

BEDFORD ROAD *REDMEN* ATHLETIC MASCOT CHANGE
COLINIZATION, NAMING, AND POWER

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Abstract

The purpose of this research was to gain understanding of the complex controversy that arose over the campaign to change the athletic moniker of the Bedford Road Collegiate mascot from *Redmen* to *Redhawks* between 2010-2014 in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. In addition to documenting and analyzing the perspectives of various individuals involved in the controversy, the research also sought to explore ways in which the controversy touched on issues of power and race and to gain insight into how efforts to decolonize language and symbols contributed to reconciliation in our community and wider society.

Qualitative case study was deemed the most appropriate approach to understand the controversy and the case was bounded by time, participants, setting and activity. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with six individuals selected through purposeful sampling procedures. As a conceptual framework for this research Critical Race and anti-oppressive theoretical lenses framed mascot controversies as conflicts between different truths: the truth of the colonizer, that Indigenous mascots signify strength and honour, being challenged by the truth of the colonized, that the mascots promote negative and inaccurate

stereotypes of Indigenous people. Themes of Change, Motives, Power, Reconciliation, and Opportunities Missed were identified through data analysis; and implications for cross-cultural dynamics within schools and broader provincial society were delineated.

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CHAPTER ONE

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to explore the controversy generated by the campaign to change the athletic name of the Bedford Road Collegiate High School (B.R.C.H.S.) *Redmen* to the B.R.C.H.S. *Redhawks* in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan between 2010 and 2014. By engaging with individuals directly involved in the divisive controversy I hoped to explore the perceptions of key individuals to achieve a deeper understanding of the issues at stake, from the perspectives of both sides in the dispute. By achieving this deeper understanding I hoped to then consider its implications for racial and cross-cultural dynamics within the school and wider community contexts where traditional power dynamics are changing so that school leaders are better positioned to manage such change.

The Problem

The Bedford Road athletic mascot controversy of 2010- 2014 caused significant dispute, both within the public high school in question and within the wider community of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. School and sporting mascots and team names are changed on a frequent basis for various reasons, but this change was met with unusual anger, hostility, and disagreement. Opponents of the proposed name change articulated a strong commitment to maintaining the existing mascot on the basis of tradition and emotional attachment and argued that it portrayed Indigenous people in a positive and virile light. Proponents of change took a very different view, arguing that the *Redmen* moniker was inherently racist and perpetuated out-dated stereotypes of Indigenous people as violent and savage.

The campaign began in 2010 when Sheelah McLean and Erica Lee first met in high school where Lee was a student in McLean's classes. They began to work together on social

justice campaigns and speaking engagements both inside and outside of school. (McLean, et al, 2017, p. 3). McLean assigned one of her classes an assignment to read excerpts from Daniel Francis' (1992) book, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Her goal was to get the students to think about links between language and race and to problematize the use of Indigenous mascots in society. The exercise made some students uncomfortable while others were inspired to take the assignment further. Lee wrote her first article on the matter, satirically arguing that Bedford Road should change the athletic mascot moniker from *Redmen* to Spidermen. (McLean, et. al, 2017, p. 3). Lee's stance was not well received by the student body and alumni, initiating a public debate which lasted almost four years (which will be discussed further in Chapter Two).

The campaign ended with the name change from *Redmen* to *Redhawks* in 2014, "with a vote of 8 to 2 by the Saskatoon Public School Board" (Saskatoon Public Schools, 2014). Those in favour of the change were elated that they could move on from the controversy, as one student, Alexander Schubert stated: "There was a lot of controversy with the *Redmen* logo before and moving forward with the *Redhawks* it's going to definitely improve the school, it's not discriminating against anyone anymore, it's positive" (Streck, 2014). The school administrator at the time, Cody Hanke, seconded that sentiment, "[I]t was very important to keep that tie to our past, the fact that the word red is in there is something that keeps that connection. Something that goes back to 1923 with the color red is still going to move forward in the future" (Streck, 2014). While not on public record, there were many who did not agree with the change as will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Clearly, the Bedford Road Collegiate athletic mascot change touched a nerve and revealed powerful fault lines within the school and community that reflected deep and long-

standing differences about issues of race, culture, language, naming and power. Although ostensibly about a mascot name change, the controversy also touched on the complicated legacies of colonization within a particular Canadian prairie community, highlighting the desire of one segment of the community to retain a status quo symbolized by a particular long-accepted language and the desire of another portion of the community to usher in a new postcolonial era symbolized by more inclusive less offensive or politically correct language.

