FROM APES AND THICK MICKS TO THE FIGHTING IRISH:

CULTURAL MISAPPROPRIATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

by

MEGHAN A. CONLEY

(Under the Direction of Billy Hawkins)

ABSTRACT

Despite the continuing controversy surrounding the use of mascots depicting indigenous peoples of the United States, little attention is paid to the Fighting Irish mascot at the University of Notre Dame. Although historically founded by a sect of French Catholic priests, the institution has formally used the Fighting Irish moniker for 87 years. Ironically, the team name came just six years after the Irish finally gained independence from Great Britain after hundreds of years of oppression. This case study analyzes the history of the Irish in the United States as well as the University of Notre Dame in order to better understand whether the Fighting Irish symbolism is a form of cultural imperialism in use at one of the United States' premier educational institutions. Drawing on the work of Edward Said's notion of cultural imperialism, the University of Notre Dame licensing and mascot program promotes a dialogue that "others" a national group that has historically faced injustice and mockery. Finally, this study employs a qualitative survey of a select sample of University of Notre Dame alumni in order to better understand how this group of university stakeholders reacts to the origins of Notre Dame's marks in historical discrimination and imperialist stereotype of Irish people.

INDEX WORDS: higher education, college athletics, logos, mascots, cultural

imperialism

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DEDICATION

In the 19th century, anthropological scholars coined the term 'vision quest' to describe the rite of passage across many indigenous cultures in the United States. Often the vision quest involved a sojourn into the wilderness, where one fasted and cried out to the great spirits, while awaiting the vision that would define their purpose in life and place in their community. The work presented here represents my vision quest. The words within this dissertation cannot possibly convey the true story of my quest – a journey to overcome many trials and tribulations and ultimately find my purpose in life and place in the world.

This work is dedicated, first and foremost, to my family. We are not a tribe of lucky people, but we have a warrior spirit. Especially to my five, no matter where the road takes each of us, I know there is a bond of loyalty forever. I am deeply grateful to be a part of this tribe. To my best friend, you are the occasional proofreader and debater of ideas. When my vision was lost, you clearly saw my purpose and future. No words can truly convey what you have contributed to this work or to the person I am becoming, but I am forever appreciative.

To all others who may find this work, I do as all the wisest scholars do and leave you with the wisdom of someone before me. May it serve as a testimony of this vision quest and a piece of motivation for the quests of others:

"Everything I did in my life that was worthwhile, I caught hell for."

- Earl Warren, 14th Chief Justice of the United States

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sport sociology is a growing field in the study of athletics. Particularly in the US, sport can have a profound impact on culture, as well as serve as a reflection of the culture, politics, and values of the surrounding communities. One centerpiece of debate in sport sociology is the issue of controversial team marks. Marks are registered trademarks of an athletic team that can range from logos and mascots to team names and phrases or cheers. The goal of this study is to discuss a specific case of a set of controversial marks in use at one of the US' most renowned institutions of higher education, the University of Notre Dame. While sport sociology literature reflects a robust discussion of other controversial team marks, particularly those related to indigenous peoples of the US, there has been a comprehensive lack of research on the University of Notre Dame's marks, despite their clear reference to a group of people by ethnic or national origin. The first chapter of this study will provide a brief discussion on the importance of sport in US culture, as well as an outline for the study, including purpose, research questions, significance, and more.

Background of the Problem

The premise of sport sociology as a field of study is that organized athletics are both influenced by as well as exert influence over the culture and values of a society and/or time period. The United States is perhaps one of the most salient examples of the sociological importance and influence of sport. The days of baseball as the United States'

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most popular and unique sport are fast dwindling as the mammoth spectacle that is football takes over. High school games are increasingly broadcast as fans and scouts watch the future talent of college football. Despite the cost of maintaining a football program, many smaller colleges and universities strive to either add or grow existing teams. When the president of George Fox University, Robin Baker, was asked why he supported and pressed for the creation of a football program at his Division III University, he simply stated, "football's part of the American fabric" (White, 2014, p. 49).

In 2012, Mitchell Stevens, a Stanford professor, explained the significance of football in the United States, particularly in higher education. According to Stevens, "intercollegiate football … is 'a system for marking and distributing status' among universities in the United States," and "status derived from football and conferences 'is consequential beyond the athletic domain'" (Jaschik, 2012, "The paper argues," para. 1-2). What happens on the field, and sometimes off the field, carries great significance in U.S. culture. This has been evidenced at both the collegiate and professional levels, as the fanbase for football swells and crosses barriers of gender, race, income and more. In a 2014 Sports Illustrated (SI) poll of 500 National Football League (NFL) fans[1], 44% "of female fans say they have watched the NFL more often in the past two years than they did before that" (Layden, 2014, p. 45). As the love for the game grows, so to, does the

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[1] According to a representative of Marketing & Research Resources, Inc., the firm conducting the poll on behalf of Sports Illustrated, the sample was obtained from a CENSUS balanced dataset, with final data representing U.S. adults 18+ who are "very interested" in following the NFL. The sample was predominantly male (65%) and white (81%).

national stage it sets for raising issues that inspire spirited debate in the United States populace.

In the same survey conducted by SI, fans were asked their opinions on a number of issues plaguing the NFL, from players engaged in off-field crime – including allegations of child abuse and domestic violence – to the NFL's status as a non-profit, and recent research that suggests that football players are likely to suffer permanent and dangerous brain damage due to concussions. An overwhelming majority of respondents (85%) indicated that despite recent research and findings on chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE), the degenerative disease caused by repeated head trauma that many football players have been found to suffer from, they would continue to let their sons play contact football. Regarding player misconduct both on and off the field, nearly half (46%) of all respondents indicated that they believe that football players make poor role models. Overall, the responses of these self-described NFL fans indicate that sport, in this case football, plays a role in U.S. society's values and beliefs. There can certainly be no question that football in the United States is often much more than a sport, but rather has a deep sociological significance, often raising questions about health, morality, economics, and more.

One such question piqued by sport reached a fever pitch in early summer 2014 when "unprecedented pressure on the Washington NFL team to change its name reached a crescendo" (Brady, 2014, para. 1). As a result of some public outcry, the United States Trademark and Trial Appeal Board "canceled six federal trademark registrations owned by the team, ruling that the term 'Redskins' was disparaging to 'substantial composite' of American Indians" (Brady, 2014, para. 1). The issue of the Washington Redskins' name

and mascot has given way to a multitude of dissenting voices, both for and against the name. According to the SI 2014 poll, only a quarter of the fans surveyed believed the name should be changed, and a near 80% of respondents "said they did not consider Redskins an offensive name" (Layden, 2014, p. 48). In contrast, United States (U.S.) president Barack Obama and 50 senators advised a change in the name of the team, going as far as to sign a letter urging NFL commissioner Roger Goodell to take action to change the team name. Lone dissenting senator Marco Rubio of Florida "cautioned [Redskins' team owner] Snyder to 'listen to voices' criticizing the name, [but] he maintained that Snyder should in 'no way be forced to [change] it'" (Ashtari, 2014, para. 5). If football is just a game, just a diversion, one is hard-pressed to account for the attention paid to it by the entire country, including members of the U.S. government.

The issue of athletic team mascots has been central to public debate for many years and is often closely linked to the issue of the rights of indigenous peoples in the United States. At least since 1971, the Washington Redskins name has been contested in press by those who say the name is a disparaging reference to indigenous peoples that "lacks dignity, a haphazard slang word that refers to Indians in general but on a lower scale" (Steinberg, 2014, "Redskins/Rednecks," para. 7). Although the NFL has yet, after over 40 years of continued protest on varying levels, to take action regarding the Redskins name, college football has, at times, been forced to address the issue of controversial mascots. A few prominent examples include the University of Mississippi Rebels to the various schools boasting mascots depicting indigenous peoples, such as the Florida State University Seminoles.

Statement of the Problem

The prominent display of these controversial and ethnically inspired symbols on the stage of U.S. sport is a significant sociological issue. Scholars echo the notion that athletics, particularly football, exert a great deal of influence on U.S. culture (Clotfelter, 2011; Taylor, 2013; Toma, 2003). Even more significant are the potential impacts of ethnic stereotypes as mascots. According to Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, and Stone (2008), stereotypes can have negative impacts on the people(s) they portray, including disengagement, negative self-esteem, and decreased aspirations. Moreover, note Fryberg et al (2008) "stereotypes are particularly powerful when the target group (i.e., the group represented by the stereotype) is unfamiliar" (p. 209). Ultimately, the less visible the target group, the more powerful the stereotype is in creating what is assumed to be knowledge about the target group. While great attention has been paid to the use of imagery and stereotypes of indigenous people as sport mascots, relatively little notice has been taken of the University of Notre Dame's name and mascot, the Fightin' Irish and a leprechaun, respectively.

Every year, fans clad in Notre Dame's signature "Madonna blue" and "papal gold" merchandise help gross the school more than $40 million in football profits alone. In 2013, the well-loved football team from South Bend, Indiana, took the field against an equally-lauded team from Alabama. Pregame.com, a betting site, estimated that $2 billion would be wagered on the outcome of the game worldwide (Shactman, 2013). Students, alumni, and fans all over the United States cheered wildly when a student dressed as a leprechaun and wielding a shillelagh took the field. Twenty-six million viewers across the United States watched as the Alabama Crimson Tide, projected to win by between 9.5

and 10 points, trounced the Notre Dame Fighting Irish by 28 points (BCS Football, 2013). The game would become the second most-watched event in cable history, (BCS Football, 2013) providing a massive stage for Notre Dame's marks, including the leprechaun mascot and Fightin' Irish moniker.

The spread of the marks of the University of Notre Dame extends far beyond the campus - according to Fanatics Inc., "89 percent of fans who purchased Irish merchandise in September [2012] lived outside Indiana" (Eichelberger, 2012, "Merchandise sales," para. 1). Despite a clear love affair in the United States with the Notre Dame Fighting Irish, few realize that the University of Notre Dame is not an Irish Catholic university, but rather a university founded by a group of French Catholic priests. The popularity of this mascot and the utter lack of debate surrounding its portrayal of an ethnicity or nationality provide an interesting opportunity to examine the historical context surrounding Notre Dame's marks, as well as to probe the possible implications of this imagery if it is found to be derisive in origin.

In the U.S. discourse, oppression all too often evokes thoughts of discrimination by skin color. In truth, some of the groups of people who have suffered oppression in U.S. history did have distinctly different physical appearances from those of the ruling or privileged class. Mexicans, African Americans, Asians, and the various indigenous people of the United States were all considered inferior and suffered from discriminatory practices that favored White citizens. And yet, oppression was not limited to those races or groups only distinguishable by their physical appearances.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze the previously unexamined University of Notre Dame marks, which the researcher proposes have origins in disparaging stereotypes of Irish and Irish Americans. According to King and Slaughter (2009) "trademarks, logos, and mascots are potent symbols and images that contain many layers of meaning" (p. 273) and are meant to convey power. Given the power of trademarks, logos, and mascots in conveying cultural values, some of the US' most-loved collegiate trademarks have more powerful connotations than many imagine. Despite the end of the historical period associated with imperialism, colonial imagery is still prominent in U.S. culture, particularly in collegiate athletics, where the exotic and inferior other becomes a mascot. Edward Said (1978) wrote of cultural imperialism describing it as a "mode of imperialism [which] imposed its power not by force, but by the effective means of disseminating … a Eurocentric discourse," in which those not considered Westerners are portrayed "as an exotic and inferior other" (Abrams, 2005, p. 245).

In this case, this study hopes to demonstrate how 1) the genesis of the Notre Dame marks is rooted in a historical context in which people of Irish or Irish American origin were viewed as inferior and 2) the mascot itself is based on pre-existing disparaging stereotypes of Irish or Irish American people. Finally, given findings proving those propositions, the researcher will examine how one group of Notre Dame stakeholders reacts to the brand once they are made aware of its connotations and historical origins. The goal of the study is to call into question previously accepted marks and ideas, particularly when contrasted other cases of controversial college and university marks.

Research Questions

Given the purpose of the study, three essential research questions were formed. 1) In the historical contexts of the United States and the University of Notre Dame, have the Irish ever been considered subaltern – that is to say, an inferior or oppressed ethnicity or nationality? 2) Given the history of the University of Notre Dame and the historical treatment of Irish peoples in the United States, is there evidence that this mascot can be interpreted as a form of cultural imperialism? Finally 3) given the successful finding that the marks are rooted in disparaging stereotypes, will one important group of university stakeholders, alumni, react differently to the brand? Chapter 2 of this study will provide both a greater understanding and discussion of cultural imperialism and other conceptual frameworks essential to understanding this research.

Significance of the Study

While the nation broils in debate about imagery depicting indigenous peoples, absolutely no attention is given to other mascot and logo programs portraying other ethnicities or nationalities. In 2014, a wide array of public figures in the US started speaking out about the Washington Redskins mascot, some in favor of keeping the mascot, others staunchly against it. From President Barack Obama – "If I were the owner of the team and I knew that there was a name of my team — even if it had a storied history — that was offending a sizeable group of people, I'd think about changing it" (Vargas & Shin, 2013, para. 4) to Oscar-winning actor Matthew McConaughey – "It's just… I love the emblem. I dig it. It gives me a little fire and some oomph. But now that it's in the court of public opinion, it's going to change. I wish it wouldn't, but it will" (Strauss, 2014, "Would it hurt," para. 1) – it seems that everyone with a forum to speak is

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voicing their opinion on the embattled mascot and logo program. Whether in favor or against the logo, the United States is collectively realizing the power and importance of sport logos and mascots. Many feel that the Redskins name issue is just a symptom of a larger problem – the treatment of indigenous peoples in the United States, even in present times. In 2004, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Clarence Thomas, opined – "federal Indian policy is, to say the least, schizophrenic" (Meland & Wilkins, 2012, para. 10).

So while considerable research exists on the importance and impact of marks based on stereotypes of indigenous peoples, other marks, notably, the University of Notre Dame Fightin' Irish marks, have not been discussed fully in the literature. This study will provide an in-depth examination of the context and origin of these marks, piquing and perhaps answering important questions about why some marks offend us and others do not. Fryberg, et al (2008) note that the less actual knowledge a person has about a particular racial, ethnic, or national group, the more likely they are to accept stereotypes of said group as true knowledge and fact. The researcher proposes that there is likely a gap in understanding the historical context surrounding Notre Dame's marks, thereby allowing a larger group of people to accept the marks as flattering or accurate, simply because they lack knowledge about the group in question.

Mascots portraying minority or historically disadvantaged ethnicities "could indeed convey pride and simultaneously a limited societal role" for the target group, in this case, early Irish Americans (Fryberg et al, 2008, p. 210). This is particularly troubling and significant, because the representation is being presented by an education institution whose mission professes a commitment to "constructive and critical

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engagement with the whole of human culture" (University of Notre Dame, n.d., Mission, para. 4). While sport sociology is rife with research regarding other controversial marks, this study could pose new questions about what is considered offensive, and the role college athletic programs have in spreading disparaging stereotypes and not illuminating historically accurate information.

Definition of Terms

Given the nature of this research, discussing sensitive topics such as racial stereotypes, discrimination based on ethnicity or nationality, and histories of violence against specific groups of people, it is important to discuss the terminology used in this study. As a researcher, I am approaching this study from a constructivist paradigm. Recognizing that truth is relative to one's perspective acknowledges that there can be multiple meanings for a symbol, term, or other concept. Provided this worldview that meaning is constructed and subjective, I realize that the terms used to refer to different races, ethnicities, and nationalities may be pejorative to some and acceptable to others. Furthermore, the very definitions of race, ethnicity, and nationality may differ depending on one's ontological perspective. For the purposes of this study race will refer to the broader categories typically used for classification purposes in surveys, for example, the U.S. Census. So, as discussed in this study, race may be Black, White, Hispanic/Latino, Asian, etc. While race is broad in nature and lacking in specificity, ethnicity will be used in this study to refer to a group of people with a shared national or cultural origin. Finally, nationality refers specifically to the relationship existing between a state government and an individual. For example, my race is considered to be White, but my ethnicity is mixed – German, Irish, and more, while I am a citizen of the United States.

In an attempt to advance the discussion surrounding controversial mascots and avoid reproducing the same cultural imperialism I am calling into question, I will be referring to populations previously known as Native American or American Indian, as indigenous people(s), specifically originating in the United States. Where the word tribe might have been used the word nation will appear. This is reflective of the recognition of indigenous people by the U.S. government as not sovereign, but domestic dependent nations. Any instance of pejorative or antiquated terminology referring to a race, ethnicity, or nationality is used as part of a direct quotation and does not necessarily reflect the views of the researcher.

In addition to the discussion of race, ethnicity, and nationality, this study focuses on a segment of college-level sport management commonly known as collegiate licensing. Chapter 2 will offer an expanded explanation of branding and commercialization in higher education, particularly college athletics, but in an attempt to increase readability, I will go over a few terms here. Collegiate licensing refers to the commercial industry whereby colleges and universities register names, logos, phrases, colors and more, as registered trademarks, enabling them to earn revenue on merchandise replicating these trademarks. Collectively, these trademarks will be referred to as marks. In most cases in this study, mark refers to a logo, team name, or mascot. While logos are artistic renderings to be reproduced in or on a variety of media, a mascot is typically a live form, whether animal or human in costume, which embodies the characteristics typically portrayed by a logo or nickname. For example, the University of Georgia has a team name – The Georgia Bulldogs. The name itself is a registered trademark that they university may earn royalties on when it is reproduced on merchandise. The main logo

for the University of Georgia is the Power G, a stylized letter G, which is also a registered trademark. This mark can be reproduced on a variety of media, everything from apparel to furniture and school supplies. When merchants apply to use the registered trademark on their merchandise, the university earns royalty revenue. Finally, the university also has a mascot – the English bulldog, taking the form of a live dog that is present at sporting and other events. These same principles can be applied to any institution of higher education. This brief discussion of terminology is intended to improve the understanding of this study as it progresses over the next few chapters, which will discuss the literature, methods, and findings of this research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter will be to review the existing literature on the subject

of mascots depicting ethnicities, races, or nationalities, and also provide the reader with

an understanding of important concepts, which help frame the study and add to the

understanding of this case. This chapter is organized as follows: a review of the literature

on collegiate licensing, including literature regarding the sociological value of licensing,

a summary of other cases of controversial licensing programs using racial, ethnic, or

national origin based stereotypes, and finally a review of existing literature discussing the

sociological impact of stereotype-based licensing programs. A summary will provide the

reader with an overview of key findings from the review of literature, before the

researcher explains and discusses the theoretical framework of this study.

Two theories inform and shape this research – organizational culture (specifically

of higher education) and cultural imperialism. While the former helps the researcher

understand how a university's marks signify larger truths about the institution's culture

and values, the latter helps to frame a discussion of the hidden imperialistic agenda of

stereotype-based imagery, which is to create a dialogue which subjugates and defines a

group traditionally or currently considered to be inferior to other groups. Following the

theoretical framework, a conclusion will explain the need for this research, particularly

addressing the gap in the literature which fails to acknowledge certain racial, ethnic, or

national origin based stereotypes in use at institutions of higher education, and why this failure is significant.

