional iconology by sports teams to be insulting and racist (Williams, 2007).

It has been argued that Native American mascots actually teach about race, culture, and history. These arguments assert that Native American mascots like Chief Illiniwek of the University of Illinois are quite literally teaching machines that educate, or as some would say 'miseducate' (Pewewardy, 1991), the public about cultural differences, history, race relations and what it means to be a citizen-subject (King, 2008). Native iconology is considered by many as "...stereotypical and racist images that relegate [Native American] people to a colonial representation history..." (Pewewardy, 2004). This definition would suggest the use of Native iconology by sports teams is not a positive teaching medium. The use of Native iconology teaches the fallacy that the culture and traditions of the indigenous people of this continent is a dead culture (Pewewardy, 2004).

A potential factor affecting the study of Native iconology use by sports teams may be the comparatively low population of Native American students in United States universities, where a great many of such studies are conducted. Consider, for example, Boise State University, the site of this study. The university has over 20,000 students. There were approximately 11 new Native American students on campus starting fall 2008; only 1.2% of new students (Boise State University Enrollment Services, 2008). In reviewing the same statistical data between 2006 and 2008, Native student population ranged between one percent and 2.5 percent. This being the case, the proportion of Native American students at Boise State University is quite small. Such statistics minimize the power

of any study whose aim is to bring to light the issues of Native iconology use acceptance. Native students, the affected population, simply do not have the numbers necessary to lend power as survey participants. This, paired with the idea that Caucasians, the dominant ethnic segment of many university populations, are prone to be less concerned with issues that do not directly affect them (Williams, 2007), traditional forms of study do little to further the cause of elimination of the use of Native American mascots.

Universities tend to emphasize their cultural diversity while research indicates otherwise (Pewewardy, 2004). The term “ethnic fraud” has been used with regard to higher education (Castagno & Lee, 2007). Assertions are made that universities only do the bare minimum to appear to embrace cultural diversity for the sole purpose of attracting students and therefore funds (Castagno & Lee, 2007).

Interestingly, in Williams’ study, not only did the Native American student population strongly oppose the “Fighting Sioux” nickname at their university (Midwestern University), women of all ethnicities were more inclined to feel it was insulting and racist, whereas men of all ethnicities other than Native American tended to feel the use of the “Fighting Sioux” name was not an insult. They did not indicate that it was an accolade, but did not feel strongly enough to indicate it should be changed (Williams, 2007).

There must be some validity to the argument for eliminating the use of Native iconology for sports teams’ names, nicknames, mascots and logos, as roughly 600 schools have made the change in recent years (Castagno, 2007). Still, five professional sports teams and countless schools in the United States continue to use Native American terms for their sports teams, flatly refusing to make any changes, citing loss of revenue, loss of alumni and loss of part of the institution’s identity and that it would be incredibly difficult, if not impossible, to get the public to accept such change as reasons (Wolburg, 2006). Despite these arguments, proponents of these changes argue that it can be done quite successfully (Wolburg, 2006).

Perhaps the real issue at hand is lack of knowledge by the majority of the population of the United States. Although many non-natives view the issue as one of “political correctness,” many Native Americans and their supporters view it as blatant racism, promoting harmful stereotypes. Add the fact that the arena in which purported racism is performed is part of professional and collegiate sports is a highly visible venue (Wolburg, 2006), and for those who view the issue as racism and the promotion of harmful stereotypes, the issue becomes an urgent one.

Boise State University is in an interesting position geographically, being within reasonable distance of many reservations such as Fort Hall and Duck Valley, and therefore the potential exists for a reasonably high Native American student population. However, as previously mentioned, the Native American student population remains relatively low. Boise State University is a predominately Caucasian school with no Native American mascot or logo. This study seeks to see how students at Boise State University respond to this issue, as it is hard to avoid the existence of Native Americans in Idaho, a sparsely populated state with several reservations either within its boundaries or very near them. How do students at Boise State University feel about the use of Native iconology by sports teams? Will the proximity of so many reservations, and the evolution of knowledge about racism show that students, even those unaffected by the issue, believe it should be changed?