Collegiate Licensing

In 2007, the University of Michigan Wolverines inked what is currently the most lucrative sponsorship contract in college sports. Through 2015, the university will receive approximately $7.5 million a year from sportswear and equipment giant, Adidas (Rovell, 2007). Michigan is not alone, however; The University of Notre Dame earns $6 million per year from Adidas, and back-to-back National Champion University of Alabama brings home just under $4 million per year from Nike. With this kind of big money floating around, many criticize college athletics as overly commercialized. Former Harvard University president Derek Bok (2000) argues, "commercial practices may have become more obvious, but they are hardly a new phenomenon in higher education," (p.2). In 2013, Deadspin, an online sports news forum, released an infographic showing the highest paid public employees in most states to be football coaches (Wolverton, 2013). The ensuing uproar may be forgetting that the business of paying football coaches high salaries is not new either, and began, most unexpectedly, at one of the nation's most hallowed universities, Harvard. As early as 1905, Harvard University, so concerned about winning football games, was paying its 26-year old coach "at a salary equal to that of its president and twice the amount paid to its full professors" (Bok, 2000, p. 2). Says Bok (2000), "what is new about today's commercial practices is not their existence, but their unprecedented size and scope" (p. 2).

The path to today's highly commercialized colleges and universities is seemingly inevitable considering the United States' drive toward capitalism. In the 1980's US

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president Ronald Reagan proposed a set of fiscal policies, which would later become known as "Reaganomics." Among Reagan's proposals were the reduction of taxes, government spending, and government regulation of trade. Decreased regulation included reducing the scope of antitrust laws; eliminating price controls on oil, gas, cable television, and other commodities; and allowing banks to invest in a wider range of assets (Niskanen, n.d.). The late 1970s and 80s in the United States were an era of pursuing business opportunities and maximizing personal wealth. So prevalent was the desire to increase personal wealth, that writer Tom Wolfe (1976) dubbed the 70s the "Me Decade," and the people of it the "Me Generation". Colleges and universities were not exempt from this trend. It would be in the late 1970s and early 80s that the now widely-accepted practice of registering school logos, colors, and marks for production in the market, would be born.

The rise of collegiate licensing would create a new form of commercialism in higher education in which colleges and universities, and the athletic companies sponsoring them, would rush to create a wide range of products branded with what are essentially forms of institutional culture. According to King and Slaughter (2009): "in most cases, the branded products are not even produced in the United States; rather they are made overseas as a part of a globalized production system. Branding sells images and identities, not particular products" (p. 257).

In this system, it is not the products that are important and significant to the culture of the institution, but the ability to portray cultural symbols to a wide audience, attracting affinity, as Toma (2003) said, "advancing claims of significance" (p. 53).

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The makings of today's collegiate licensing industry first began to emerge in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Colleges first tiptoed into marketing trademarked merchandise with small athletic leisurewear contracts to produce t-shirts that would be sold in the bookstore. As the popularity of such merchandise grew, institutions began to think strategically about branching out into the market and trademarking the symbols and other cultural forms of the institution. Although this desire was present at all institutions, "the administration of licensing programs has not developed along any consistent lines" (Revoyr, 1998, p. 381). Despite the diversity in how licensing programs developed, colleges and universities have clearly discovered the value in monetizing forms of institutional culture. Institutions have extended far beyond simply selling apparel stamped with the school's mascot or slogan. Much like corporations, colleges and universities strive to create brands that will stand out in the marketplace and attract students, donors, sponsors, and even legislative support (Carey, 2013).

The idea of branding is not new to higher education. While the oldest colleges and universities were reserved for the elite, public state colleges proliferated with the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 (Urban & Wagoner, 2009). Over time, the number of institutions offering higher education has grown leaving colleges and universities seeking ways to distinguish themselves from their peers. With many institutions looking more similar than different, "they attempt to associate who they are and what they do with what people perceive to be positive" (Toma, 2003, p. 168). For a college or university, their brand does not solely reflect the educational missions and endeavors of the institution, but rather the characteristics with which it has become associated, as well as the region in which it resides. Fans and other consumers choose a brand because it reflects the qualities

they value: tradition, excellence, victory, hard work, pride, or teamwork (Toma, 2003; King & Slaughter, 2009; Clotfelter, 2011).

The power of athletics in conveying culture is a unique phenomenon in the United States. With the growth of industrialism and urbanism in the U.S., citizens suddenly had more disposable income and free time, opening the door for sport to become entertainment for the masses (Sack & Staurowsky, 1998). At present, the sport industry is one of the most powerful in the nation. In a yearly survey administered by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion (MIPO), the number of U.S. adults who identify as sports fan is more than 50% and growing every year. In 2013, MIPO reported that 62% of U.S. adults are sport fans, up 2% from 2012. With more than half of the country's adults actively watching and engaging in the market for sporting events, what does this love of competitive athletics tell us about who we are as a country? According to Richard Lipsky (1981), the world of athletics is "a moral realm where character is built and virtue is pursued" (p. 5). Spectators are encouraged to become actively involved and seek "refuge from what has often been a harsh and difficult reality" (Lipsky, 1981, p. 4).

Institutions of higher education are complex communities made of many groups and subgroups, which may have their own distinctive cultures (Kuh & Whitt, 1988). The diverse nature of institutions in and of itself presents a challenge in identifying the symbols, rituals, sagas and more that can represent the collective identity of all these groups. Significant events with high attendance, for example, graduation or commencement, are excellent demonstrations of institutional culture and branding. At these events, students, faculty, staff, and others are brought together and reminded of the history of the institution, the symbols with which it is associated, and thusly, the event

becomes an expression of what is valued and accepted by the institution. These events are also valuable opportunities to clearly demonstrate the institutional brand.

Commencement and graduation come only once for students, however, at the beginning and end of their affiliation with the college or university. Some staff may attend, but for many, it may be optional. Adjunct faculty may choose not to participate, and even tenured faculty may not be included in the largest ceremonies. Most significantly, these academic-centered events do not provide the opportunity to express the institutional brand to the general public, including important constituencies like donors, legislators, and others. Toma (2003) maintains that there is a need for expressive events to keep a culture alive, but the struggle to find expressive events that occur often and are inclusive is real.

With the growth in popularity of spectator sports in colleges and universities in higher education "a major expression – perhaps the major expression – of many cultural forms is football" (Toma, 2003, p. 51). Athletics is able to propagate the organizational culture of the institution to an audience that is both substantial and diverse. State senators, local citizens, students, alumni, faculty, and staff are just a portion of the groups that are attracted to college and university athletic contests. Athletic contests are broadcast to wide audiences, creating a national, and sometimes international, stage for the institution's brand. Every institution hopes that game day broadcasts will showcase the brand's attributes with sweeping panoramas of a hallowed college grounds and a team of the institution's finest fighting for honor and glory on the field or court (Toma, 2003).

Building a brand is not sufficient alone to ensure an institution's future. Brands require maintenance and strategy, placing great importance on how the brand is portrayed

to the general public, especially the institution's target markets, like students and donors. Colleges and universities, much like corporations, undertake formal processes for evaluating and defining their brand to constantly enhance their brand equity, "a combination of assets such as brand loyalty, brand awareness, perceived quality, and brand associations" (Toma, 2003, p. 199). Given an institution's desire to maintain or improve their standing in the marketplace, colleges and universities frequently engage in rebranding processes to enhance their brand equity. Moreover, an institution may choose to rebrand or abandon any symbols that no longer reflect its values or the values of its stakeholders. Kuh and Whitt (1988) state that "although culture is fairly stable, it is always evolving, continually created and recreated by ongoing patterns of interactions between individuals, groups, and an institution's internal and external environments" (p. 30).

Licensing as culture. Cultural forms are on display all over the campuses of the United States' institutions of higher education. Academic departments may have unique logos featuring Greek columns, intricate scrolls, torches, or other symbols of knowledge and enlightenment. Student organizations, the alumni association, and other groups may also have logos that symbolize the institution's culture, values, norms, and beliefs. While culture is disseminated throughout the institution in a variety of ways – there is perhaps no more salient display of organizational culture than athletics. As Toma (2003) describes it: "In and around the stadium on football Saturdays, the university community displays its culture in tangible and unique forms – its colors, logos, mascots (symbols); songs and slogans (language); stories, legends, and myths (narratives); and rituals and ceremonials (practices)" (p. 9).

Toma (2003) writes of the significance of logos and mascots. Logos, colors, songs, and other forms of institutional culture go far beyond display on football Saturdays, they tell stories, and "provide outsiders with ways to recognize and understand the institution" (p. 53). The fact that mascots, logos, and other cultural forms are closely linked with athletics does not diminish their significance or power. Toma (2003) says, "without expressive events, culture dies – and norms, values, and beliefs have diminished impact" (p. 50). Athletics, particularly at the collegiate level, play a powerful role in disseminating and expressing culture. As Toma (2003) reminds us "football games are particularly powerful rituals as they are participatory for spectators, involving them as respondents to recurring events that have great meaning to the group" (p. 64). Coski (2000) similarly echoes the power of college athletics to either disseminate or reinforce cultural values and norms.

Logos and mascots not only help explain the culture and values of an institution, they also open the institution to corporate branding and sponsorship. With the advent of the collegiate licensing industry and the registration of college and university logos and symbols as officially registered trademarks, higher education culture officially became an industry in its own right. Athletic gear giants like Nike and Adidas offer schools and coaches millions in sponsorship dollars to not only have exclusive rights over official team gear, but also to have exclusive production rights over certain categories of branded merchandise (Klein, 2000). Nike has taken this a step further, working with several major colleges and universities to either redesign original logos or design entirely new logos. Schools market these logo releases and redesigns as campaigns spearheaded by the institution to gain a more updated brand, but Nike benefits greatly by helping to design

the logos and negotiating exclusive rights contracts on said logos for up to two years (Nike, 2013; Nike, 2014).

In what would be the National Collegiate Athletics Association's (NCAA) first-ever College Football Playoff, Nike sponsored all four of the committee-selected teams, providing Nike a unique opportunity to design all the uniforms featured in the first national playoff, as well as to claim: "in celebration of the first ever College Football Playoff, Nike honors the teams who will wear the Swoosh as they advance in the playoff" (Nike, 2014, para. 5). It is important to note as well, that the press release from Nike on the first playoff refers to the four seeds as "Nike teams" (Nike, 2014, para. 6). Not only are logos and marks from colleges and universities socially significant because of what they tell us about the institution and its culture and values, but these same logos and mascots have opened the door to this kind of corporate sponsorship where top institutions of higher education in the US become Nike schools – "this collision of the dictates of academia with the dictates of branding often proves uncomfortable" (Klein, 2000, p. 96).

Corporate sponsorship has ultimately influenced the values and goals of institutions of higher education, and at times, created conflict between academic ideals such as free expression and expansion of knowledge and corporate goals and written agreements. In addition to the values and culture that pre-existed corporate sponsorship, says Klein (2000),

> When the prima-donna brands arrived on campus, they brought their preening and
> posturing values with them, introducing to schools new concepts like corporate
> image control, logo visibility, brand-extension opportunities and the fierce
> protection of trade secrets. (p. 96)

According to Klein (2000) the culture of colleges and universities has become inextricably muddled with the culture of the corporate giants that sponsor their athletic teams and produced their branded merchandise. The monetization of culture at institutions of higher education has opened a door that can't be shut, creating a world in which a college may profess to have a mission of fairness, equity, and the expansion of knowledge and yet accept large sums of money from a corporation that engages in sweat-shop labor or other unsavory business and human rights practices. While academic freedom and free speech are ideals that higher education asserts to embrace and uphold, lucrative sponsorship agreements often include clauses binding institutions to police the statements of "any University employee, agent, or representative, including a Coach" that may "disparage" the sponsoring company, its employees, business practices, etc. (Klein, 2000, p. 97). These same types of clauses can also exist in research sponsorship contracts from outside corporations, ultimately stifling the publication of fact-finding research that might negatively portray sponsoring corporations and/or their products.

Controversial logos and mascots. Colleges and universities have often adopted symbols deeply rooted in the history of their state and controversial in nature. During post-Civil War reconstruction, defeated Confederate states were occupied by their former northern foes and relics of Confederate culture were treated as "contraband articles" (Coski, 2000, p. 100). But as the nation began to return to some semblance of normalcy, Confederate artifacts slowly came out of hiding and were incorporated into everyday life and culture in the south. Colleges and universities were not immune, as "college football and campus life in general were apparently the means by which the battle flag evolved … into a popular-culture symbol" (Coski, 2000, p. 107). Long after the Civil War had

ended, in the late 1920s, fraternity Kappa Alpha Order began celebrating Confederate culture by throwing Old South Balls.

In 1926, in an expression of "southern victory" University of Alabama students and fans hung Confederate flags on lampposts in Tuscaloosa to celebrate the football team's victory over the University of Washington (Coski, 2000, p. 108).

Schools like the University of Virginia and the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill followed suit, adopting the Confederate battle flag as their own battle flags at football games. Even as late as 1948, college students gathered at the States' Rights Democratic Party convention bearing Confederate battle flags and singing Dixie. One young "Dixiecrat" told a reporter, "every fraternity at [The University of Alabama] is flying a Confederate flag from the roof today" (Coski, 2000, p. 109). For many students, the flag represented states' rights and southern culture, while for black citizens the resurgence of the flag represented something more "sinister" – the resistance against the Civil Rights Movement and desegregation (Coski, 2000, p. 110).

Two lesser known Civil War symbols are embraced by the University of Kansas (KU) and the University of Missouri (Mizzou). Playing in a Thanksgiving weekend game for 120 years "originally named the Border War, the rivalry [between KU and Mizzou] is the longest standing west of the Mississippi River," and has its roots in the Bleeding Kansas conflict of the Civil War. The mascot names 'Jayhawk' and 'Tiger' are both steeped in the gory struggle between Kansans and Missourians from approximately 1854-1861 – "the term 'Jayhawker' identified guerilla fighters along the Kansas-Missouri border," while "the 'Missouri Tigers' were the Federal homeguard that protected

Columbia, Missouri from guerilla attacks" (Bever, 2011, p. 448). Bever (2011) describes the Bleeding Kansas that gave birth to these two mascots:

> Along the border, bloody skirmishes broke out between 'Jayhawkers' from Kansas and 'Bushwhackers' from Missouri … without clear battlefields or military regulations to govern the conduct of the guerillas, neighbors attacked each other in numerous night raids. Armed bands rode along, raiding cabins, terrorizing women and children, robbing families, and burning farms as they murdered their supposed enemies … surrounded by blood and pandemonium, civilians often turned on each other, seeking revenge for the deaths of family members. (p. 450)

When college football fans turned on their televisions Thanksgiving to watch the rivalry (which ended in 2012 as Mizzou joined the Southeastern Conference) few had any idea that they were watching remnants of Civil War history traipse up and down the sidelines of the field (Bever, 2011).

Nowhere has the struggle over university symbols been more tenuous than at the University of Mississippi, a school steeped in confederate culture. Formerly known as the Mississippi Flood the school adopted the name Rebels in 1936 to commemorate the school's history and tradition (Cleveland, 2003). In 1861, the entire student body of the University of Mississippi, but for four students, resigned from school to form an infantry regiment, the University Grays, in the Confederate Army. Out of 135 students, only 24 would survive the war (Ole Miss Engineering, n.d.). In 1962, racial tensions would come to a rolling boil at the southern school as James Meredith attempted to enroll at the Oxford, Mississippi campus. At the September 29 football game versus Kentucky,

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Confederate symbols, including the singing of Dixie and the presence of the world's largest Confederate battle flag, are on full display, signaling the forthcoming eruption of tension just a few days later as federal forces would invade Oxford in order to enforce the enrollment of the school's first black student, James Meredith. During the ensuing riot, 160 National Guardsmen would be wounded, two people would die, and gunfire and explosives would leave the university forever changed (Thompson, 2010).

Despite the 1962 challenge to the lingering Confederate spirit at Ole Miss, many symbols remained intact there until 2010, when students voted for a new on-field mascot to replace the traditional Colonel Reb, "a white-goateed, cane-toting Southern plantation owner that many have criticized as racist and anachronistic" (Brown, 2010, para. 2). School officials, claiming a goal "to balance tolerance with tradition at Ole Miss," have also discouraged the presence of Confederate battle flags at football games and the singing of Dixie as the unofficial fight song (Brown, 2010, para. 5). Replacing Colonel Reb is a black bear, homage to alumnus William Faulkner's short story, *The Bear*. Many fans and alumni still remain loyal to Colonel Reb, a sign that the campus is still deeply divided over how its history should inform its culture and future. Logos, colors, songs, and other forms of institutional culture go far beyond display on football Saturdays, they tell stories, and "provide outsiders with ways to recognize and understand the institution" (Toma, 2003, p. 53). Says alumnus and sports writer Wright Thompson, "symbols of Ole Miss football -- the flag and "Dixie" and even "Hotty Toddy" -- were once used as weapons … for a third of my fellow Mississippians, those images bring back fear" (Thompson, 2010, Epilogue, para. 1).

The use of trademarks depicting indigenous peoples has been no less contentious

an issue in U.S. history. King and Slaughter (2009) assert: "after prolonged warfare,

when Native Americans were 'safely' on reservations … athletic teams adopted names

such as Redskins, Warriors, Braves, and Savages in an assertion of the power of the

colonizer" (p. 273). By the 1960s, many indigenous nations decried the use of trademarks

thought to mock their ancestry and subjugation by early U.S. citizens. According to the

NCAA (2005), as early as 2001, the organization began discussing the indigenous

mascots issue: "three events prompted initial discussion on mascots within the

Association in April 2001 – membership feedback; ongoing issues surrounding the

Confederate Battle Flag; and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights" statement on the use

of American Indian imagery as sports symbols" (NCAA, 2005, para. 14).

It was not until 2005, however, that the NCAA officially sought to curb the use of

trademarks depicting indigenous peoples without intruding on the rights of individual

colleges and universities. While the NCAA could not dictate what kind of mascots and

team names that member universities could choose, they "adopted a new policy to

prohibit NCAA colleges and universities from displaying hostile and abusive

racial/ethnic/national origin mascots, nicknames or imagery at any of the 88 NCAA

championships" (NCAA, 2005, para. 1). Prior to the announcement of the ban, the

association had requested that a list of over 30 member colleges and universities "submit

self-evaluations to the NCAA National Office to determine the extent, if any, of the use

of Native American imagery or references on their campuses" (NCAA, 2005, para. 15).

Although the NCAA mentions the Confederate Battle Flag as an issue inspiring

discussion, the ban and list of violating schools strangely ignores colleges and

universities using any racial/ethnical/national origin references other than references to indigenous peoples. Notably, this excuses the University of Mississippi's traditional display of Confederate Battle flags at sport contests, as well as the University of Notre Dame's mascot – a clear reference to a racial/ethnic/national origin.

The ban, announced in August 2005, went on to name a list of eighteen colleges and universities currently using imagery or names culled from the original 33 asked to submit self-evaluations, that the NCAA felt were hostile and abusive. According to then-NCAA president Myles Brand, "the NCAA objects to institutions using racial/ethnic/national origin references in their intercollegiate athletics programs" (NCAA, 2005, para. 5) thus, while the association could not formally dictate colleges and universities change their names or mascots, they could ban them from appearing at NCAA postseason tournaments.

Effective immediately in 2005, the NCAA would not allow student-athletes to wear uniforms displaying hostile or disparaging imagery in any NCAA competition, including postseason championships. Colleges and universities were given until 2008 to apply the band to dance teams, cheerleaders, bands, and other aspects of athletic competition, and the NCAA also actively encouraged other member institutions to refuse to play in athletic contests with teams displaying such imagery (NCAA, 2005). In order to continue to use trademarks depicting indigenous peoples and be exempt from the postseason ban, colleges and universities would have to gain the permission of the indigenous nation and seek their approval on logo design, mascot costumes, and more (ESPN, 2005). Only a few institutions would do this – for example the Florida State University Seminoles and the University of Utah Utes – while many others including the

University of Illinois Fighting Illini and the University of Louisiana Monroe Indians would abandon the marks in question altogether.

The cases of Ole Miss and the controversial use of indigenous mascots demonstrate the "power of image or brand to organize networks of actors, both in support and resistance," to dominant elements of an organization's culture (King & Slaughter, 2009, p. 276). As shown in the case of the University of Mississippi, athletic contests are often battlegrounds for sociological struggles as "these events embody the norms, values, and beliefs that American institutions generally share" (Toma, 2009, p. 9).

Sociological impacts. What is the harm in film, art, logos, and other mediums that promulgate racial and ethnic stereotypes? Michael Dorris, writer and former professor of Native American Studies, is quoted by Carol Spindel (2000) in her research on indigenous mascots:

, People of proclaimed good will have the oddest ways of honoring American Indians. Sometimes they dress themselves up in turkey feathers and paint to boogie on 50-yard lines. War-bonneted apparitions pasted to football helmets or baseball caps act as opaque, impermeable curtains, solid walls of white noise that for many citizens block or distort all vision of the nearly two million Native Americans. (p. 3)

According to Dorris stereotypical portrayals of ethnic groups serve to reinforce the importance of whiteness, and "the other"-ness of non-white racial and ethnic groups. Dorris (1991) points out that even romanticized depictions of ethnic groups reduces said groups to "a foreign, exotic, even cartoonish panorama against which 'modern' (that is, white) men can measure and test themselves" (para. 6).

Spindel (2000) further notes that caricatures of races and ethnicities have historically been used to dehumanize races or ethnicities, often so that other groups of people will feel comfortable with or even support the ill treatment of these people. One striking example is the use of Jewish caricature by Nazis in propaganda:

> The Nazi regime employed propaganda to impress upon German civilians and soldiers that the Jews were not only subhuman, but also dangerous enemies of the German Reich. The regime aimed to elicit support, or at least acquiescence, for policies aimed at removing Jews permanently from areas of German settlement. (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013, para. 7)

Eventually nearly 6 million Jews would be exterminated by the Nazi regime during World War II, but not before Hitler and other Nazis commissioned propaganda and other displays caricaturing Jewish people as cheaters and money-hoarders with big noses, in short, the "German misfortune" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013).

Strangely, Semitic references appeared in the predecessor to the National Basketball Association (NBA), the American Basketball League (ABL). Founded in the early 1900s, the Philadelphia SPHAs were one of the best teams in the country, winning 11 championship titles. After an early sponsorship by the local Young Men's Hebrew Association, the team, largely composed of players of Jewish descent, began calling itself the SPHAs (South Philadelphia Hebrew Association) picking up nicknames such as The Wandering Jews. While the name had been adopted as a symbol of pride and identification by players of Jewish descent, it also spurred stereotypical and at times denigrating commentary by sportswriters of the time. A former sports editor of the *New York Daily News,* Paul Gallico, wrote, just on the cusp of World War II and the atrocities

Jews would face in Europe: "The reason, I suspect, that basketball appeals to the Hebrew with his Oriental background is that the game places a premium on an alert, scheming mind, flashy trickiness, artful dodging and general smart aleckness" (Gallico as cited in Entine, 2001, para. 7). Eventually, the ABL would fall by the wayside, and although the team would play as a minor-league team, notably against the Harlem Globetrotters, their name would be changed to the Washington Generals in 1950.

King and Slaughter (2009) note that ultimately, "trademarks, logos, and mascots are potent symbols and images that contain many layers of meaning" (p. 273). Using caricatures of races, ethnicities, and otherwise living people, King and Slaughter (2009) argue, send a powerful message. As Toma (2003) notes, "[athletic] events translate and articulate what is important in the lives of institutions in ways that are understandable to both campus and external constituents, drawing them toward and connecting them with the campuses that they come to support" (p. 50). Even "while these names … recognized the ferocity of former enemies, they also trivialized, appropriated, and distorted their images, and celebrated the authority of the colonizer" (King & Slaughter, 2009, p. 273).

These types of mascots are significant because as Fryberg et al (2008) note, "they remind [the subject] of the limited ways others see them and, in this way, constrain how they can see themselves," (p. 208). Additionally, the less accessible the group portrayed is, that is to say that "most Americans have no direct, personal experience," with the group portrayed, the more likely the mascot is to help inform the views of said group (Fryberg et al, 2008, p. 209). In the case of the University of Notre Dame mascot, a Fightin' Irishman, most U.S. citizens have no direct, personal experience with native Irish men and women, and thus are likely to base their understanding of this group on the

stereotypes, depictions, and images presented in the media, including the Notre Dame mascot. Fryberg et al (2008) also underscore the fact that according to social representation theory, whether a mascot is viewed positively or negatively, it still has restrictive impact on how society views the group or individual being portrayed. Effectively, mascots tell society how the target group behaves and appears (Cavallero, 2004; Fryberg et al, 2008).

Assuming that the white male is the privileged role in society, other groups are defined in relation to this role – either imbued with ideal characteristics of the privileged role, or defined in terms of how they differ from the privileged role (de Beauvoir, 1952; Taylor, 2013). According to Taylor (2013), the origins of the archetype of the indigenous man are rooted in "the Euro-colonial" mind where the "heroic white frontiersman" was the ideal. The indigenous man archetype must be a worthy adversary "having the ability to emulate, mimic, and assume such an idealized form" but also differing in important ways (pp. 6-7). The indigenous man is thusly defined in terms of how he is different, and often lacking, in the characteristics of the privileged white male. The "Indian" is superstitious and spiritual, his knowledge is not rooted in the post-Enlightenment world of empirical science and data (Taylor, 2013). Though he is considered a worthy adversary, he is ultimately prone to savagery and not as sophisticated as his white counterpart (Taylor, 2013).

According to Taylor (2013), 'whiteness' is constructed by "using 'race' as the valuating principle, [thus]… criteria [such as skin color, hair texture, and facial features among other similar items] define whiteness for what it is and what it is not in relation to those other groups," (p. 74). In many historical instances, 'whiteness' is much more

complex than simply meeting the criteria of being Caucasian. In World War II era Europe, the Nazi regime defined 'whiteness' as much more than skin color, but the preferred characteristics of a superior, Aryan race. Nazi ideology believed in a master race – a pure German race. To be 'white' was not enough to merit inclusion in the Aryan race, as Nazi doctrine classified Jews, Slavs, Greeks, and many other Eastern-Europeans as inferior races. Instead, Nazi ideology conceptualized 'whiteness' as a very specific set of characteristics applicable only to 'pure' Germans. Thus, in this ideology, regardless of skin color, non-white becomes anyone who: subscribes to other religions; is not of German descent; may be physically or mentally handicapped; and most importantly, is not accepting of Nazi ideology (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013).

As deBeauvoir (1952) notes, the 'second' (or other) is defined in relation to the privileged group. Women are defined by how they differ from men, and non-whites are defined by how they differ from whites. Like Nazi Germany, in early U.S. history, the privileged group, and thus any concept of 'whiteness' was defined in terms that transcended skin color alone – "as colonial empire of the West/Europe/America expanded beyond its home territorial boundaries, the processes and mechanisms of colonialism went along as a sidekick to this action" (Taylor, 2013, p. 74). Despite early-professed ideals of inclusiveness and equality, the early U.S. Constitution defined a privileged citizen as two things – white and male. Further, the large majority of original colonists in the United States were of British descent, carrying with them pre-defined notions about other Western Europeans in addition to indigenous peoples, Orientals, Eastern Europeans and more. As time has gone on, these perceptions of preferred

'whiteness' have been brought to life in the form of mascots and logos that portray and expressed non-white others that have been tamed or vanquished.

While imagery of the other appears in popular culture in all forms – film, art, music, television, etc. – the use of such imagery as mascots and logos at colleges and universities is particularly significant and powerful. As Taylor (2013) notes

> As part of a college campus or secondary school site, the performances are done under the eye of the academic institution, acting as a legitimizing agent because of the authority given to this socio-cultural agent by the mainstream. Because the role plays are performed on a setting which lends itself to the purpose of education and the dissemination of factual information for the public, the idea of the stereotypic … gains an aura of authenticity by the setting of the presentation for public consumption. (p. 75)

Essentially, when institutions of higher education embrace mascots that embody ethnic and racial stereotypes, they legitimize and endorse said stereotypes, which are consumed by the large, and rapt audiences they have at their disposal. Further, Taylor (2013) notes that because, for most viewers this 'portrayal' of a target group may be the only exposure they have to said group, viewers will accept and assume the portrayal as knowledge, however stereotypical and fictional it may be.

Not only are colleges and universities lending legitimacy to such inaccurate and limiting imagery when they adopt it, they are, according to Staurowsky (2004), betraying the traditional 'trustee' role that the United States government has assumed with regard to indigenous nations. Federal Indian policy has created

Agreements … to act in the role of trustee for American Indian welfare, [yet] the

psychological, social, and educational investment in American Indian mascots

and the attendant failure of schools to genuinely adopt curricula that include

accurate information about American Indian history and experience is a testament

to the mass abdication of that trustee obligation. (p. 25)

As such, mascots portraying ethic identities do not truly engender pride or appreciation

for the ethnicity portrayed. Staurowsky (2004) argues that the U.S. public is invested in

and appreciative of the created imagery and myths more than the actual group of people

that are being portrayed. Bever (2011) and Staurowsky (2004) both note the use of

creative mythology to explain away a mascots more sinister origins – "elaborate fictions

are woven to justify stereotypical imagery that simply would not be acceptable

otherwise" (p. 18).

Summary of the Review of Literature

The logos, colors, phrases, and other trademarks popularized by college athletic

teams are forms derived from the organizational culture of colleges and universities.

According to Kuh and Whitt (1988) "cultural values are likely to be tightly linked to, or

at least congruent with, basic beliefs and assumptions and are embodied in the

institution's philosophy and ideology" (p. 40). Culture, even in its various forms, tells

both insiders and outsiders about the history, values, accepted behaviors, and significance

of the organization. Because of the proliferation of licensed collegiate merchandise,

college and university cultural forms now appear on everything from pop-tarts to

sneakers. While many of the items produced may not seem sociologically significant or

academic, the purpose behind licensing, according to King and Slaughter (2009) is not

the products, but the visibility and strength of the brand of the institution. Similarly, athletics – a side of U.S. collegiate life which many dispute the academic value of – serves as a significant vehicle for transmitting culture en masse. In this case, the game itself is not quite as important as what the game symbolizes. The contest and all of its trappings tell us what is significant and distinct, not only about the two institutions at play, but about U.S. collegiate life in general.

Collegiate licensing is far more significant than the products produced. In effect, it is the monetization of the cultures of colleges and universities. As branded merchandise grows in popularity, so does the transmission of culture. This becomes increasingly complicated with the advent of corporate sponsorship of everything from athletic teams to research labs. As Dorothy Zinberg, a Harvard faculty member notes "each infringement on its unwritten contract with society to avoid secrecy whenever possible and maintain its independence from government or corporate pressure weakens its integrity" (Klein, 2000, p. 99). Lucrative sponsorships muddle college and university culture and ideals with corporate goals and in some cases, allow corporations to shape and change the culture of an institution. This is particularly evident in Nike's campaigns to redesign logos at each of their sponsored schools. While the new logos promise to just be modern, sleek updates of traditional marks, the unintended result is that each new logo has a distinct Nike 'feel' making supposedly unique colleges and universities linked Nike schools. When athletic teams of a favorite school take the field, the brand takes the field as well.

College and university cultural forms can also be representative of the larger culture of U.S. society, as shown in the case of the University of Mississippi in the 1960s.

Many institutions, from Ole Miss to the University of Illinois, have abandoned former cultural forms, however beloved, for their representation of norms and values that the institution no longer shared, such as racial segregation. Kuh and Whitt (1988) note that culture is influenced by changing environments and interactions between stakeholders. If culture is always changing and evolving, forms are likely to follow the same pattern. Logos and mascots that embody ethnic stereotypes are proven to be harmful to the psyches of both the target group portrayed as well as other consumers of the forms (Cavallero, 2004; Fryberg et al, 2008). Even heroic and so-called positive representations are negative because they are depicted as rising above the deficiencies that the average person of this ethnicity is believed to be unable to (Cavallero, 2004). When a form, such as a logo or fight song, no longer reflects the shared values and beliefs of an organization, it is likely to be abandoned, in favor of a form that is more current and acceptable to all group members.

Theoretical Framework

Organizational culture. It has been well-established that colleges and universities are unique organizations with purposes and meanings which extend beyond the educational activities for which the institution was originally established (Bay, 1962; Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Toma, 2003). Each college and university has a unique culture, and thus their own set of accepted behaviors and values. Culture is comprised of two components: 1) substance and networks of meanings and 2) forms. Forms are better understood as "the practices whereby … meanings are expressed, affirmed, and communicated to members" (Trice & Beyer, 1984, p. 654). Put simply, forms are the tangible expressions of an organization's meanings, norms, and values.

Trice and Beyer (1984) describe the forms of organizational culture as fitting into four different categories: symbols, language, narratives, and practices. These cultural forms tell the story of an organization and the people associated with it. They are derived from history and tradition, as well as being shaped by current events within organizations. In the case of college athletics, logos and mascots are chosen as part of a larger narrative about an institution. These cultural forms tell the story of an organization and the people associated with it. They are derived from history and tradition, as well as being shaped by current events within organizations. These tangible cultural expressions are important because "cultural values are likely to be tightly linked to, or at least congruent with, basic beliefs and assumptions and are embodied in the institution's philosophy and ideology" (Kuh & Whitt, 1988, p. 40).

According to Toma (2003), the value of logos and mascots cannot be overstated – "even though these figures are cartoons or animals, they represent the institution and the collegiate values that are so important in what it perceives and represents itself to be about" (p. 56). For example, as King and Slaughter (2009) note, "many teams are named after animals that people see more often in zoos than in the wild … these animals were hunted, often to the point of extinction … and were exhibited as trophies that symbolized 'man's' conquest of nature" (p. 273). Often a team may choose "the image of the extinguished or vanquished," to represent their organization. This choice is about much more than a logo on a uniform however, as a logo or trademark is a demonstrated cultural form. The graphic identity of a team is meant to express the cultural values of the sport community, and with the choice of a vanquished population as a mascot, the organization may be, either intentionally or unwittingly, conveying values such as "the power

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associated with whiteness," or the power of man over even the most "fierce and often predatory animals" (King & Slaughter, 2009, p. 273).

Cultural Imperialism. In 1978, Edward Said writes of Orientalism – "in short, Orientalism [is] a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). Western Europeans, particularly the British and French, Said (1978) argues, have long been crafting Orientalism as a way to interpret and understand the place which was home to "Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other" (p. 1). This Western European view of and context for interpreting the culture of Oriental countries is so pervasive, Said argues that "the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought" (p. 3). Thus, nearly everything we know about the Orient comes to us through a lens of Western European Orientalism. Said is careful to note that the United States does not have the long tradition of Orientalism that Western Europe does; the United States has its own unique history "othering" and interpreting the other.

Before Europe ever dreamed of westward expansion, it colonized and explored the Orient. Thus, for Western Europeans, the oldest other encountered were the peoples of Oriental countries like Japan and China. Smaller Oriental countries were long colonized by the British and French; French-Vietnamese relations are speculated to go as far back as the 17th century, with Vietnam only gaining independence from France in 1954 (McNab & Weist, 2000). The United State, and thusly U.S. citizens, were born into a vastly different experience, however. For the United States, the East held Europe and the collective pasts of the immigrants making up the newly minted nation. When

dreaming of expansion and new experience, the United States collectively looked west. It was there that they would find their own Orient in the form of the myriad nations of indigenous peoples populating the United States for countless generations before European Americans arrived.

Riding high on the victories of the U.S. Revolution and the War of 1812, U.S. citizens began to believe deeply in their own superiority and benevolence. In the young country, founded on noble ideals of religious freedom and equality, the principle of manifest destiny arose. Spindel (2000) quotes 1830 governor of Illinois, in a moving excerpt from his opinions on the removal of indigenous peoples from their lands:

> Although it may seem hard to force the Indian from their own country to accommodate the white population, yet it is the only wise and humane policy that can be adopted. It is a heart-rending sight to see the poor natives driven from their own country. Their tears and lamentations on leaving Illinois would pierce a heart of stone. We must submit to the decrees of Providence. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find good reasons for the expulsions of the Indians from their own country. But, with or without reason, the Indian must emigrate, leaving Illinois – the finest country on earth, for the peaceable occupation of the white man. (p. 44)

It is this idea of the decrees of Providence that drives U.S. expansion, and encounters with the other, the indigenous peoples of the United States – "at the heart of manifest destiny was the pervasive belief in American cultural and racial superiority" (U.S. History, n.d., para. 4). Much in the same way that Western Europeans drove east to colonize and provide religion, education, and sophistication to the Orientals they believed to be inferior and savage, their descendants living in the United States repeated this

pattern, othering the natives they would encounter along the way as they expanded westward in North America.

While westward expansion in the United States certainly led to culture clashes between Western European descendants and others, the sons and daughters of Western Europe found others aplenty in the oldest U.S. cities which were often teeming with new and different people that they had limited experience with. In the same way that U.S. citizens took a dim view of Africans and indigenous peoples, many Europeans were classed as inferior by their neighbors of British and French ancestry. The 2002 motion picture *Gangs of New York*, based on the research of Herbert Asbury (1928) in his book of the same name, depicts vivid scenes of the earliest U.S. citizens forming gangs in cities and battling for the upper-hand. The leader of one such gang addresses the crowd gathering as two gangs prepare to battle, one Irish Catholic, and one of "Natives" presumably Western Europeans – "At my challenge, by the ancient laws of combat, we are met at this chosen ground, to settle for good and all who holds sway over the five points: us natives, born rightwise to this fine land, or the foreign hordes defiling it" (Grimaldi, Weinstein, & Scorsese, 2002).