## **Hypotheses and Rationale**

### **Rationale**

It is believed that Boise State University has not been the subject of a study of this issue. The rationale behind using this population is to see if the proximity of so many reservations has an impact on study results. It also provides an opportunity to conduct qualitative analysis of a population similar to those of other studies that used a strictly quantitative approach. This study includes a qualitative dimension using the phenomenological model. It is hoped that giving respondents the opportunity to answer “why or why not?” in connection to “yes or no” answers to questions will provide, through structural and textural analysis and development of thematic content deeper insight. It is hoped this approach will serve two purposes: one, to see if this population’s responses align with responses to other, similar studies, and second, to gain a glimpse into participants’ rationale for their choices.

### **Hypotheses**

It is hypothesized that participants in this study will not feel that the use of Native iconology for sports teams is racist, insulting or demeaning to Native American peoples.

It is also hypothesized that participants will consider the use of iconology of other ethnic groups (African American, Asian, Caucasian and Hispanic) to be equally racist, insulting and demeaning to those peoples as it is to Native American peoples.

Lastly, it is hypothesized that non-Caucasian participants will feel more strongly than Caucasian participants that the use of racial and ethnic names, nicknames, terms and iconology by sports teams in the United States is racist, insulting and demeaning.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

The study consisted of 322 students enrolled in an Introduction to Psychology course at a large state university in the Rocky Mountain region. For the study, participants' average age was 20.89 ( $SD = 5.447$ ). The youngest participant was 18 years of age and the oldest was 55 years of age. With regard to gender, 40.1% were male and 59.6% were female.

The participants could elect to complete a survey as part of their Psychology 101 class and were given class credit.

### **Materials**

The study consisted of a survey consisting of a set of questions asking primarily whether they would consider various sport team names to be racist, insulting and demeaning. Five primary ethnic groups found in the United States were represented in each question as follows: Washington Niggers (to represent African Americans), Washington Chinks (to represent Asians), Washington Honkeys (to represent Caucasians) Washington Wetbacks (to represent Hispanics) and Washington Redskins (to represent Native Americans). Directly following each "yes or no" question was an open block where participants were asked to indicate "why or why not?" with regard to their answer to the question. Participants were also asked if there were any Native American reservations within a five-hour drive of Boise, Idaho, and if so, they were asked to list the ones they knew of. Finally, a short portion of the Attitudes Toward American Indians ("ATAI") survey (Tehee, M., 2007), comprised the final part of the survey. It is unknown whether the survey questions have been used in prior surveys, with the exception of the questions obtained from the ATAI. Please see Appendix 1 for questions asked in the survey. The survey questions, except those from the ATAI, were developed by the author, and were based upon literature review and personal knowledge. The materials were pilot tested by the author and two others on a small sample  $n = 77$  of participants who were students at Boise State University and enrolled in an Introduction to Psychology course. Participants signed up to take the survey using the web-based program Experimetrix and took the survey online through Qualtrics. These participants were given class credit for their participation.

### **Procedure**

Participants completed the survey independently by signing up on Experimetrix then completed the survey independently via Qualtrics. Participants were allowed 60 minutes to complete the survey and were debriefed.

## **Results**

Though both quantitative and qualitative questions were asked concerning all ethnic groups were asked, quantitative analysis was applied to all questions and qualitative analysis was limited to Native specific questions.

The expected outcome was that participants in this study would not feel that the use of Native iconology for sports teams is racist, insulting or demeaning to Native American peoples.

It was also expected that participants would consider sports team use of iconology of other ethnic groups (African American, Asian, Caucasian and Hispanic) to be equally racist, insulting and demeaning when compared to Native iconology use.

Lastly, it was expected that a higher percentage of non-Caucasian participants would feel that the use of racial and ethnic names, nicknames, terms and iconology by sports teams in the United States is racist, insulting and demeaning. In response to the question "Are there any Native American reservations within a five-hour drive of Boise State University, 55.9% answered "yes," 42.2% answered "no," and 1.9% did not respond. These numbers

remained relatively consistent throughout all the questions relating to Native Americans. Qualitative analysis of these questions showed a lack of accuracy from those who responded “yes.” The large number of negative responses could indicate either that respondents did not know of the existence of Native reservations in the area or were caught up on the “five-hour drive” aspect of the question. Some respondents named tribes rather than reservation names and there were some respondents who obviously were knowledgeable about reservations in the area as they were very specific in their responses.

In response to the question “Please indicate whether you feel the following team names are racist or insulting (select all that apply), 87% indicated “yes” in response to “Washington Chinks”, 71% indicated “yes” in response to “Washington Honkeys,” 93.8% indicated “yes” to “Washington Niggers,” 54.3% indicated “yes” in response to “Washington Redskins” and 85.1% indicated “yes” to “Washington Wetbacks.” Qualitative analysis of responses to “Washington Redskins” indicated a seeming acceptance of the term Redskin. Reasons cited included: “...because it has been in use for so long.” Qualitative responses gave an overall impression that desensitization and loss of meaning of the term has allowed social acceptability. Though following that line of reasoning, many indicated they would not be happy being called a Washington “paleface,” for example, “...just because [they] have a different shade to [their] skin.”

Structural analysis indicated that, because it’s a pre-existing term, Redskin seems better accepted than other options for other groups. Participants for the most part did not seem to know what “Redskin” actually means—they think it is a reference to skin color. Once paired with other potential team names, some participants took a second look at Redskin and felt it was derogatory. Only one participant explained the accurate meaning of the term ‘Redskin’ out of 300 surveys. One response often repeated in support of Washington Redskins was that it is already in existence, and for many participants this led to the feeling that the term was not derogatory. Indicative were responses similar to “if there was something wrong with it [Washington Redskins], something would have been done about it by now.” A small number of participants mentioned they were either part Native or knew a Native who did not have a problem with the term. They felt this information established that the team name was complimentary. Still others felt that Native people should be proud and feel “honored” by Native iconology use. Interestingly, when faced with “Washington Redskins” in context with other ethnically derived names provided some interesting results, including: “Looking at all the names above seem so racist; after viewing all of them this name seems very racist as well and I can see how this would upset Native Americans” and “It upsets me to just hear the word “chink” so to have a person’s heritage being negatively portrayed as a team name can be very upsetting.”

In response to the question “Do you believe naming sports teams after Native American terms that relate to Native American culture and traditions to be offensive?” (Yes or No) Qualitatively, the responses were interesting. Examples of those who responded “yes” included: “You are singling out a group based on the color of their skin.” “The Redskins yes-it is a racial slur. The Chiefs-no. That’s a noun like Viking, samurai, etc.” Perhaps even more interesting was the response that: “The terms that are used for naming sports teams are traditionally seen as offensive. If a team is named the “Washington Blackfeet” and they show an accurate depiction of an authentic Blackfoot Indian, it is not offensive. If they name a team the “Washington Savages” and their logo depicts any Indian, it is offensive.” “They usually use terms like “brave” or “squaw” “It would offend me.” More generally, responses were similar to general responses such as: “rude,” “derogatory,” and “it just is [offensive]”

Those who responded “no” to these questions gave explanations as follows: “It would only be offensive if it was derogatory” and “No matter what race, we all took their land and culture.” “It is an honor”

In asking respondents if they felt Native Americans should be offended by the use of terms relating to their culture and traditions being used as sports teams’ names, nicknames, mascots and logos? The answers were as follows: “No: Naming in this way honors Native people” and “Redskins is racist but “Chiefs” or “Medicine Men” not as offensive.” And “I think they should be privileged that they want their culture to represent them.”

In response to the question “Do you feel ethnic groups (e.g., Latino, Asian, Caucasian, Native American and African American) should be represented in sports teams’ names, nicknames, mascots and logos? For example, the Washington Niggers, Chinks, Honkys, Redskins or Wetbacks.” The overall theme was affirmative if the proposed name sounded “tough” or cool” and many “no” responses mentions that the exact survey terms (except Redskin) were inappropriate, but that there were ethnically based alternatives that would be acceptable.

There was insufficient variation in ethnicity among the participants to report any data on the significance or lack thereof of ethnicity in relation to the survey questions.