Early on, the other was not only the indigenous people roaming the West, but also the non-Western Europeans who also inhabited the cities of the United States. The African, Italian, Irishman, Chinamen, nearly any immigrant to the country that was not of British lineage, was viewed as degenerate and plebeian. They accepted low-paying and dangerous jobs that other citizens were not willing to do, lived in crowded and squalid conditions, and practiced religions that were viewed as either pagan and strange, or antiquated, such as Catholicism. These others would come then, to be described in terms

of binary oppositions, as described by Edward Said as the Occident (Western) vs the Orient (Other). The other or subaltern,

> Has become a standard way to designate the colonial subject that has been constructed by European discourse and internalized by colonial peoples who employ this discourse; 'subaltern' is a British word for someone of inferior rank, and combines the Latin terms for 'under' (sub) and 'other' (alter). (Abrams, 2005, p. 246)

In his 2009 documentary on the portrayal of indigenous peoples in U.S. film, Neil Diamond, a member of the Cree tribe, discusses the evolution of the American Indian in film. According to Cree, "Hollywood has made over 4000 films about Native people; over 100 years of movies defining how Indians are seen by the world" (Bainbridge & Diamond, 2010). According to Cree, many of the films promulgate depictions in line with the philosophy of cultural imperialism. Depictions of indigenous people range from – the stereotype of the boorish savage: devoid of religion, raping white women and pillaging the villages of his white neighbors – to the noble savage: deeply spiritual and appreciative of the natural world, romantic and sensitive. Ultimately, as costume designer Richard LaMotte notes, the need for utility in production led to the propagation of many stereotypes of indigenous people:

> [In American cinema] every Indian becomes a Plains Indian, wearing the headdress, buckskin, and the headband. Headbands are an interesting thing. Certainly certain Americans, Native American tribes did use and wear headbands, but the Plains Indians usually not, but when you're working on a Western and you have stunt people and they're gonna [sic] fall off horses, you need to keep their

wigs on and that's the best way to do it. So Hollywood starting putting headbands

on Plains Indians and it just got to be a thing where you saw it in every movie.

(Bainbridge & Diamond, 2010)

This is exactly the type of cultural imperialism that Said describes. As Jesse

Wente, a film critic and member of the Ojibwa tribe says, "This is actually, while

probably not calculated, is [sic] an ingenious act of colonialism. You're essentially

robbing nations of an identity and grouping them into one" (Bainbridge & Diamond,

2010). Thusly, the central thrust of cultural imperialism is to rob a nationality, race, or

ethnicity of describing their own culture in their own words, and instead ascribe to said

group stereotypical, denigrating, and romanticized characteristics.

Summary of Theoretical Framework

As noted in the review of literature, stereotypical portrayals of a race, ethnicity, or

nationality in popular media can have a profound impact on the way the target group is

viewed by others (Fryberg et al, 2008). Colleges and universities are contributing, either

unwittingly or deliberately, to a discourse in which a group of people is denigrated and

oppressed. In an ultimate act of subjugation, the target group is robbed of the ability to

define themselves in terms which reflect their history and reality, and instead is assigned

a description which while most definitely mocking in nature, is most importantly

designed to highlight them as inferior. Even more significant is the act of an institution of

a higher education doing such a thing. Colleges and universities in the United States are

viewed as centers of research, education, and progress, and their authorship of such a

dialogue suggests to consumers that the portrayal is accurate and legitimate (Taylor,

2013). Although the NCAA, scholars, and the general public have questioned and

debated the use of marks which refer to indigenous nations or the oppression of African Americans, there is no discussion whatsoever of the University of Notre Dame mascot, which can be viewed to portray both an ethnicity and a nationality.

Using cultural imperialism as a theoretical framework, this study will demonstrate how the University of Notre Dame's marks are not only an imperialistic statement against people of Irish ethnicity or nationality – suggesting that they are inferior to other ethnicities – but also a symptom of a cultural problem at the institution in which Notre Dame's professed values of inclusiveness and education are at odds with cultural forms which embrace a divisive attitude toward those of Irish descent. If important stakeholders, for example alumni, have an understanding of the negative origins of the Notre Dame marks, their opinions of the brand may be altered. The third research question of this study poses that very question, and the following chapter will provide a discussion of the methods used to answer this research question and others.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

The overall purpose of this research is to examine a previously unexamined sociological phenomenon – the University of Notre Dame marks, which make use of ethnic and/or national origin stereotypes – using a case study research approach. This chapter will provide the reader an outline of case study design, as well as the specific methods that will be used to answer each research question, including comparative historical analysis. As noted in the review of literature, while sport sociology has taken note of other controversial mascots, particularly those making use of indigenous stereotypes and references to slavery and segregation of African Americans in the US, there is a gap, leaving the University of Notre Dame and its marks unexamined. Because there is no previous research of this subject on which the researcher can draw, it is necessary to frame this discussion drawing upon the literature surrounding cases that are similar in nature. This method of comparing cases is known as comparative historical analysis, and does not suggest that the discrimination shown to Irish nationals and Irish Americans is equal to that experienced by indigenous nations and African Americans. Instead, the researcher intends for these similar cases to provide a lens, which will be helpful in understanding marks that express stereotypes which denigrate a group of people.

Institutions of higher education are complex organizations operating in complex environments, and like other organizations, they are influenced by the cultural, economic,

and political contexts within which they exist. The University of Notre Dame has existed, and continues to exist, in contexts which influence its organizational culture and processes, including the creation and maintenance of its licensing program. As a means of understanding this specific case, the study will draw on the theories of organizational culture, with specific attention to the sociological value of mascots and logos, and cultural imperialism (notably the work of Edward Said) to understand the implications of marks employing cultural stereotypes. Organizational culture, including actions and values, are not produced in a vacuum, but rather, are a function of the dominant discourse of the context in which they exist. According to Abrams, discourse is "both the product and manifestation not of a timeless linguistic system, but of particular social conditions, class-structures, and power-relationships that alter drastically in the course of history" (Abrams, 2005, p. 250). Thus, this study will employ a case study design to explore the dominant discourse or context surrounding the timeframe in which the Notre Dame mascot was conceived, and how stakeholders react to knowledge of this historical context in present day.

Research Design

  Qualitative paradigm. The tension between quantitative and qualitative research is long-standing, and begins with enlightenment thinking, which emphasizes the value of science, logic, and the empirical process in the formation of knowledge. Moving away from the importance of religion and tradition in society, the enlightenment privileged the scientific process over other methods of gaining knowledge (Abrams, 2005). According to Creswell (2009), quantitative research emphasizes "testing theory by specifying narrow hypotheses and the collection of data to support or refute the hypotheses" (p. 16).

Drawing its strength from large sample sizes, the application of statistical methods, and the ability to replicate, and thus continually prove or disprove results (Creswell, 2009). According to Morse and McEvoy (2014), while sport management has long favored quantitative research, researchers are beginning to realize the value of participant input to examining the processes and phenomena of sport management. Sport sociology as a field and discipline, however, is people-centric. The constructivist worldview that typically grounds qualitative methodology allows researchers to focus on observation, behaviors, and processes, while traditional quantitative methodology constricts researchers to the application of statistical tests and measures (Creswell, 2009).

Qualitative research, unlike quantitative research is conducted in a natural setting with the researcher as the primary instrument for collecting data (Creswell, 2009). As mentioned, quantitative research draws strength from replicability, which creates a feeling of true knowledge in a society that still privileges, the enlightenment-era scientific method (Creswell, 2009). However, there are many questions that researchers seek to answer which cannot be fully and richly explained by pre- and post-tests or statistical analysis. Going beyond the numbers, qualitative researchers seek to explain phenomena and understand processes by integrating not only participant experiences and feelings, but also their own experiences and feelings (Morse & McEvoy, 2014). The value of qualitative research lies in its ability to present "a holistic account of the issue from multiple perspectives" (Morse & McEvoy, 2014, p. 1).

Case study design. The qualitative paradigm allows for a variety of designs and plans of inquiry, among them, ethnography, case study, phenomenology, and more. The structure of a research study is driven by the research questions (Morse & McEvoy,

2014). According to Stake (1994): "case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied" – in this study, the 'object' being the University of Notre Dame licensing program and its marks (p. 236). Yin (2013) provides several conditions which are ideal for a case study design: a study which asks how or why questions; the inability of the researcher to manipulate participant behavior; a focus on context as significant or relevant to the phenomenon being studied; and/or unclear boundaries between context and the subject of study. Several aspects of this study meet Yin's conditions, making it ideal for case study research. Research questions one and two focus heavily on context, while research question three asks how stakeholders feel, exerting no manipulation or control over participant behavior. Furthermore, it is the belief of the researcher that historical context has greatly influenced the University of Notre Dame marks – no real boundary existed between the historical treatment of Irish nationals and Irish Americans and the creation of a licensing program employing historical stereotypes of these groups.

While the conditions of this case certainly fit with case study research, there are multiple types of case study approaches. Yin (2013) describes a descriptive case study approach as a study in which a phenomenon is being described with relation to the context in which it occurred. Because other case study approaches, such as explanatory or exploratory, employ specific interventions, they are not appropriate for this study (Yin, 2013). Rather than apply a specific intervention in this case, the researcher's intent is to simply ask how and why questions without applying any type of conditions or controls. To help the reader understand the specific focus of this case, it is important to note that Yin (2013) also describes multiple-case studies in which the researcher seeks to identify

the similarities and differences between cases. While the review of literature for this study cites research regarding other cases of controversial marks, this is simply to provide a helpful lens for understanding the case at the heart of the study, the Notre Dame marks.

Binding a case, or specifying the phenomenon you are studying is necessary in order to create a concise and focused study (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2013). Miles and Huberman (2013) concur that a case study is a phenomenon in a bounded or specific context. Binding, in essence explains both what you are studying, as well as what you are not studying. This is particularly important in this case, which may exhibit similarities with other cases, particularly those mentioned in the review of literature. Case study design offers a number of ways to bind your study, including by time and activity (Stake, 1995), time and place (Creswell, 2003), and definition and context (Miles & Huberman, 2013). Clearly in this study, the best boundaries for this discussion are definition and context. The phenomenon being studied is clearly defined as a licensing program using potentially culturally insensitive marks, and the context being explored is the historical context in which the program was designed.

Having decided upon both the type of case study as well as the boundaries of the study, it is important to note that while the case study design has proven effective as a means of studying ethnic mascots and has been utilized by other scholars studying the topic of misappropriated cultural imagery (Bever, 2011; Spindel, 2000; Staurowsky, 2004; Taylor, 2013), there are limitations. In a later section of this chapter the limitations of the case study approach will be discussed in greater detail, as well as the limitations of this specific study. The researcher will propose strategies to address limitations and ensure validity. According to Creswell (2009), "qualitative validity means that the

researcher checks for the accuracy of findings by employing certain procedures" (p. 190).

The sections immediately following provide the reader with a description of procedures

which help ensure qualitative validity; a more specific description of the bounds of this

case study, including setting and participants; and a description of the specific methods

which will be employed in this case study to collect and analyze data.

Setting

While there are many instances of controversial mascots or misappropriated

cultural imagery in popular U.S. culture, this study focuses on the specific case of the

University of Notre Dame. Located in South Bend, Indiana, Notre Dame is a private

research institution founded in 1842 by the Congregation of Holy Cross, a sect of French

Catholic priests. The school remains affiliated with Catholicism, and enrolls nearly

21,000 undergraduate and graduate students. The institution remains predominantly

white, estimating its combined minority enrollment approximately 23% (University of

Notre Dame, n.d.). While the school's Fightin' Irish nickname may have originated as

early as 1899, it was not officially adopted by the university until 1927 (Sperber, 1993).

The institution describes one of its goals as "to cultivate in its students … a disciplined

sensibility to the poverty, injustice and oppression that burden the lives of so many," and

boasts that "about 80 percent of Notre Dame students engage in some form of voluntary

service-learning during their years at the University," (University of Notre Dame, n.d.).

Participants

For the purposes of this study, a specific group of university stakeholders will be

surveyed regarding their feelings toward the University of Notre Dame licensing

program, particularly their reactions to the historical context surrounding Irish nationals and Irish Americans as well as the historical context of the University of Notre Dame marks. According to Freeman (1984), a stakeholder is "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives" (p. 46). In higher education, some examples of stakeholders might include students, staff, faculty, alumni, state legislators, etc. In this specific case, stakeholders will be defined as a sample of alumni of Notre Dame. Alumni have been selected for a specific reason: their exposure to the Notre Dame marks and organizational culture and their freedom to share their opinion on this subject due to the fact that they are not considered actors of the university in the way that faculty or staff might be. As noted in the review of literature, contractual agreements sometimes exist which may prohibit or complicate the free expression of university actors, particularly on a topic that may invite commentary that the University of Notre Dame could consider disparaging to the brand or institution. Alumni are also more readily accessible to the researcher given their mobility to locations other than South Bend, Indiana. Indeed, alumni represent many important resources for colleges and universities – testimonies of success, potential for fund and friend-raising, and continued supporters of university athletics and extracurricular activities.

Originally, regional alumni clubs, particularly the local club of Atlanta, were targeted for recruiting participants. Given my role as a former alumni club vice president, I believed that clubs, allowing for the support of their officers, would be able to provide the greatest access to a large number of local alumni. Early on in data collection, it became apparent that this assumption was false, however. Despite reaching out to the board members of several regional alumni clubs in the southeast (Atlanta, Tallahassee,

and Charlotte), no replies were received after multiple attempts to contact. At this time, I began using the social media platform, Facebook, to recruit participants in a snowball sampling method – in this case, snowball sampling refers to using well-informed people to recommend potential participants for the study. Recruitment for the study was done both by participants in the study, as well as contacts on social media who were not University of Notre Dame alumni. Using this method across a period of roughly 30 days, I was able to recruit a sample of 20 respondents for the electronic survey, administered through the Qualtrics platform.

The makeup of respondents to the survey was largely representative of population trends in the United States, according to the latest U.S. Census Report, completed in 2010. For example, respondents to the survey were offered racial and ethnic categories matching U.S. Census categories. Comparable to the population of the United States, the majority of survey respondents identified as White (roughly 72% and 70% respectively). Those identifying as Black or African American accounted for 12.6% of the U.S. population in the 2010 Census Report, while composing a slightly larger 15% of survey respondents. Hispanic or Latino participants and Asian participants also demonstrate commensurate proportions – 10% as compared to 16.3% on the 2010 U.S. Census and 5% as compared to 4.8% on the 2010 u, respectively. With regards to gender, survey respondents followed similar trends as the U.S. population – a slight majority of respondents identified as female (68% compared to U.S. population 50.8%).

Owing to survey qualifications, age of respondents did not follow similar trends. In order to participate in the study, participants were required to self-identify as University of Notre Dame alumni (undergraduate or graduate/law/professional), therefore

0% of participants identified as 18 or younger. The majority of respondents (80%) were aged between 18-44 years. And while those aged 45-64 years accounted for 15% of survey respondents, only 5% of participants identified as aged 65 years or older. The median age was 31.5, while the mean was 35.8. Respondents overwhelmingly indicated that they were alumni of undergraduate programs at the University of Notre Dame. Just 15% indicated graduating from graduate, law, or professional programs. Finally, respondents were asked to reply whether they identified as Irish American. According to the U.S. 2010 Census report, roughly 11% of Americans (34.7 million) claim Irish American ethnicity, while just under one-third of study participants (30%) identify as Irish American.

Data Collection

This case study asks three specific research questions, requiring different data collection approaches, which will be described in this section, depending on the goal of the questions. Because this study addresses aspects that are both historical as well as current, several types of data sources will be used. The use of documents, audio visual elements, and participant surveys will not only help to fully answer the research questions but will also help ensure validity in the study, a strategy known as triangulation, which will be explained in greater detail in the strategies for addressing limitations. To improve the understanding of the reader, in each subsection, the original research question will be provided again, followed by the data collection strategies that will be employed to answer the question. In the section to follow, the data analysis strategies will be discussed in the same manner.

Research question 1. In the historical contexts of the United States and the University of Notre Dame, have the Irish ever been considered subaltern – that is to say, an inferior or oppressed ethnicity or nationality?

The nature of this question requires an in-depth examination of a previous time period in order to better understand the conception and historical context surrounding the University of Notre Dame licensing program. Appropriate to this, the data collection methods employed will primarily be document analysis. Useful documents to answer this research question include: historical texts, letters, and speeches, and scholarly research on the time period and/or subject. The visual nature of the subject (analyzing mascots and logos) also calls for the use of visual data including photographs, both current and historical, and political cartoons. Documents and visual data will help provide a rich understanding of the cultural, economic, and political context of the United States and the University of Notre Dame before and during the time the licensing program was created.

Research question 2. Given the history of the University of Notre Dame and the historical treatment of Irish peoples in the United States, is there evidence that this mascot can be interpreted as a form of cultural imperialism?

Like research question 1, this question will require the analysis of documents and visual material. Again, useful documents to answer this research question include: historical texts, letters, and speeches, and scholarly research on the time period and/or subject. Visual elements – such as photographs, illustrations, and cartoons – provide a great opportunity for edification. Do visual images of Notre Dame's marks share commonalities with other visual images depicting other cases of marks commonly

accepted as imperialist in nature? Does the language and imagery used to describe the Notre Dame marks contain hallmarks of imperialism? These are the types of questions employed in comparative historical analysis, which will be described in greater detail in the data analysis section of the paper.

Research question 3. Given the successful finding that the marks are rooted in disparaging stereotypes, will one important group of university stakeholders, alumni, react differently to the brand?

The final aspect of this study is to present the findings of research questions 1 and 2 to an important group of Notre Dame stakeholders – alumni. Fryberg et al (2008) suggest that acceptance of stereotypes of a target group may be due to an individual's lack of knowledge about or direct experience with the target group. Based on this presumption, the researcher hopes to 1) provide participants with the findings the first two research questions: any historical or contextual evidence that Irish nationals and Americans were discriminated against both is U.S. history and at Notre Dame, and evidence that the university's marks demonstrate cultural imperialism and 2) ask participants whether these findings impact their perception of the licensing program. Since the goal of the researcher is not simply to ask questions, but also to present evidence, a survey will be employed as the form of data collection for research question 3.

There are several aspects of survey research making it ideal for data collection. Presented in an online format, using Qualtrics, participants would have access to the survey at their convenience, any time or place. Given the location of the target group of

participants – widely spread across the United States, a substantial distance from the location of the researcher, providing an online survey that is convenient and does not require a physical meeting is likely to increase survey response. Furthermore, respondents will be able to review the information presented at their leisure, without experiencing the pressure which may be caused by having a researcher present and having a finite interview period in which to digest information and answer. The anonymous nature of responding online, rather than face-to-face, may also encourage respondents to answer in a more truthful manner than they would if the researcher were present.