## Discussion

Desensitization and familiarity seem to be prevailing themes with regard to survey responses. For example, in one response:

If someone named a team like that they would have some sort of racist intention and that is not ok. No one has ever named any team anything like that except the Washington Redskins, who I grew up with and because they've been a team for so long I am completely desensitized to anything sinister behind the name. This is obviously examining how we feel about the Redskins being a pro-football team, and if you are out to persuade them to change, I support you. My opinion is widespread, do you think any team name chink, niggers, honkys, or wetbacks would still be around in today's society, absolutely not, it would have been changed a long time ago. So why are the Redskins still around? I think it's because they have virtually no representation and are the smallest culture out there. To me saying Redskin is just referring to a Native American, just like chief (i.e. Kansas City Chiefs), warrior (Meridian warriors), or Indian (Cleveland Indians).

In general, there seemed to be two prevailing themes that came out of survey responses: one, that the use of Native iconology for sports team names is acceptable because it has been going on for a long time and secondly that study participants' opinions were tempered by de-sensitization and lack of information. While reacting strongly to all other ethnic group iconology use, Native iconology use seemed to be acceptable and non-discriminatory; though there were a few participants that commented that once seen in the light of the survey they could understand how it would be inappropriate.

Another pervasive theme was that if Native people objected to the use of their iconology for sports teams, something would have "been done about it by now." This leads to a question of whether or not formative education is lending equal credence to all ethnic groups. As the results breakdown suggests, the least offensive was the use of Native iconology, the second least offensive was Caucasian iconography and the remaining ethnic groups trailed far behind in perceived acceptability.

## Conclusion

Though this study provided similar data to other studies (Castagno & Lee, 2007; Williams, 2007; Wolburg, 2006), one point of interest is that the results showed participants felt representing Native Americans and their culture, traditions and beliefs in the form of sports team names, mascots, logos and nicknames was overall neither racist nor an insult. However, participants did not feel that other ethnicities should be represented in the form of sports team names, mascots, logos and nicknames.

Expected outcomes from this study included that Boise State University students would not feel the use of Native American iconology by sports teams was equally racist, insulting and demeaning as the use of other ethnic groups' iconology. This held to be true. However, what was surprising that only 54% of participants felt the use of Native iconology use by sports teams to be racist, insulting or demeaning, while 85% of participants felt the use of other ethnic groups' iconology (aside from Caucasian) was unacceptable. Equally surprisingly, the participant pool, 85% of which were Caucasian, rated the acceptability of Caucasian iconology use by sports teams at 26%, roughly in between Native Americans and other ethnic groups. This contradicts other studies that have been done (Williams, 2007). Participants at Boise State University actually disagreed that the use of such Native iconology was racist and insulting to Native Americans. Other studies (e.g., Williams, 2007) indicated that while participants thought it was racist and/or insulting, participants did not feel there was any urgent need to change anything. This study went one step further, with participants indicating that they did not feel the use of Native American iconology was racist and insulting; rather, a number of participants actually stated that such use "is a compliment to Native Americans." In other studies, though participants did not generally indicate that this practice should change, they did not indicate that they felt it was a compliment (Wolburg, 2006). "Native Americans are justified in feeling insulted by the use of Native American terms (for example, Indians, Redskins, Braves, Tomahawk Chop)."

Since only 15% of participants in the study identify as non-Caucasian and was allowed to cross-identify, there was no way to measure whether other minority ethnicities would feel more strongly that change with regard to the use of Native American terms in relation to sports teams was necessary.

This study, as opposed to others, would point toward favorable acceptance of the use of Native American mascots, team names, logos and nicknames, as opposed to other studies which, while not necessarily indicating

elimination of the use of Native iconology is needed, do tend toward thinking the use of Native mascots, team names, logos and nicknames to be generally unacceptable. One speculation is that the location of Boise State University, in a relatively sparsely populated state that is politically conservative and predominately Caucasian, had an impact on the results. Another possibility is a lack in formative education; perhaps pre-college curricula does not teach enough about Native Americans for individuals to have an understanding of the importance of the Native American terms and symbols that are being used as sports team names, nicknames, logos and mascots. Could it be that the relatively close proximity in and around Idaho of several Native American reservations has a negative impact on the way Native Americans are viewed? If that were the case, there is a possibility that may impact opinions about the use of Native American terms and images for sports team logos, names, nicknames and mascots.