While surveys have traditionally been used as a quantitative method to discover numeric trends in a population or sample, (Creswell, 2009) this survey will act as a practical way to collect the rich description characteristic of qualitative research from a distance. In order to promote the gathering of highly descriptive statements from participants, the survey is designed to include several open-ended questions allowing participants to share their thoughts and feelings regarding the information they are presented. Given the electronic nature of the collection process, participant data will be easier to organize and analyze, leading to greater accuracy and validity in final analysis.

The survey, accessed via a secure hyperlink and password provided to qualified participants, commenced with a thorough researcher's statement and informed consent, explaining the purpose of the project, the rights of the participants, and additionally providing the contact information for the principal investigator and the IRB. After obtaining informed consent, respondents were allowed to respond anonymously, or to provide their contact information (name and e-mail) if willing to be contacted for any

further questions or clarification needed. Following the informed consent and classification questions, participants were given specific instructions for the main section of the survey. Specifically, participants were informed that the next ten questions presented information related to athletic team names, mascots and logos. Participants were asked to fully read the information provided and the question, and respond using the free response text box provided. Given the involved nature of the survey, the average time to fully complete the survey was between 30-40 minutes. Text responses were required to progress to each question, in order to cull the rich and thick description characteristic of qualitative case studies and gain further insight into participant thought processes. Finally, at the conclusion of the survey, participants were asked another set of classification questions, thanked for their participation, and provided instructions on how to contact the principal investigator or IRB in view of questions or concerns.

In order to track participants and prevent ballot stuffing – or multiple responses from a single source – the IP address of each respondent was retained. This information was not included in data analysis and was redacted from all final reports. Respondents were offered no incentive of any kind and risk was estimated to be minimal. Participants were informed of this minimal risk during the informed consent process, presented on the first page of survey.

Data Analysis

 Research question 1. In the historical contexts of the United State and the University of Notre Dame, have the Irish ever been considered subaltern – that is to say, an inferior or oppressed ethnicity or nationality?

The method of analysis to answer this question is relatively uncomplicated compared to the methods discussed in the following subsections. Given the lack of research on the University of Notre Dame's marks, it is relatively safe to assume that these marks are not currently in question as imperialistic, offensive, or stereotypical. One explanation for this lack of public outcry and scholarly research may be a lack of historical awareness or knowledge. It would be virtually impossible to conduct this study if the researcher had not proved the underlying premise – that Irish nationals and Irish Americans experienced discrimination based on their ethnicity or national origin in the early history of the United States, and that this discrimination led to negative stereotypes which are further duplicated by Notre Dame's marks. So, to frame the discussion of these marks, it is necessary to demonstrate that there is a basis for studying this topic. This research question may be answered by simply searching for evidence of Irish discrimination in historical texts, scholarly research, images, and any other media. Once this analysis is complete, the researcher can provide a solid foundation for the basis of this study, which proposes that the stereotypes portrayed by Notre Dame's marks are rooted in a historical mistreatment of and discrimination against Irish nationals and Irish Americans in the United States.

Research question 2. Given the history of the University of Notre Dame and the historical treatment of Irish peoples in the United States, is there evidence that this mascot can be interpreted as a form of cultural imperialism?

This research question makes use of the evidence uncovered in the previous research question and progresses to the next level of understanding. Provided there is evidence that Irish nationals and Irish Americans experienced discrimination, either in the

U.S. historical context or at the University of Notre Dame, what can this tell the researcher about the Notre Dame marks? As the review of literature explains, Said (1978) describes cultural imperialism as a discourse that promotes one group, in most cases those of Western European origins, over other groups. Further, imperialism suggests that racial, ethnic, or national origin groups not a part of the dominant group, are somehow inferior or possessing qualities typically considered inferior. Due to the lack of research on this specific case, in order to answer the question of whether these marks can be considered cultural imperialism, it is prudent to compare this case to other cases of marks considered imperialistic in nature. This can be done through a method known as comparative historical analysis, mentioned briefly in the preceding data collection section.

In qualitative analysis, comparative historical research is a method that has been used by scholars Tocqueville, Marx, Weber, and others. Comparative historical analysis, as it has come to be known, is multidisciplinary, and particularly popular in fields such as political science, history, and anthropology (Lange, 2013). According to the mission of the Comparative-Historical Sociology section of the American Sociological Association:

> Historical sociology refers to studies that examine processes over time and that describe and explain social phenomena that have been delimited historically. Comparative-historical sociology is thus interpreted to encompass a wide variety of theoretical positions, methodological styles, and substantive topics. (American Sociological Association, 2013, "Mission," para. 2)

This study employs a comparative historical analysis approach to better describe and explain the social phenomenon of the use of ethnic or racial mascots in U.S. sports.

According to Lange (2013), comparative historical analysis is characterized by analysis of multiple cases and pursuit of understanding of factors surrounding a specific phenomenon. For the purposes of this question, the main case studied was the University of Notre Dame licensing program. In accordance with comparative historical analysis, this single case was compared to other cases of racial, ethnic, or national origin - related mascots, including mascots based on indigenous peoples and anti-desegregation or civil-war era mascots.

As previously noted, case study is a research design, rather than a research methodology (Stake, 1995). Therefore, it is necessary to employ a methodology to help explain the phenomenon studied here and the data that has been collected. The University of Notre Dame represents a unique case, as the single college mascot representing people of Irish ethnicity. As Stake (1995) notes, it may often be necessary to examine other similar cases in order to better understand the phenomenon currently being studied. Not only is Notre Dame unique in terms of its mascot, there is also a paucity in the literature, leaving the University of Notre Dame generally not discussed and untouched as an instance of misappropriated imagery. To that end, a comparative historical analysis methodology helps explain the phenomenon of culturally misappropriated imagery, particularly as it is used to represent U.S. sport mascots and licensing programs.

Research question 3. Given the successful finding that the marks are rooted in disparaging stereotypes, will one important group of university stakeholders, alumni, react differently to the brand?

As Creswell (2009) notes, "data analysis involves collecting open-ended data, based on asking general questions and developing an analysis from the information supplied by participants" (p. 184). Just as the researcher looks for emergent themes (themes repeated across multiple sources, thus validating the theme) in document or audiovisual analysis, the researcher reads and analyzes participant responses seeking emergent themes. While for other research questions, the researcher has expressed propositions about what the data will reveal, this final research question is truly unique and previously untouched in scholarly research. Given the same information and opportunity to respond, are there commonalities in participant responses?

The first step in the process of analyzing participant responses is organizing and preparing the data. This process entails checking data for errors, and organizing it. After reading through all of the data, the researcher begins coding the data. According to Creswell (2009), coding "involves taking text data … gathered during data collection, segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) … and labeling those categories with a term, often a term based in the actual language of the participant (called an in vivo term)" (p. 186). Simply put, coding is the process of searching for themes across participant responses and organizing the data by those themes. Researchers have several options for the coding process. Some researchers choose to develop their own database for coding in programs such as Microsoft Excel, others use specialized coding computer programs such as Atlas or NVivo, and still others code by hand, physically cutting and pasting pieces of paper

from participant responses into specific groupings (codes). For the purposes of this study, the researcher employed Atlas.ti to help code and analyze participant responses.

After the laborious process of coding is completed, the final steps of data analysis are to develop themes and interpret their meaning to the study. As Creswell (2009) notes, different researchers may interpret themes in their data in different ways. Some offer a personal interpretation of the data, while others compare the emergent themes to themes in existing literature or theory. This process, as Creswell (2009) describes, may "suggest that the findings confirm past information or diverge from it. It can also suggest new questions that need to be asked" (p. 189). It is at this point that the researcher will begin the next phase of research, writing a discussion of their findings, which as Creswell says, may prove or disprove the propositions of the researcher, or provide suggestions for future research. Creswell (2009) provides the following diagram explaining the qualitative data analysis process, which the researcher employed in this study.
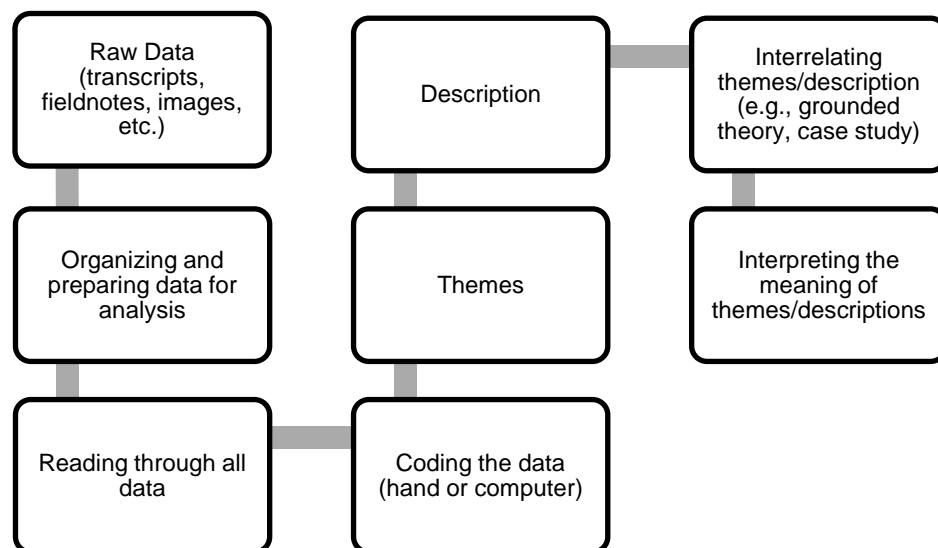
Figure 1. This flow chart depicts the process of data analysis in a qualitative study. (Creswell, 2009).

Role of the Researcher and Limitations

Role of the researcher. Because the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection in qualitative research (Creswell, 2009), it is important to understand the experiences and perceptions of the primary researcher. My perceptions of organizational culture in higher education and college athletics are informed by my experience in education. From July 2007 to present, I have worked in the field of education in various roles from teaching (K-12) to college level administration. At the college level, I have worked in a variety of settings and roles, including the state governing board for colleges and universities, a college of medicine, two different alumni associations, and two student conduct offices. Although these roles often differed greatly in their scope and duties, of value is my exposure to the general organizational culture of higher education, which is germane to this exploration of cultural forms in higher education and college athletics.

As I enter this study, it is my perspective that licensing programs and their marks are significant cultural forms that reflect the values of an organization. When a cultural form is also a form of cultural misappropriation, it is my assumption that the selection of this form reveals certain truths and attitudes prevalent at the institution. In order to change the offending mark, it is necessary first to address the culture and values of the institution.

Limitations. Scholars suggest that researchers exercise caution when employing either triangulation, member checking, or any other measures used in the attempt to assure validity (Patton, 2002; Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, 2013; Cho & Trent, 2006). Even the most-used validity approaches have drawbacks. For example, the purpose of triangulation is not necessarily to discover uniformity in findings; instead, any inconsistencies can provide opportunity for further research and deepen the overall understanding of a phenomenon or process (Patton, 2002; Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, 2013). Member checking also presents challenges. By allowing participants to review their statements, researchers hope to assure the validity of their findings and clear up any possible misunderstandings. However, allowing participants to review their own data may result in a dichotomy in which participants feel uncomfortable in correcting a researcher's interpretations, or in which participants alter their original statements because they feel they are portrayed in a way that is unflattering or negative to the participant (Cho & Trent, 2006).

> *Ethical considerations.* Given the sensitive nature of the topic (ethnic stereotypes) and the closeness of the participants to the case subject (the University of Notre Dame), measures will have to be taken to protect the rights of participants. Creswell (2009) suggests the following steps: 1) providing participants with written research objectives and general plans for data collected, 2) obtaining written consent from participants to engage in the study as you have described, 3) filing all necessary paperwork with the researcher's Institutional Review Board (IRB), 4) providing participants with transcripts and written interpretations when appropriate, which also promotes validity in data (member-

checking) and 5) providing participants anonymity if appropriate or desired by the participant.

Strategies for addressing limitations. There are many strategies for ensuring validity in qualitative research. While quantitative studies often employ statistical models and methods that are widely known and thus easily replicated, qualitative studies must rely on the thorough description of the researcher – both of their methods and procedures and the data and findings. While Creswell and Miller (2000) maintain that the best criteria for assessing validity must be determined by the design of the study itself and any paradigms and ontologies employed, what Cho and Trent (2006) refer to as 'transactional validity' continues to be the most common approach. As described, "validity as a transactional process consists of techniques or methods by which misunderstandings can be adjusted and thus fixed. In most cases informants are engaged in making sure their realities correspond with the interpretation brought forth by the researchers" (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 322).

Member checking, bracketing, and triangulation are several strategies employed in this transactional process of validity. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Hammersly and Atkinson (1995), member checking is the most decisive strategy in ensuring validity – "member checking occurs throughout the inquiry, and is a process in which collected data is 'played back' to the informant to check for perceived accuracy and reactions" (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 322). Triangulation is also another popular technique involving the use of multiple perspectives, theories, methods, or other research aspects in order to confirm or corroborate results (Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, 2013). Creswell (2009) describes this strategy for validity: "If themes are established based on

converging several sources of data or perspectives from participants (triangulation), then

this process can be claimed as adding to the validity of the study" (p. 191). It is the

proposition of the researcher that answering each research question will reveal themes of

cultural imperialism within the Notre Dame marks. Seeing the same themes or evidence

across multiple sources is the essence of triangulation. Put simply, the conclusions of

triangulated research are considered more valid because certain themes have arisen across

multiple data sources and levels of analysis.

For the purpose of ensuring validity in this study, several strategies will be

employed:

1. Keeping a research journal that includes notes and observations at every stage
   of the process

2. Member-checking data by allowing participants to review their survey
   responses before submitting them

3. Creating data triangulation by using several sources of data to help confirm
   the findings of the study and the feelings and perceptions of participants

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

As in the methods section, the findings in this chapter are organized by research

question. While the research questions are related, each had a unique goal and methods,

thus this presentation of the findings for each question. Questions 1 and 2 rely heavily on

the analysis of historical documents, while question 3 is answered by employing a

qualitative survey to better understand the feelings and thoughts of stakeholders at the

site of the phenomenon. As noted in chapter 3, alumni often play a key role in shaping

institutional culture – they are not only potential testimonials of success, but also

continue to participate in organizational culture in a variety of ways – donating both time

and money; participating in expressive events, particularly athletics; and serving as

unofficial ambassadors of the institution. The implications of the findings outlined in this

chapter will receive greater discussion in the final chapter of this study.

Findings

Research question 1. In the historical contexts of the United States and the

University of Notre Dame, have the Irish ever been considered subaltern – that is to say,

an inferior or oppressed ethnicity or nationality?

To answer this question, a variety of documents were analyzed. They included

historical documents or information, for example records or research from sources such

as the Constitutional Rights Foundation or Library of Congress, typically accessed via the internet, as well as some print sources, such as the scholarly work of Noel Ignatiev (1995) in his book *How the Irish Became White*. A consistent theme across documents emerged – early in the history of the United States, Irish nationals and Irish Americans were considered to be a low class, inferior group of people, commonly compared to or grouped with other low class groups, particularly African Americans. This finding was echoed in the documents regarding the early history of the University of Notre Dame. A deeper discussion of the findings of research question 1 is presented below.

According to the Constitutional Rights Foundation (2010): "between 1845 and 1855 more than 1.5 million adults and children left Ireland to seek refuge in America" from the Great Potato Famine (para. 1). Fleeing terrible conditions in their home country, newly emigrated Irish, despite their white skin and Anglo appearance, faced equally challenging circumstances in the United States.

Historian and professor, Noel Ignatiev (1995) wrote of Irish immigrants to the United States:

> When they first began arriving here in large numbers they were … given a shovel and told to start digging up the place as if they owned it. On the rail beds and canals they labored for low wages under dangerous conditions; in the South they were occasionally employed where it did not make sense to risk the life of a slave. As they came to the cities, they were crowded into districts that became centers of crime, vice, and disease. There they commonly found themselves thrown together with free Negroes. Irish- and Afro-Americans fought each other and the police,

socialized and occasionally intermarried, and developed a common culture of the

lowly. (pp. 2-3)

In truth, the life early Irish Americans found in the new world was not all that different from the old world, where they had fled "caste oppression and a system of landlordism that made the material conditions of the Irish peasant comparable to those of an American slave" (Ignatiev, 1995, p. 2). The United States, a nation largely founded by protestant Europeans seeking religious freedom was, during the mid-1800s, essentially a hostile environment for people of the Catholic faith. Irish immigrants were largely Catholic, and many found that the supposedly nondenominational public schools of New York were "highly influenced by the prevailing Protestant ethos. Textbooks reflected a widespread prejudice against Catholics, portraying the Irish immigrants as 'extremely needy, and in many cases drunken and depraved'" (Public Broadcasting Service, 2001, para. 2).

Strangely, the early discrimination against Irish immigrants seems eradicated from the discourse of racial oppression in the United States. Aside from the indigenous nations of the United States, all U.S. citizens can trace their national origins to other countries, leading to a wide variety of ethnicities, races, and nationalities living in close proximity. Early in U.S. history, diversity was defined as a wide variety of citizens with Western European origins. As time passed however, citizens of other origins immigrated or were brought to the country, particularly those with African and Asian origins. Ignatiev (1995) suggests that ethnicities and nationalities that were previously viewed in a negative light by their Western European counterparts, Irish or Italian for example, may have engaged in violence against or oppression of other minority groups, such as Asians or African Americans, in order to gain stature in society (job security, better

neighborhoods, etc.) and acceptance from their White peers. Finally, citizens who may have been highly identified with their country of origin eventually began to assimilate into larger racial categories, such as White, Black, Asian, Hispanic, and more. As Ignatiev (1995) notes, many often oversimplify race to a purely physical definition based on appearance. In either case, despite the fact that people of Irish ethnicity are no longer openly discriminated against in the United States, there is ample evidence that they were not only disliked by other Euro Americans, but actively discriminated against in employment and educational opportunities.

Historically, the Irish Catholic faced discrimination, oppression, and ill-treatment in both Ireland and the United States. Penal Laws in eighteenth century Ireland prevented Irish Catholics from: voting, serving in Parliament, holding any public office, living within the limits of incorporated towns, practicing law, serving in the military or any civil service roles, teaching in public schools, owning or selling arms, and more. Intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants was strongly discouraged, and to do so meant that a Protestant would lose civil rights or their inheritance (Ignatiev, 1995). Arriving in the United States, Irish immigrants, whether Catholic or Protestant, found themselves greeted with similar disdain, "thrown together with black people on jobs and in neighborhoods" (Ignatiev, 1995, p. 47).

Blacks and Irish often competed for labor jobs, and tensions grew when the Conscription Act of 1863 left many poor Irish immigrants feeling unfairly forced to fight in the Civil War. According to the Conscription Act, freed blacks were not required to serve but could volunteer, while all white men between the ages of twenty and forty-five were eligible for the draft. Exemptions and loopholes for upper class and wealthy whites

left Irish immigrants, who were often the poorest whites in a city, the most likely to be drafted for service (Library of Congress, n.d.). Frustrated by their inability to buy their way out of service or pay off a doctor for a medical exemption like many of the richer whites could, many Irish joined other poor whites in the draft riots of 1863 in New York City. An angry mob protesting the Conscription Act would go on to burn down a draft office, and attack police officers, as well as upper class whites and blacks who could avoid the draft, ultimately murdering over 100 people (Library of Congress, n.d.). The Ku Klux Klan, famed for terrorizing African Americans, also targeted Irish Americans as social undesirables (Library of Congress, n.d.).

Although many Irish had lived in mud huts and other rural housing forms in their native Ireland, the conditions they found in the United States were not much better, and most Irish lived in squalor in dirty, overcrowded, and decidedly lower class parts of U.S. cities:

> Irish immigrants often crowded into subdivided homes that were intended for single families, living in tiny, cramped spaces. Cellars, attics and make-do spaces in alleys became home. …. A lack of adequate sewage and running water in these places made cleanliness next to impossible. Disease of all kinds (including cholera, typhus, tuberculosis, and mental illness) resulted from these miserable living conditions. Thus, when the Irish families moved into neighborhoods, other families often moved out fearing the real or imagined dangers of disease, fire hazards, unsanitary conditions and the social problems of violence, alcoholism and crime. (Library of Congress, n.d., para. 4-5)

As a result, the Irish were often characterized as troubled, violent, and ignorant. According to the Library of Congress (n.d.), to this day, Blacks and Irish are viewed as having "similar social pathologies—alcoholism, violence and broken homes" (para. 1). During the early history of the University of Notre Dame, the Irish were viewed no more favorably by key decision-makers at the institution.

Despite proudly bearing the moniker Fighting Irish, the school was actually founded by a sect of French-Catholic priests in 1842 (University of Notre Dame, n.d.). While the university now serves as the home for over 20,000 undergraduate and graduate college students, the early Notre Dame "was a university in name only. It encompassed religious novitiates, preparatory and grade schools and a manual labor school, but its classical collegiate curriculum never attracted more than a dozen students a year in the early decades" (University of Notre Dame, n.d., "Academics," para. 1). Early on, many of the students as well as many of the priests were of Irish descent. Despite this fact, founding priest Reverend Edward Sorin was undoubtedly biased against those of Irish ethnicity, writing in his *Chronicles of Notre Dame du Lac* "that the Irish 'are by nature full of faith, respect, religious inclinations, and sensible and devoted; but a great defect often paralyzes in them all their other good qualities: the lack of stability. They change more readily than any other nation'" (Garvey, 2009, para. 3).

Sorin was so aggrieved by the Irish background of many of his students that he banned the celebration of St. Patrick's Day, including the wearing of green clothing, on Notre Dame's campus (Rotman, 2010; Garvey, 2009; Jenkins, 2007). Students and faculty often defied this ban, to their own detriment as Father Sorin would usually have them expelled (Garvey, 2009). Even after Sorin retired from active presidency and

successor Father Patrick Colovin lifted the ban on St. Patrick's Day celebrations, Father

Sorin, still in a position of high-ranking authority, superior general of the Holy Cross

Order, compelled Fr. Colovin's removal (Jenkins, 2007).

In summation, it is quite clear that the Irish have suffered historical discrimination

both as U.S. citizens, as well as specifically at the institution at the heart of this case

study, the University of Notre Dame. Irish people immigrated to the United States to

leave behind the poor conditions in their home country; only to find themselves equally

discriminated against in their new country. They found themselves living in poor

conditions, with limited employment prospects, and commonly compared to other groups

considered socially undesirable, for example, African Americans. In historical documents

and media, both groups were described as being subject to negative pathologies –

substance abuse and a predilection to violence among them. This historical research was

a necessary foundation for building this study. The second research question, discussed in

greater detail in the following subsection, relies upon historical stereotypes and

caricatures of Irish nationals and Irish Americans to attempt to prove or disprove that the

University of Notre Dame mascot is based on these historical stereotypes and

discriminatory feelings and practices.

Research question 2. Given the history of the University of Notre Dame and the

historical treatment of Irish peoples in the United States, is there evidence that this

mascot can be interpreted as a form of cultural imperialism?

As the findings of research question 1 demonstrate, at least at one time, Irish

nationals and Irish Americans were the subject of derision and discrimination in the

United States and at the University of Notre Dame. In order to further the study and answer this second question, a similar method of document analysis was completed – searching historical writings as well as contemporary research on the origins of the University of Notre Dame marks. Additionally, visual imagery analysis was included. To answer this research question, it is important to understand how Irish stereotypes were presented in popular media, for example political cartoons and minstrel shows, and compare these images with the current Notre Dame marks and search for differences or commonalities. Ultimately this method attempts to answer the question – are Notre Dame's marks consistent with stereotypical images of Irish people which are commonly accepted to be culturally insensitive and inaccurate?

The preceding subsection discusses the tumultuous history of Irish immigration and assimilation in the United States. It is into this context that the mascot of the University of Notre Dame is born. Given this history of the institution, particularly the anti-Irish sentiments and policies of founding president Edward Sorin, it is interesting that in 1927, then president of Notre Dame, Reverend Matthew Walsh, officially accepted Fighting Irish as the nickname for the school's athletic teams. According to the University, no one knows exactly how the nickname originated, but:

> The most generally accepted explanation is that the press coined the nickname as a characterization of Notre Dame athletic teams, their never-say-die fighting spirit and the Irish qualities of grit, determination and tenacity. The term likely began as an abusive expression tauntingly directed toward the athletes from the small, private, Catholic institution. (Fighting Irish Athletics, n.d., para. 5)

Previous to the creation of an official mascot to accompany the team nickname, an exchange written by Francis Wallace and captured in Murray Sperber's *Shake Down the Thunder* (1993), exemplifies the pervasive negative feelings toward Irish Americans still present in the early twentieth century:

> O'Reilly, why doesn't Notre Dame have a mascot? 'Just never got around to it…' 'Well – Yale has a bulldog, Princeton a tiger, we [USC] have a horse – why don't you try a pig? I should think Paddy's pig would be a good symbol for the Irish. Then there's the old rhyme: they kept the pig in the parlor, and that was Irish too'. (p. 79)

While the school once used Irish terriers as mascots, today the Fighting Irish takes the human form of a leprechaun, a student "chosen annually at tryouts, dressed in a cutaway green suit and Irish country hat … brandish[ing] a shillelagh and aggressively [sic] lead[ing] cheers and interact[ing] with the crowd, supposedly bringing magical powers and good luck to the Notre Dame team" and the cartoon form of a logo which depicts a leprechaun figure "with his dukes up, ready to battle anyone that comes his way" (Fighting Irish Athletics, n.d., para. 1-2). This lively caricature of an Irish leprechaun helped Notre Dame earn profits making it the third top-selling college brand in 2012-2013 (Collegiate Licensing Company, 2013). These characterizations are not as innocent as one might assume them to be, however. According to Ignatiev (1995), depictions of the Irish in early U.S. history were similar to the romanticized and disparaging portrayals of negroes, indigenous peoples, and others: "Along with Jim Crow and Jim Dandy, the drunken, belligerent, and foolish Pat and Bridget were stock characters on the early stage" (p. 3).

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According to Curtis (1971), in caricature the Irish American was continually linked to another race that faced great oppression, Blacks or African Americans. Both groups were characterized as savages, both violent and uneducated. As shown in Figure 1, political cartoons often depicted the Irish as ape-like, strikingly similar to the way African Americans were depicted. The cartoon by Thomas Nast, originally published in 1867, depicts a large crowd of Irish Americans as apes violently attacking police, with the words rum and blood engraved in the bottom corners. Again, as noted by the Library of Congress (n.d.), stereotypes of the Irish include drunkenness and a propensity for violence.

Figure 2. St. Patricks Day 1867. In this political cartoon by famed American cartoonist Thomas Nast, Irish immigrants involved in a riot are depicted as apes, a

common form of dehumanization applied to both Irish and African Americans. (Nast, 1867).

While Irish Americans eventually assimilated into the larger category of the White race as discussed earlier, at one time, they were considered equal to African Americans and both groups were subject to unflattering stereotypes and ridicule. This sentiment is captured again by famous cartoonist Thomas Nast, in his cartoon *The Ignorant Vote– Honors Are Easy* (1876), depicted in figure 2, below. This cartoon, which served as the cover of the December 09 issue of Harper's Weekly, depicts a balanced scale, one side holding a newly-freed slave in the South, the other holding an Irish immigrant in the North, each balancing the votes of the other.
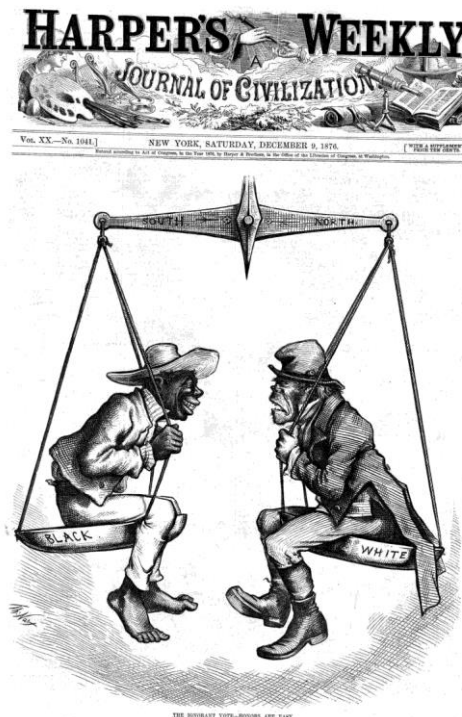
Figure 3. The ignorant vote: the honors are easy. In another cartoon by Nast, the Irish and African American are again subject to derision. Nast suggests the 'ignorant vote' by

African Americans in the south is balanced by the 'ignorant vote' by Irish Americans in the north (Nast, 1876).

In many of the cartoons mocking the Irish, characters are depicted wearing cutaway suits and Irish country hats (see Figure 3), just as the Notre Dame mascot (see Figure 4) does. Much like African Americans, the Irish were characterized as superstitious, simple-minded, and prone to violence and alcohol and/or drug abuse. Minstrel shows, which mocked various races and ethnicities, characterized the Irishman as "a heavy-drinking brawler with a brogue accent" (Wood, 2004, para. 1). This is echoed in the lore surrounding the Notre Dame nickname and mascot: "histories claim that halfback Pete Vaughan, during halftime of the 1909 struggle with Michigan, looked around at his mainly Irish American teammates and spit out, 'What's the matter with you guys. You're all Irish and you're not fighting!'" (Sperber, 1993, p. 80)

Figures 4 & 5. Pat Rooney Sr., a vintage vaudeville Irishman &Notre Dame leprechaun. In Figure 4, you see a typical vaudeville "Paddy," a standard character in vaudeville shows, portraying the Irish as drunk, bumbling, and often violent. In Figure 5, Today's Notre Dame mascot uniform clearly draws upon the stereotypes set forth by early vaudeville characters – the morning hat, the cutaway jacket, and facial hair (Snyder, 2000 & Buckowski, 2015).

In 1897, a popular New York comic, *The Yellow Kid,* featured a series showing yellow kid traveling the world. The scene (see Figure 5) depicting Ireland "show[ed] readers plenty of green frocks, a snake strangling a man, and large crowd fighting in the background" (Wood, 2004, para. 3). Given the context of historical caricatures of the

Irish, it is fairly easy to see how the Notre Dame Fighting Irish leprechaun is a representation of many of the negative stereotypes attributed to the Irish – brawling, wielding a shillelagh (a traditional Irish weapon in the form of a club), and invoking magic or luck. In fact, "during the first decades of N.D. football history … the Midwestern press usually called the team," such derogatory terms as "papists, horrible Hibernians, dumb micks, and dirty Irish" (Sperber, 1993, p. 80).

Figure 6. Around the world with yellow kid. The Yellow Kid, a popular cartoon character in the New York Journal, is shown visiting Ireland. Several stereotypes of Irish people are displayed in the cartoon, including a large brawl, a drunken man being strangled by a large snake (according to Irish legend, St. Patrick is thought to have driven

all the snakes out of Ireland), and men wearing green vests and country hats, again, much like the current Notre Dame mascot (Outcault, 1897).

Research question 3. Given the successful finding that the marks are rooted in disparaging stereotypes, will one important group of university stakeholders, alumni, react differently to the brand?

After a thorough reading of the data, the qualitative data analysis program Atlas.ti was used to aid in the coding process. Rather than use pre-existing codes based on themes in the review of literature, the researcher coded participant responses with emergent themes. Approximately 20 emergent codes were used in the first analysis of the data, however, this number was culled to 15 final codes, based on the fact that approximately 5 codes were either redundant or very similar to existing codes, or they were insignificant in that they had a low frequency (used only once in analysis). As the table provided shows, these 15 codes were then organized into three larger categories or themes.

Table 1

Emergent themes and codes

	Theme 1: Establishing legitimacy	Theme 2: Dismissing complaints	Theme 3: Re-appropriation of negative stereotypes
Codes with frequencies			
	Target group is not offended (21)	Awareness of history doesn't change perception (26)	Name reflects positive characteristics (41)
	Collaboration with target group (13)	Just sports / not significant culturally (20)	Name/mascot/logo takes negative stereotypes and makes them positive (19)

Passage of time establishes legitimacy (10)	Belief that mascot portrays mythical creature (17)	A name is only offensive if proven to be based on pejorative stereotypes (16)
Target group is majority of students (9)	People are too sensitive / politically correct (11)	
Member of target group as founder (3)	Native Americans complain about mascots (8)	
Everyone faces discrimination (2)	Target group should justify change (2)	

As noted in table 1, codes were organized to represent the three major themes present in the data collected – establishing legitimacy of a licensing program, dismissing possible complaints, and the re-appropriation of negative stereotypes. Although the sample was relatively small, with only 20 respondents, the sample demonstrated characteristics largely representative of the diversity of the general U.S. population, as seen in table 2 and figures 7 and 8. In qualitative case studies, it can be important to achieve saturation. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), the concept of saturation refers to the point a study reaches when the collection of new data via additional respondents would not add any new information or further explain the phenomenon being studied. Across a diverse set of 20 participants, essentially every response replicated the same views, allowing for the high frequency of the various codes seen in the methods chapter.
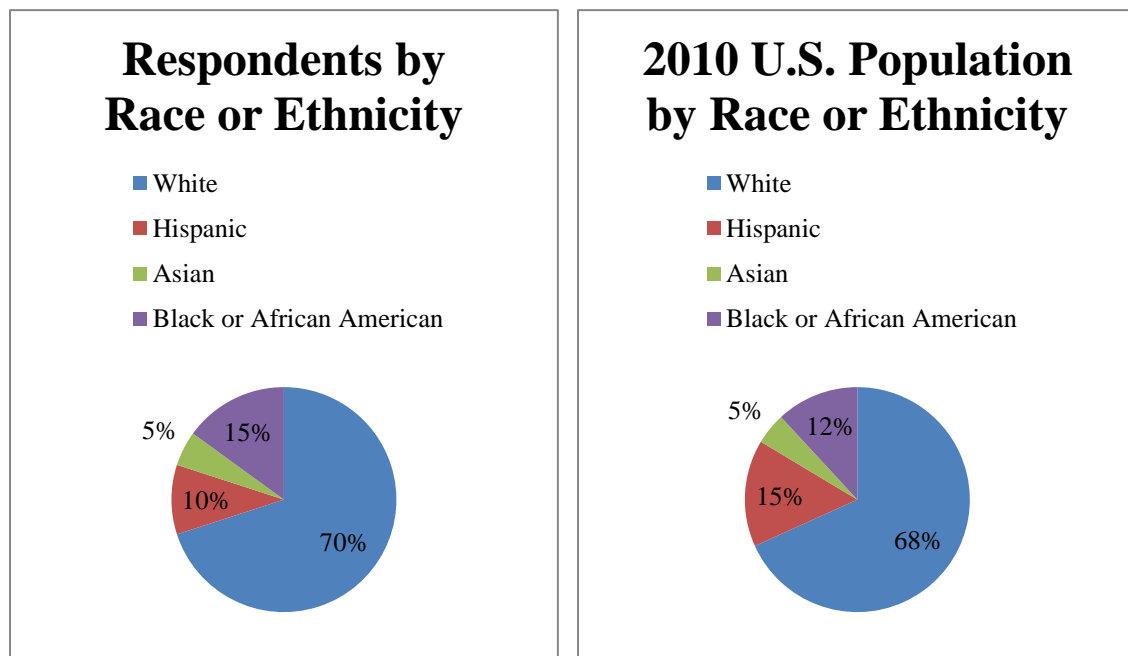
Table 2

Participant characteristics

Race or ethnicity	Gender	Age	Alumni type	Irish American
White – 70%	Female – 68%	18-44 – 80%	Undergraduate – 85%	No – 70%
Hispanic – 10%	Male – 32%	45-64 – 15%	Graduate or Law – 15%	Yes – 30%
Asian – 5%		65 and older – 5%		
Black or African American – 15%				

Figures 7 and 8. Respondent characteristics by race & 2010 U.S. population by race. The following graphics demonstrate the way in which the study sample was largely representative of racial demographics in the U.S. population according to the results from the 2010 U.S. Census.

Given the overwhelmingly similar responses of this diverse group of participants, the researcher has no reason to believe that collecting further responses within the target population (alumni) would elicit any new information or differing responses. Participants unanimously indicated that they did not find the University of Notre Dame licensing program to be disparaging to Irish nationals or Irish Americans, and further indicated that any historical information presented in the survey regarding the treatment of Irish nationals and Irish Americans in U.S. history did not change their neutral or positive views of the University of Notre Dame licensing program.

Three key themes emerged during data analysis of participant responses. These themes were consistent with themes in the literature, and provide an excellent framework for understanding participant perceptions regarding the controversial issue of licensing programs making use of racial or ethnic imagery. The 15 codes used were classified under one of three larger themes prevalent in the analysis of the study results: establishing legitimacy for a licensing program's use of controversial imagery, dismissing any possible concerns about the use of such imagery, and finally the re-appropriation of negative stereotypes to create positive imagery. In addition to these three themes, participants were asked to establish their feelings regarding other controversial licensing programs. The following subsections will provide a more thorough review of the three themes and other results of the survey.

Participant views on other controversial licensing programs. As noted throughout the study, there is a wealth of research on other types of controversial licensing programs, particularly those making use of Civil War imagery or imagery depicting indigenous people of the United States. Given the popularity of the discussion

on athletic programs making use of imagery depicting indigenous people, the researcher sought to gauge participant feeling on this issue, in order to better fully understand participant ideas and feelings regarding similar types of licensing programs. When asked whether they believed the NFL Washington Redskins team should change their name due to recent controversy calling for its removal, 55% of respondents selected yes. Whether responding yes or no, participants were asked to explain their reason for selecting an answer. This question was an important litmus test in establishing the feelings and perceptions that would dominate the later responses to questions regarding the Notre Dame mascot. The text responses to this question outlined a set of criteria by which participants decided whether or not a licensing program was offensive and their responses remained consistent to these basic rules throughout the survey.