Further study into the question of why it is not deemed racist or an insult to use Native American terms with regard to sports teams could be conducted. It could be informative to delve further into the reasons why participants in this study felt that it was acceptable to use Native American terms in relation to sports teams but not acceptable to use terms related to other ethnicities in the same manner. The fact that participants were split on whether Native Americans were justified in feeling insulted by the use of Native American terms for sports team names, nicknames, logos and mascots does not seem to fit in with participants feeling that the use of Native terms for sports teams is a compliment.

The most interesting of the findings in this study were the high percentage of participants that felt that the use of Native American terms and images for sports team names, nicknames, logos and mascots was a compliment to Native Americans. This point is interesting because although a higher percentage of participants responded in this way, participants also felt that other ethnicities should not be represented in sports team names, nicknames, logos and mascots. This study upheld the general idea that the issue is not important enough to change. Overall, this study serves to show that in some ways attitudes at Boise State University line up with attitudes of students at other universities. It also raises an interesting question about why participants at Boise State University, while overall considering the use of Native American terms for sports team names, logos, nicknames and mascots to be a compliment, do not feel other ethnicities should be represented in a similar manner by sports teams for names, nicknames, logos and mascots. Almost equally interesting is the doubled rate of acceptability for the use of Caucasian iconology for sports teams. Further study into this area, possibly looking at formative education might shed light on this.

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## Appendix I

### Native American Mascots: Insult or Accolade?

Please complete the following questionnaire as accurately as possible. We approximate that this survey will take 20-30 minutes to complete. Response to this survey is entirely voluntary and responses are anonymous and confidential. If, at anytime, you wish to stop taking this survey, feel free to do so. If you do not wish to complete a question, you may leave it blank.

For this research project, we are requesting demographic information. Due to the make-up of Idaho's population, the combined answers to these questions may make an individual person identifiable. We will make every effort to protect participants' confidentiality. However, if you are uncomfortable answering any of these questions, you may leave them blank.

Some of the questions within this survey might have touched on sensitive issues for you. Please, if you have any concerns about any of the questions asked, please speak to someone. Boise State University provides counseling services to all enrolled students (the first session is free). The Counseling Center is located in Taylor Hall, B103 and their telephone number is (208) 426-1601. If we have raised any issues or concerns, please be sure to speak to someone.

#### Definitions:

Mascot: a figure, representative of a team, that performs at games usually along the sidelines and during half time at games. They are often people dressed in costume.

Logo: a picture, design or other graphic item that is put on signs, uniforms and merchandise and are part of the "branding" of a team

Nickname: a team name, what a team is known by. For example, "The Sox" or "The Bears"

Sports Team Name: a "proper" name for a sports team. For example, the Chicago Red Sox or the Chicago Bears are "proper" team names.

First Nations Peoples: are indigenous people of North America whose tribal lands and homes are in Canada rather than the United States. They are essentially the Canadian equivalent of Native Americans in the United States.

1. What is your age in years?
2. What is your gender? (Select one: Male Female)
3. What is your year in school? (Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, Senior)
4. What is your ethnicity? (Select all that apply)
  - a. African American
  - b. Asian
  - c. Alaskan/Native American/First Nations Peoples
  - d. Caucasian
  - e. Hispanic/Latino
  - f. Pacific Islander
5. Do you consider yourself a native of Idaho? (Have you lived most or all of your life in Idaho?) (Yes or No)
6. What City and State did you grow up in?



7. Are there any Native American reservations within a five-hour drive of Boise State University? (Yes or No)
8. If you answered Yes to number 7 above, please name as many Native American reservations within a five hour drive of Boise as you are able.
9. Would you consider yourself a fan of college sports? (Yes or No)
10. Would you consider yourself a fan of professional sports? (Yes or No)
11. Do you believe naming sports teams (e.g., Washington Chinks) after Asian American terms relating to their culture and traditions is a compliment to Asian Americans? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or Why not?
12. Do you believe naming sports teams (e.g., Washington Honkys) after Anglo American terms relating to their culture and traditions is a compliment to Anglo Americans? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or Why not?
13. Do you believe naming sports teams (e.g., Washington Wetbacks) after Latino terms relating to their culture and traditions is a compliment to Latinos? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or Why not?
14. Do you believe naming sports teams (e.g., Washington Niggers) after African American terms relating to their culture and traditions is a compliment to African Americans? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or Why not?
15. Do you believe naming sports teams (e.g., Washington Redskins) after Native American terms relating to their culture and traditions is a compliment to Native Americans? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
16. Do you believe naming sports teams after African American terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
17. Do you believe naming sports teams after Anglo American terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
18. Do you believe naming sports teams after Asian American terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
19. Do you believe naming sports teams after Latino terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
20. Do you believe naming sports teams after Native American terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
21. Do you believe naming sports teams after African American terms that relate to African American culture and traditions to be offensive? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?