In the case of those who felt the name should be changed, two strong themes emerged, which are reflected in the codes detailed in chapter 3: 1) indigenous people of the United States (referred to as Native American by participants) have voiced their complaints about the mascot and 2) A name is only offensive if proven to be based on pejorative stereotypes. In subsequent questions, participants would refer to this same logic to explain why a licensing program, particularly the University of Notre Dame's, was acceptable and not based on cultural misappropriation. Similarly, those who felt the name should not be changed would offer a set of rules they would later apply to analyzing the University of Notre Dame's licensing program. The reasons participants gave justifying the Washington Redskins mascot fell into eight categories: 1) a member of the target group was a founder of the organization in question, 2) the licensing program was acceptable if they collaborated with members of the target group to design

it, 3) the passage of time or longevity of a licensing program established the legitimacy of the program, 4) the target group should have to justify any change to the program or explain why the program is offensive, 5) the licensing program reflects positive characteristics and/or honors the target group, 6) this discussion is just sports related and not culturally significant, 7) the target group is not offended to the awareness of the respondent, 8) people are being too sensitive about this and other issues and/or are being too politically correct.

When asked later in the survey whether they felt that controversial licensing programs, particularly those making use of imagery depicting indigenous people, differed from the University of Notre Dame's use of Irish imagery, 60% indicated that they felt that the two issues were not related. When asked to explain why, participant responses again made use of the same reasons described earlier: 1) a member of the target group was a founder of the organization in question, 2) the licensing program was acceptable if they collaborated with members of the target group to design it, 3) the target group is not offended to the awareness of the respondent, 4) indigenous people (referred to as Native American by participants) have voiced their complaints about the mascot (unlike Irish nationals or Irish Americans), 5) A name is only offensive if proven to be based on pejorative stereotypes, 6) the licensing program reflects positive characteristics and/or honors the target group, 7) people are being too sensitive about this and other issues and/or are being too politically correct, 8) this discussion is just sports related and not culturally significant. Further, two other codes emerged: 1) the majority of the student body were members of the target group, and 2) the intention of the licensing program was to re-appropriate negative stereotypes of the target group and turn them into positive

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stereotypes. The theme of re-appropriation would play a significant role in explaining participant thoughts and feelings regarding the University of Notre Dame mascot – which were overwhelmingly positive.

Theme 1: Establishing legitimacy. The most prevalent code in this theme was the persistent statement by participants that if the target group was not offended, any complaints about the imagery in use were essentially invalidated. Whether discussing the currently popular national issue of the Washington Redskins licensing program or the subject of this case study – Notre Dame, participants felt that unless targeted groups were known to be complaining about the imagery, that the imagery was acceptable to use. When asked whether cases such as the Washington Redskins and the Florida State Seminoles differed, one respondent replied yes and further explained: "my only reason for selecting this is because I have never heard an Irish person complain about the logo. I have heard Native Americans complain about the other logos." This statement can be interpreted as both an establishment of legitimacy (no one is complaining) and as defense against potential critics (other people complain, but we don't have that problem). Another respondent defensively replies "I don't think the logo or name offend those in Ireland. Keep in mind that ND and Navy played their 2012 game in Dublin Ireland to a sell out (sic) crowd."

Other claims to establish legitimacy included the passage of time. This code included two sub-themes – 1) the longer a licensing program has been around without perceived complaint, the more legitimate it is, and 2) the passage of time from historical events removes negative connotations previously associated with certain imagery. This code was particularly salient when participants were asked to view the side-by-side

images of a standard Paddy vaudeville character and the modern Notre Dame mascot, both dressed remarkably alike and displaying similar behaviors. Although 35% of the respondents found the images to be similar, only one of those respondents indicated that the images changed their perception of the University of Notre Dame licensing program. Participants overwhelmingly expressed that they felt times had changed and that the imagery and stereotypes surrounding Irish nationals and Irish Americans are now largely embraced as positive. Another example of a defensive response, one respondent replies "I think people tend to look for issues nowadays instead of accepting history for history."

Other justifications for legitimacy included: the collaboration of the target group in defining the licensing program, the belief that the student body or members of the organization either were or currently are composed largely of members of the target group, or the belief that a founder of the organization was a member the target group. These justifications were offered in reference to not only the University of Notre Dame, but also other cases of programs using racial or ethnic imagery, for example, the Washington Redskins. As one participant notes, "From what little I read on the topic, I understand that one of the original founders of the team was at least partially Native American." Regarding the University of Notre Dame, another participant expresses, "I attended ND with plenty of Irish Catholic Americans and not once heard any complaints, though. I believe they liked it."

Other participants mentioned the collaboration of target groups with organizations, citing specifically the Florida State University relationship with the Seminole Tribe of Florida, as well as Notre Dame outreach programs including hosting football games in Ireland. A less frequently occurring, but notable code, is the

legitimizing of the use of such imagery by claiming that everyone faces discrimination. In two occurrences, participants cited this as a legitimizing factor for the use of racial or ethnic imagery. In one case, a respondent replies that the Irish were only discriminated against for their largely Catholic ties, just as other Catholic groups were: "Irish Americans were for the most part Catholic, which is a significant part of the discrimination Irish Americans experienced - German and Italian Catholics were also discriminated against, just like the Irish." This seems to correlate strongly with codes expressed in the second theme – dismissing complaints regarding racial or ethnic imagery.

Theme 2: Dismissing complaints. A substantial portion of participant responses centered on dismissing or invalidating any possible complaints that the imagery of a licensing program might be pejorative in nature. The most prevalent code in this theme (as well as in the data overall) was the idea that awareness of historical injustices did not change participant perception regarding licensing programs. As mentioned in the previous section, there are several reasons for this, mainly participants believing that the passage of time removes negative connotations previously associated with certain imagery. When presented with the question of whether historical evidence of discrimination against Irish nationals and Irish Americans influenced perception of the Fighting Irish licensing program, one respondent flatly replied "no - that's history." The same respondent later replied to another question, "again, this is history and I don't associate it with our mascot." These replies indicate both defensiveness and dismissing of potential critique.

Another strong explanation offered for dismissing complaints, as seen in the fourth most-used code: sport licensing programs are not a significant cultural issue worthy of complaint. This response applied both to the discussion of the University of Notre Dame licensing program, as well as the discussion of other potentially controversial programs. When asked whether the Washington Redskins mascot should be changed due to recent controversy, one respondent replied "football is just a sport, and mascots are part of the fun." This response corresponds with a substantial portion of the public feedback on the Washington Redskins, as discussed in chapter one. To this same question, another participant replied "It's just a cartoonish character which is looked upon fondly by fans. I would be interested in hearing from someone of Native American ancestry about why it's offensive and could be persuaded."

While some participants justify the use of this licensing program by dismissing the importance of sport in culture, further participants offer myriad other suggestions: the suggestion that the University of Notre Dame licensing program is not based on the ethnic group of Irish but rather on the mythical creature the leprechaun; the general sentiment that society is consumed with being politically correct and many people are overly sensitive and prone to complaints; and the feeling that members of the target group should explain why they might be offended or justify any possible changes to existing imagery, which is echoed in the quote provided in the preceding paragraph. Despite the name clearly identifying an ethnic group, one respondent replies, "I do not find the mascot offensive since the Leprechaun is a fictitious character based in Irish folklore." Throughout the data, respondents consistently react defensively and dismissively saying things like, "this is not a serious political or social issue," and "political correctness often

goes overboard." The goal here is clear – to defend a favored brand by attacking its detractors as baseless and silly in their critiques.

    Theme 3: Re-appropriation of negative stereotypes. While participants often sought to condemn programs they knew to be based on pejorative stereotypes – "the term 'redskin' is not referring to the name of a people or nationality. 'Redskin' was used as a pejorative to reference Native Americans. I would be equally offended if Mexicans were called the 'brownskins' or Asians as 'yellowskins,'" – they repeatedly dismissed any evidence that the Notre Dame licensing program was also based on similar stereotypes. The most prevalent code, occurring 41 times in analysis, was "name reflects positive characteristics." Participants echo this sentiment throughout the data, noting that the term fighting does not denote a propensity for violence, rather athletic prowess on the field or even resilience in the face of prejudice and overwhelming odds. Like those who embrace imagery depicting indigenous people in licensing programs, they claim that the name brings honor to the target group, and specifically cite a lack of complaints from the target group as legitimizing the mascot.

    When asked to compare the University of Notre Dame and other teams such as the Washington Redskins, one respondent claims "I think it's similar because it was adopted because of the negative names. The team was insulted but took back (i.e. made a positive out of the negative connotation) the slurs." While positive traits and honor may be in the eye of the beholder, participants presented another unique idea – the concept that the licensing program and the imagery it employs were actually a re-appropriation of

negative cultural stereotypes that mocked a target group and reforming them into a statement against prejudice and stereotypes. As one participant claims:

> the Fighting Irish mascot/mark is a point of pride adopted as a brash 'f*&# you' to society by a school largely composed of Irish-American immigrants or their offsprings (sic) and descendants. That mark has never been used to exclude and, in fact, has been used to spread Notre Dame's mission across the world.

Possible evidence to legitimize this claim is offered in the form of citing outreach programs and initiatives by the University of Notre Dame to connect with Irish nationals and Irish Americans. As one respondent claims, "the University has done great work in partnering with Irish history, culture, and current events. They have not ignored the needs/desires of the Irish community -- in the US or Ireland." While participants offered no specific examples of outreach, other than hosting football games in Ireland, this was repeatedly used as evidence to dispute any claims of cultural misappropriation.

Summary of Findings

Prior to presenting any historical evidence of cultural misappropriation at the University of Notre Dame, respondents were presented with the NCAA policy on hostile and offensive mascots, as presented in the review of literature. After being given the following explanation: "In 2005, the NCAA adopted a policy prohibiting 'NCAA colleges and universities from displaying hostile and abusive racial/ethnic/national origin mascots, nicknames, or imagery at any of the 88 NCAA championships,'" (NCAA, 2005) respondents were asked whether they believed any NCAA colleges and universities might be in violation of this policy. Only a single respondent selected yes, and their

response, which named Florida State and Notre Dame as possible offenders, indicated that the ultimate test of determining a violation would be whether or not the target group had indicated they were offended by the licensing program.

When presented with historical information about the historic discrimination against Irish nationals and Irish Americans, both in the United States and at the University of Notre Dame, 90% of participants indicated that this historical information did not change their perspective on the licensing program and that they did not believe that the licensing program at the University of Notre Dame could be considered offensive. Following the trends discussed earlier, reflected in the codes, participants felt overwhelmingly that the licensing program displayed traits that could be considered positive (fighting as persistence above the odds) and honored the target group by commending them for rising above their struggles. Again, the theme of re-appropriation emerged, with one respondent comparing the Notre Dame Fighting Irish with the popular rap group Niggers With Attitude (NWA). According to the participant, just as the African American members of NWA embraced negative stereotypes and pejorative nicknames in an attempt to express their disdain for those who denigrated them and demonstrate the positive attributes and ambitions of their target group, so to, the Irish Catholic students of Notre Dame adopted the Fighting Irish moniker and symbols as a rallying cry against Irish discrimination.

Significantly, participants were asked a set of questions to better understand their reaction to the information presented in the survey. At the beginning of the survey, participants were asked to rate their current view of the University of Notre Dame brand, with the options of: favorable, neutral, and unfavorable. 85% of respondents indicated a

favorable perception, while only 15% indicated a neutral perception, with zero

unfavorable responses. At the conclusion of the survey, respondents were asked to

answer the same question, given the information they had been presented in the survey.

Half of the participants indicated that their perception had changed from favorable to

neutral, while 10% indicated an even greater change, from favorable to less favorable.

15% of respondents remained neutral, and interestingly, a quarter of participants

responded that the survey had caused them to develop a more favorable view of the

University of Notre Dame brand than previously held, as seen in figure 9.

Changes in participant brand perception
At the beginning of the survey, participants were asked to indicate
their current view of the University of Notre Dame brand, given
options of not favorable, neutral, and favorable. At the end of the
survey, particip

- Remained neutral
- Favorable to less favorable
- Favorable to more favorable
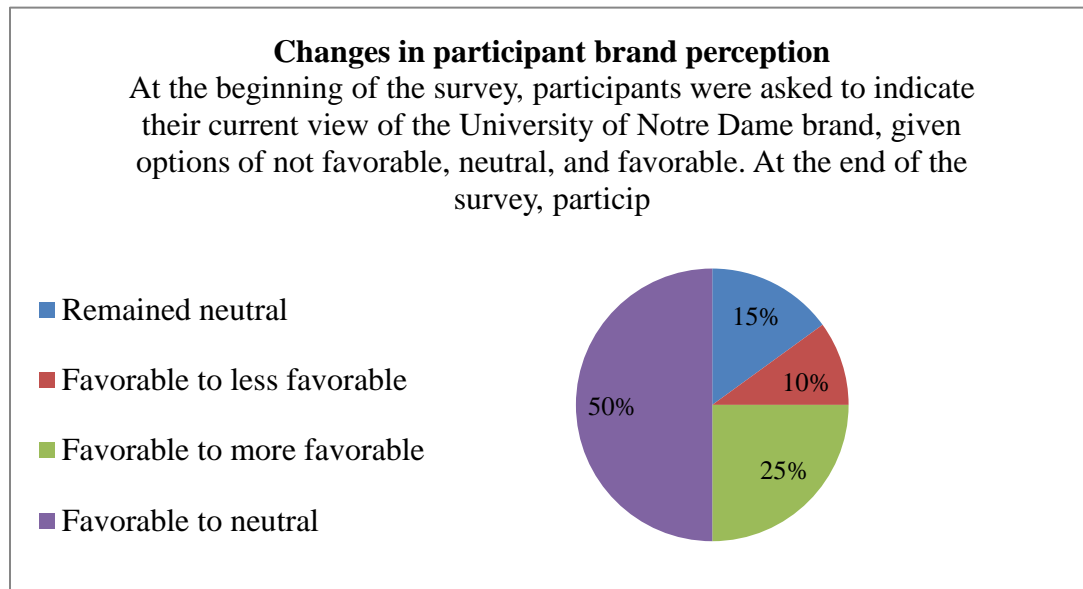- Favorable to neutral

15%
10%
25%
50%

Figure 9. Changes in participant brand perception. The following chart depicts any

change in the participant perception of the Notre Dame brand after being presented the

information in the survey.

Despite a clear shift in attitudes, only two respondents indicated that they would share the

information presented in the survey with others, while 90% stated that they would make

no changes to their behavior regarding the University of Notre Dame brand.

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Significantly, all 20 participants in the study were almost unanimously positive in their views of the University of Notre Dame licensing program. While they felt that other cases of racial or ethnic mascots might indeed be pejorative and in need of reform, they did not believe that the University of Notre Dame program was rooted in pejorative stereotypes and was essentially adopted as a way of promoting the positive attributes of Irish nationals or Irish Americans. The sentiments of participants formed three main themes: 1) establishing the legitimacy of a licensing program, 2) dismissing any possible complaints about a licensing program, and 3) discussing the re-appropriation of negative stereotypes for positive purposes. In the conclusion and discussion chapter of this study, a more in-depth exploration of these themes and possible explanations for participant responses will be explored in addition to proposing possible implications and future directions for research.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH, AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

As noted in previous chapters, this study was driven by three basic research

questions. Questions 1 and 2 focused primarily on historical research. As the researcher

discovered, there is ample evidence that Irish nationals and Irish Americans have been

considered subaltern, both in the historical context of the United States as well as the

University of Notre Dame. Once the researcher was able to establish the answer to this

initial research question, question 2 asked whether or not the University of Notre Dame

licensing program might be an example of cultural imperialism. Using comparative

historical analysis, the researcher was able to demonstrate, as explained in the preceding

chapter, that like other licensing programs that misappropriate culture, many of the

features of the University of Notre Dame's program were rooted in stereotypes that were

offensive and disparaging to the target group – Irish nationals and Irish Americans.

The researcher's final question and goal was to then determine how the

perceptions an important group of institutional stakeholders, in this case – alumni, would

be affected by the findings of research questions 1 and 2. By constructing an electronic

survey that would not only present the participants with the findings of research questions

1 and 2 but also ask how that information impacted alumni perception of the licensing

program, the researcher was able to gain valuable insight into alumni perceptions of

licensing programs that appropriate racial or ethnic imagery. While participants seemed to express that some licensing programs that appropriate racial or ethnic imagery, for example imagery depicting indigenous people, were pejorative in nature and should be under scrutiny, the participants unanimously felt that the University of Notre Dame licensing program was not pejorative in nature, and instead demonstrated positive traits of the target group, including resilience and ambition. The following section will provide a discussion of the results of this study, including possible explanations for the outcome based on the review of literature.

Discussion

Given the strong relationship of the participants to the institution in question, a salient theme in the data was defending, or establishing the legitimacy of the licensing program. This tendency can be linked to the concepts of basking in reflected glory (BIRGing) and blasting in sport sociology. Cialdini et al (1976) described the phenomenon of BIRGing after conducting research at three large institutions, including the University of Notre Dame, as the tendency of fans, specifically students, "to publicly [announce] one's association with successful others … even though the person striving to bask in the glory of a successful source was not involved in the cause of the source's success" (p. 366). According to social identity theory, students tend to personally identify with their institution and its teams, BIRGing especially when the institution or its teams experience a high degree of success (Cialdini et al, 1976). Cialdini and Richardson (1980) further explored the social identity of fans with teams describing the phenomenon of blasting, particularly relevant to this study. Blasting can be described as the tendency

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of fans to deflect negative criticism of one's institution or team by attacking or blasting the perceived detractors (Cialdini & Richardson, 1980).

In this case study BIRGing and blasting offer useful frameworks for understanding participant response to the study. As the results previously shown in figure 9 (pg. 93) indicate, a quarter of respondents selected that they had a more favorable view of Notre Dame after they were presented with research indicating that the university's licensing program is rooted in pejorative stereotypes of Irish nationals and Irish Americans. This defensive response is indicative of both BIRGing and blasting. During analysis of participant response it was imminently clear that as a group, alumni have a high degree of social identification with their institution and its teams.

Blasting was also particularly noticeable among the codes and themes presented in table 1. When presented with information that the licensing program might be cultural misappropriation, respondents replied combatively, dismissing complaints saying that sport issues are not culturally significant, people are too sensitive or politically correct, and that only Native Americans complain about mascots. This defensive, blasting undertone was present across a majority of responses, and may further be indicated in the large number of groups unwilling to participate in the research, for example, alumni clubs.

One frequent example of blasting fell under the theme of dismissing complaints – the code just sports / not culturally significant. As discussed in the review of literature, sport plays a significant role in the culture of the United States (Clotfelter, 2011; Taylor, 2013; Toma, 2003). The dismissal of any possible concern by saying sport is insignificant

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seems to indicate either a lack of awareness on the part of respondents, or a willful attempt to silence any would-be detractors of a beloved brand by mocking them for complaining about an issue of supposed little significance. Despite this prevalent code in the data, 90% of respondents indicate that one of their main forms of supporting the University of Notre Dame brand is attending athletic events, which would suggest that sport is significant to them beyond being a fun pastime.

Significantly, while participants suggested that if a substantial portion of the target group was offended by the imagery it should be changed, some participants seem to suggest that complaints are due to a recent movement of political correctness in the United States. Of the Washington Redskins, one participant bemoans, "the team has had that name for many years. Why is it all of a sudden offensive?" As the review of literature demonstrates however, complaints regarding the Redskins' licensing program span back for many decades (Steinberg, 2014). Participant response to this survey may provide unique insight into just how complaints go unnoticed for many years. Claims of offense are often dismissed by the stakeholders of an organization or seemingly invalidated by claiming the collaboration of the target group, using the passage of time to establish legitimacy, or even discrediting detractors as whiny and complaining. This begs the question, are participant claims that the target group is not offended truly valid?

Perhaps the most unique finding of the study, many respondents believed that the University of Notre Dame licensing program demonstrated an example of re-appropriation of negative stereotypes. Re-appropriating or re-claiming pejorative slurs and terms is not a new concept (Nunn, 2015). Tony Thorne, an expert on jargon and

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slang at Kings College of London, discussed the concept of re-appropriation in a 2015 article in the periodical The Guardian:

> Re-appropriation of ethnic and sexual slurs starts as an act of bravado by a few of the oppressed, then may become an empowering mechanism for a much wider community. It's pleasingly ironic that those discriminated against have learned the Orwellian trick employed by the state and the establishment of hijacking everyday language (as in 'doublespeak') for their own nefarious purposes. Alternative discourse ousts and replaces the discourses of power. (Nunn, 2015, para. 6).

Popular historical examples of re-appropriation include terms like suffragette, tory, and whig, while recently much more abrasive terms such as bitch, cunt, or even the racially charged nigger (as mentioned by a participant) have all experienced a reclamation of sorts by the groups they were originally intended to demean (Nunn, 2015). Galinsky, Hugenberg, Groom, and Bodenhausen (2003) note: "some individuals and indeed, some groups have recognized, however, that the connotative evaluative meanings of words and labels are labile and open to negotiation and further that this renegotiation is a means of improving group status" (p. 251).

As Galinsky et al (2003) note, in order for re-appropriation to be valid, negative words and labels must be reclaimed by members of the target group. As this relates to the University of Notre Dame, a substantial majority of the student body would need to be Irish American or Irish nationals in order for the University of Notre Dame licensing program to be considered an example of re-appropriation. Although respondents offer

anecdotal evidence that this is true, there is no real research which can prove the veracity of their claims. According to the University of Notre Dame, the 2014 freshman class was 25% ethnic minorities (University of Notre Dame, 2015). Irish American and Irish nationals are not classified as ethnic minorities according to the U.S. Census Bureau, but rather as members of the larger racial class – White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Further research into the percentage of Irish American and Irish national students at the University of Notre Dame both historically and recently would be needed to increase the veracity of claims of re-appropriation.

While the focus of this discussion has been largely the results of the qualitative survey, research question 2 asks: given the history of the University of Notre Dame and the historical treatment of Irish peoples in the United States, is there evidence that this mascot can be interpreted as a form of cultural imperialism? The results of historical research and comparative historical research clearly demonstrate that the University of Notre Dame's licensing program clearly makes use of imagery that was, at least at one time, rooted in pejorative stereotypes. Despite the 2005 NCAA policy which states: "NCAA colleges and universities [are banned] from displaying hostile and abusive racial/ethnic/national origin mascots, nicknames, or imagery at any of the 88 NCAA championships" (NCAA, 2005) the NCAA has clearly ignored the Fighting Irish licensing program, which does in fact, display a national origin mascot.

As noted in the review of literature, the association requested that over 30 member colleges and universities, identified by the NCAA "submit self-evaluations to the NCAA National Office to determine the extent, if any, of the use of Native American imagery or references on their campuses" (NCAA, 2005, para. 15). Notably, schools

displaying imagery related to the Civil War or to other racial/ethnic/national origins, were ignored. If the policy was not created for face value only, the University of Notre Dame and any other school using a licensing program that depicts a race, ethnicity, or national origin, should be asked to submit the same self-evaluations that schools such as the University of North Dakota, Florida State University, and the University of Illinois were asked to submit. The uneven application of this policy certainly casts doubt upon the NCAA's motivation for enacting it to begin with.

As quoted in the review of literature, writer and former professor of Native American Studies, Michael Dorris says, "people of proclaimed good will have the oddest ways of honoring American Indians" (p. 3). Dorris' observation refers to the phenomenon of acceptance of cultural misappropriation by those outside the target group. When confronted with possible evidence that popular imagery may be denigrating and based in racial oppression of a group, Dorris believes that those who are not members of the target group will justify the use of stereotypes by proclaiming that they actually honor the target group and depict them in a positive light. Such is one possible explanation for the responses of University of Notre Dame alumni to questions regarding the licensing program of the institution.

Morris & Spivak (2010) argue that the subaltern cannot be properly heard in society while remaining excluded from the discourse. Perhaps this idea of re-appropriation of negative cultural stereotypes could be true of Irish Americans, given that while they were once strongly discriminated against and lumped in with other minority races and ethnicities, they assimilated and became members of the dominant race in the United States – White (Ignatiev, 1995). No longer facing exclusion or discrimination,

members of this target group are able to take formerly negative stereotypes of them and appropriate them as images of strength and resilience.

Suggestions for future research

One obvious direction for future research would be to target a different population for survey research on the same topic. Due to the lack of variety in responses from participants, one might hypothesize that stakeholders such as alumni are predisposed to hold the best possible view of their institution, including its licensing program. Perhaps a survey given to self-identified sport fans would have elicited greater diversity in response. However, as noted in the introduction, a recent SI poll of self-identified sport fans (albeit not as representative a sample as the one presented in this survey), participants overwhelmingly felt that Redskins was not a name rooted in pejorative stereotypes and that it should not be changed (Layden, 2014).

Perhaps the next step for research is not to assess the perceptions and feelings surrounding programs rooted in racial and ethnic imagery, but the motivations behind those perceptions. There are several interesting possibilities for such research, such as the possible tendency for stakeholders to portray their organization in the best possible light, or perhaps a more robust discussion of the idea of re-appropriating negative stereotypes to uplift a group that has faced discrimination and hardship. The comparison drawn by a participant between the University of Notre Dame licensing program and the popular rap group NWA was particularly interesting and merits further examination. Possible questions to probe that particular subject include to what extent the founding group must

be composed of members of the target population, and whether the use of pejorative stereotypes further perpetuates racial discrimination against the target group.

Finally, further research is needed to assess the validity of claims to re-appropriation. Such research includes a deeper historical analysis of the origins of the University of Notre Dame licensing program and whether Irish Americans or Irish nationals have ever composed a majority of the students, faculty, or staff at the University of Notre Dame. Ultimately, claims of re-appropriation might also be substantiated by surveying Irish Americans and Irish nationals regarding their views of the imagery appropriated by the University of Notre Dame licensing program. These ideas are definitely worthy of further research, particularly as they regard the University of Notre Dame licensing program.

Conclusion

Ultimately the findings of this research indicate that while the University of Notre Dame licensing program may have origins in negative ethnic stereotypes, stakeholders (alumni in this case) do not perceive the program to be hostile, offensive, or even negative. The strong positive response to the licensing program may be due to several factors – a bias amongst stakeholders or a true re-appropriation of negative imagery among them. Important takeaways from the research include the criteria by which stakeholders determine the legitimacy of a licensing program, particularly that the involvement of the target group signals validity and that a lack of complaints confirms this, provide a helpful framework for understanding how stakeholders approach potentially controversial mascots. While most participants felt that Redskin was a

pejorative slur that probably should be dropped from the team name (only if the target group was offended and could explain why), the response to the University of Notre Dame licensing program was wholly positive and indicative that stakeholders felt that negative stereotypes did not play a role in the creation of the imagery being used.

Future study might elucidate whether re-appropriation of negative stereotypes was actually taking place at the University of Notre Dame or whether alumni were pre-disposed to portray elements of their institution in a positive light in spite of historical evidence of ethnic discrimination and stereotypes. It is also worth considering whether any institution of higher education should embrace a licensing program which uses any human imagery. No matter the intention of the program, or the justifications for it, there is always the potential that the program can be considered abusive, offensive, or inappropriate by some. It is impossible to obtain permission from and collaboration with every member of the target group; therefore, there is no unanimous approval of the imagery used.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Participant Survey

Researcher's Statement We are asking you to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. This form is designed to give you the information about the study so you can decide whether to be in the study or not. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent."

Principal Investigator: Billy Hawkins

Kinesiology

bhawk@uga.edu or 706-542-4427

Purpose of the Study The purpose of this study is to better understand the perceptions and feelings of alumni related to the mascot and logo program at the University of Notre Dame. Participants will be given a brief overview of the history of the mascot and logo program and be asked to share their feelings, opinions, and perceptions of the program, with particular regard for their relation to the social history of Irish-Americans in the United States.

Study Procedures If you agree to participate, you will be asked to …

The study will consist of an online survey component (approximately 30 minutes). With each component, you may be presented with images, documents, and/or historical information and asked to share your feelings and perceptions surrounding the information shown.

Risks and discomforts We anticipate only minimal risk from participating in this research. Participants may experience feelings of stress/discomfort, sadness, guilt or anxiety, when answering survey or interview questions. Should any question make you uncomfortable, you may decline to answer it or further participate in the study at any time. Should a breach of confidentiality arise resulting in the leak of research materials

including personal identifiers occur, you may experience embarrassment or

stigmatization within your social group and potential negative impact on your social

standing. Members of the research team will take all possible steps to ensure that data,

including personal identifiers, are secured and not at risk for breach of confidentiality.

Benefits While there are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study, we hope

that this study will contribute to society, particularly higher education, by providing

higher education administrators and practitioners a better understanding of the impact of

and perceptions surrounding mascot and logo programs and the potential managerial

implications of those perceptions.

Privacy/Confidentiality Any personal identifiers (e.g., name, e-mail address) included in

the data collected will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used for purposes of

contact for potential follow-up questions or interviews. Any identifiable data will be

stored in secure files and researchers will not release identifiable results of the study to

anyone other than individuals working on the project without your written consent unless

required by law. The project's research records may be reviewed by departments at the

University of Georgia responsible for regulatory and research oversight.

Taking part is voluntary Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may

choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to

which you are otherwise entitled. If you decide to withdraw from the study, the

information that can be identified as yours will be kept as part of the study and may

continue to be analyzed, unless you make a written request to remove, return, or destroy

the information.

If you have questions The main researcher conducting this study is Dr. Billy Hawkins, a

professor at the University of Georgia. Please ask any questions you have now. If you

have questions later, you may contact Dr. Billy Hawkins at bhawk@uga.edu or at 706-

542-4427. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research

participant in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB)

Chairperson at 706.542.3199 or irb@uga.edu.

Q1 Do you consent to participate in this research project?

○ I agree
○ I disagree

Q2 I am willing to be contacted, if needed, for a future interview or follow-up questions.

○ I agree
○ I disagree

Q3 If you are willing to be contacted, please enter the following information:

    First Name
    Last Name
    E-mail address

The following questions are for classification purposes only. Please select the answer

which most closely applies to you.

Q4 Please select the race or ethnicity with which you most closely identify.

○ White
○ Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
○ Black or African American
○ Asian
○ American Indian or Alaskan Native
○ Middle Eastern or Northern African
○ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
○ Some other race, ethnicity, or origin

Q5 Please select one.

○ Male
○ Female

Q6 Please enter your age below.

Q7 Do you identify as Irish American?

○ Yes
○ No

Q8 Please indicate your current view of the University of Notre Dame brand.

○ Favorable
○ Neutral
○ Unfavorable

Q9 In what ways do you currently support the Notre Dame brand? Select all that apply.

❑ Attending athletic games
❑ Purchasing and/or displaying branded merchandise (apparel, auto decals, etc.)
❑ Donating to the university
❑ None of these

Q10 What is your connection with the University of Notre Dame?

❍ Alumni - Undergraduate
❍ Alumni - Graduate or Law
❍ Attended but did not graduate
❍ Did not attend

The following 10 questions present information related to athletic team names, mascots

and logos. You are asked to fully read the information provided and the question, and

respond using the free response text box provided. This portion of the survey may take

20-30 minutes depending on your responses. Please remember your responses will be

kept confidential and your personal details (for example, name) will be redacted from

final research.

Q11 In recent news, the Washington Redskins, an NFL team, have come under fire for their use of a mascot some find to be offensive. Critics of the mascot say that "Redskin" is an offensive reference to Native Americans, while proponents argue that the team name, mascot, and logo pay tribute to Native American culture. Do you believe the name of this team should be changed? Please select yes or no and explain your answer.

○ Yes the name should be changed (please explain your answer below)
_____

○ No the name is not offensive (please explain your answer below)
_____

Q12 In 2005, the NCAA adopted a policy prohibiting "NCAA colleges and universities from displaying hostile and abusive racial/ethnic/national origin mascots, nicknames, or imagery at any of the 88 NCAA championships," (NCAA, 2005). Do you believe there are any teams in violation of this policy? Please select yes or no. If yes, please name the teams and explain why you believe they are in violation, if needed.

○ Yes, there are teams who are currently violating this policy (please explain your answer below) _____
○ No, I cannot think of any teams who violate this policy (please explain your answer below) _____

Q13 The University of Notre Dame team name is the Fightin' Irish and their main logo includes a leprechaun with his fists raised. Do you believe this name or logo might be offensive to Irish nationals or Irish Americans? Please select yes or no, and explain your answer.

○ Yes, I do think the name, mascot, and logo might be offensive (please explain your answer below) _____
○ No, I do not think the name, mascot, and logo are offensive (please explain your answer below) _____

Q14 Between 1845 and 1855, over 1 million Irish adults and children immigrated to the United States. Historical records show that people of Irish descent were often discriminated against, including being excluded from jobs, targeted by hate groups like the KKK, and mocked in the public education system and popular press, often depicted as drunk, stubborn, and violent. Does this information change your perspective on the Fightin' Irish name, officially adopted by the university in 1927? Please select yes or no, and explain your answer.

○ Yes, this information changes the way I view the name, mascot, and logo (please explain your answer below) _____
○ No, this information does not change the way I view the name, mascot, and logo (please explain your answer below) _____

Q15 The founding Father and first president of the University of Notre Dame, Fr. Edward Sorin, a French Catholic priest, banned the celebration of St. Patrick's Day. Students or other priests who defied the ban, even by simply wearing green, were expelled by Sorin. In the Chronicles of Notre Dame du Lac, he wrote that the Irish "are by nature full of faith, respect, religious inclinations, and sensible and devoted, but a great defect often

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paralyzes in them all their other good qualities: the lack of stability. They change more readily than any other nation," (Garvey, 2009). Does this historical context change your opinion of the Fightin' Irish name, mascot, and logo? Please select yes or no, and explain your answer.

○ Yes, this information changes the way I view the name, mascot, and logo (please explain your answer below) _____
○ No, this information does not change the way I view the name, mascot, and logo (please explain your answer below) _____

Please review images 1 and 2 and their respective captions.

In Figure 1, you see a typical vaudeville "Paddy," a standard character in vaudeville shows, portraying the Irish as drunk, bumbling, and often violent.

In Figure 2, Today's Notre Dame mascot uniform

Q16a Do you find these Figures 1 and 2 to be similar or different? Please select yes or no, and explain your answer.

○ Yes, these images look similar to me (please explain your answer below) _____

○ No, I think these images look different (please explain your answer below) _____

Q16b Do these images impact your perception of the Fightin' Irish name, mascot, and logo? Please select yes or no, and explain your answer.

○ Yes, these images change the way I view the name, mascot, and logo (please explain your answer below) _____

○ No, these images do not change the way I view the name, mascot, and logo (please explain your answer below) _____

Q17 According to research "during the first decades of Notre Dame football history … the Midwestern press usually called the team "such derogatory terms as 'papists, horrible Hibernians, dumb micks, and dirty Irish," (Sperber, 1993). Do you feel the Fightin' Irish name differs from these offensive names applied by popular press? Please select yes or no, and explain your answer.

○ Yes, I think the Fightin' Irish name is different from the negative names mentioned (please explain your answer below) _____

○ No, I think the Fightin' Irish name is similar to the negative names mentioned (please explain your answer below) _____

Q18 The University of Notre Dame mission states a commitment to "constructive and critical engagement with the whole of human culture." Do you believe the Fightin' Irish

name, mascot, and logo are consistent with this mission? Please select yes or no, and

explain your answer.

○ Yes, I think the name, mascot, and logo are consistent with constructive and critical
engagement with the whole of human culture (please explain your answer below)
_____

○ No, I do not think the name, mascot, and logo are consistent with the mission
expressed here (please explain your answer below) _____

Q19 Do you believe that cases such as the Washington Redskins or Florida State

Seminoles differ from the University of Notre Dame's use of Irish as a name, logo, and

mascot? Please select yes or no, and explain your answer.

○ Yes, I think cases of Native American mascots or other controversial names, mascots,
and logos are different from the Fightin' Irish name, mascot, and logo (please explain
your answer below) _____
○ No, I do not think the Fightin' Irish name, mascot, and logo are different from other
cases of controversial names, mascots, and logos (please explain your answer below)
_____

Q20 Given the information presented in this survey, do you believe that the Fightin' Irish

name, mascot, and logo are in violation of the NCAA policy on team names and

imagery? "NCAA colleges and universities from displaying hostile and abusive

racial/ethnic/national origin mascots, nicknames, or imagery at any of the 88 NCAA

championships," (NCAA, 2005). Please select yes or no, and explain your answer.

○ Yes, I think the Fightin' Irish name, mascot, and logo violate the policy above (please
explain your answer below) _____
○ No, I do not think the Fightin' Irish name, mascot, and logo violate this policy (please
explain your answer below) _____

The following 3 questions conclude your participation in this study.

Q21 Given the information presented in this survey, please indicate your view of the

University of Notre Dame brand.

❍ Less favorable
❍ Neutral
❍ More favorable

Q22 Given the information presented in this survey, I am likely to…(Please select all that

apply)

❑ Buy less branded merchandise
❑ Share this information with others
❑ Buy only merchandise that does NOT depict the Fightin' Irish name, mascot or logo
❑ Have a less favorable view of this name
❑ Speak to university representatives about this information
❑ No changes

Q23 Where did you hear about this survey?

❍ Alumni Club
❍ Word of mouth / a friend
❍ Other _____

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this survey. Your feedback is

valued and very much appreciated! You may contact me at 229-894-6188 or

meghan03@uga.edu or my faculty advisor, Dr. Billy Hawkins at 706-542-4427 or

bhawk@uga.edu if you have study related questions or problems. If you have any

questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Office of the

Vice President for Research at the University of Georgia at 706-542-5969. Thank you for

your participation in this survey!