22. Do you believe naming sports teams after Anglo American terms that relate to Anglo American culture and traditions to be offensive? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
23. Do you believe naming sports teams after Asian American terms that relate to Asian American culture and traditions to be offensive? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
24. Do you believe naming sports teams after Latino terms that relate to Latino culture and traditions to be offensive? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
25. Do you believe naming sports teams after Native American terms that relate to Native American culture and traditions to be offensive? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
26. Do you believe African Americans should be offended by the use of terms relating to their culture and traditions being used as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
27. Do you believe Anglo Americans should be offended by the use of terms relating to their culture and traditions being used as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
28. Do you believe Asian Americans should be offended by the use of terms relating to their culture and traditions being used as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
29. Do you believe Latinos should be offended by the use of terms relating to their culture and traditions being used as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
30. Do you believe Native Americans should be offended by the use of terms relating to their culture and traditions being used as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
31. Do you feel ethnic groups (e.g., Latino, Asian, Caucasian, Native American and African American) should be represented in sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos? For example, the Washington Niggers, Chinks, Honkys, Redskins or Wetbacks. (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
32. Please indicate whether you feel the following team names are racist or insulting.
  - a. Washington Chinks
  - b. Washington Honkys
  - c. Washington Niggers
  - d. Washington Redskins
  - e. Washington Wetbacks
33. Do you believe that African Americans feel that the use of African American terms relating to their culture and traditions as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos is insulting or racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
34. Do you believe that Anglo Americans feel that the use of Anglo American terms relating to their culture and traditions as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos is insulting or racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?

35. Do you believe that Asian Americans feel that the use of Asian American terms relating to their culture and traditions as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos is insulting or racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
36. Do you believe that Asian Americans feel that the use of Asian American terms relating to their culture and traditions as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos is insulting or racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
37. Do you believe that Native Americans feel that the use of Native American terms relating to their culture and traditions as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos is insulting or racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
38. Do you believe naming sports teams after African American terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
39. Do you believe naming sports teams after Asian American terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
40. Do you believe naming sports teams after Anglo American terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
41. Do you believe naming sports teams after Latino terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
42. Why or why not? Do you believe naming sports teams after Native American terms relating to their culture and traditions to be racist? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
43. Do you believe that Native Americans are justified in feeling that the use of Native American terms relating to their culture and traditions as sports teams' names, nicknames, mascots and logos is racist and insulting? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
44. Do you believe that Native Americans should stop being insulted and feeling prejudiced against because First Nations people (the Canadian equivalent of Native Americans) sometimes use Native names, nicknames, logos and mascots for their sports teams? (Yes or No)
  - a. Why or why not?
45. Native Americans won't work even when jobs are available.
46. Native Americans have too many children.
47. As a whole, Native Americans are drunk more than they are sober.
48. There seems to be little hope for progress for the Native American.
49. I think Native Americans are often alcoholics.
50. Native Americans seem to have looser morals than European Americans.
51. As a whole, Native Americans are more likely to steal or cheat than any other group.

52. It seems that Native Americans would rather be on welfare than work.
53. Native Americans spend what money they have very foolishly.
54. It is fair that Native Americans do not have to follow all the same laws as everyone else.
55. I support programs that help Native Americans get jobs. \*
56. Native Americans have lost their land and had it stolen from them. \*
57. Natural resources found on Native American land should belong only to the Native Americans.
58. Native Americans should be able to have reservations or free areas of land to live on.\*
59. I believe Native Americans should have free tutors or assistance in school. \*
60. The federal government has a responsibility to provide for Native Americans.
61. People should try harder to understand the Native American way of life.
62. I think Native Americans are discriminated against.\*

\* Indicates Items from Willis Esqueda (2005)