Background of the Study

Naming is a prime example of power and hegemony that is exerted in the colonization of a group of people. Canada has a long history of colonialism, beginning with one of the first European “explorers” Jacques Cartier. To paraphrase Belshaw (2015), during his voyages in 1534 and 1535, Cartier erected a flag and cross that read *Long Live the King of France* on the shores of Gaspé Bay. He later abducted Chief Donnacona’s two sons and took them back to France until he returned the following winter. (p. 82). Cartier’s actions were a demonstration of ignorance and authoritative power. He had no right to claim the land or kidnap Donnacona and his men, yet the ethnocentric belief in the inherent superiority of a European colonizer allowed him to do so anyway. His disregard for the rights of Indigenous peoples, evidenced in multiple ways including the imposition of French names onto the land and the people, set the tone for centuries of colonial interactions. British colonizers ultimately displaced the French and the process of naming continued. Hegemonic interactions were originated in the pre-confederation of Canada with the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from the political process, the removal of Indigenous peoples from their traditional lands, and the marginalization of Indigenous peoples onto reserves (Belshaw, 2015).

Residential Schools attempted to acculturate Indigenous people and inflicted traumas whose consequences can still be felt today. According to the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF), (2007) Residential Schools have had transgenerational affects on Indigenous people. See Figure 1.

Figure 1: AHF, 2007, p. 72.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enduring psychological, social, and economic effects on Survivors • Models of parenting and child rearing based on institutional experiences • Patterns of emotional responsiveness and expression • Repetition of physical and sexual abuse • Loss of cultural knowledge, language, and tradition • Undermining individual and collective identity and self-esteem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Devaluing and essentializing Aboriginal identity • Individual and collective disempowerment, loss of control, and lack of efficacy • Disruption of family and kinship networks • Destruction of communities, nations, or peoples • Damage to relationship with larger society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – popular images, racism, stereotypes, government tutelage and bureaucratic control, and judicial and corrections system – sense of living in a just society
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Since the harmful effects of Residential Schools have been acknowledged, the Federal and Provincial governments are working towards reconciliation with Indigenous people.

Additionally, with growth rates of the Indigenous population and movements like *Idle No More*, a voice that was once silent is growing in volume. Colonization has had lasting effects on Indigenous people and can still be experienced in the form of naming power and rights. An example of this would be the *Redmen* of the Bedford Road Collegiate High School. One truth of the colonizer, that a mascot promotes strength and honour, was challenged by the truth of the colonized, that the mascot promotes negative and inaccurate stereotypes of Indigenous people. This paper aims to document the perspectives of both sides and interrogate those perspectives in

depth through interviewing individuals involved in the controversy. I then intend to explore how those perspectives speak to different truths regarding colonization and decolonization.

Significance

I believe this study is significant because it demonstrates the importance of language and naming in school contexts serving both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students and has broader educational, political, and racial implications. Sports have the capacity to unify the masses behind a common interest, making it a force for social cohesion. However, when language, labels or mascots are not inclusive or are seen as examples of modern-day colonialism, they can become lightning rods for wider grievances and can have a divisive impact on communities. I believe this study is very significant as it demonstrates how power was utilized in the past to establish dominance over a group of people and how that power is being contested today. Due to this mascot change occurring at a high school, it has significant implications for how school administrators respond to similar issues in the future. Current principals should analyze this case and consider how it may inform their decisions around the language used in schools, especially in regard to school mascots, in contexts of demographic and political change. Given the prevalence of school mascots with Indigenous monikers, and increasing pressures on schools to act as agents of reconciliation, this is an issue that is likely to be repeated across Canada in the near future.

Research Questions:

The following research questions guided the data collection:

- Why did the name of the Bedford Road athletic mascot (*Redmen*) become so controversial between 2010- 2014?
- What were the perceptions of key individuals regarding the factors contributing to that controversy?

- How was the controversy resolved?
- What implications did the controversy have for post-colonial efforts to decolonize language and symbols and to advance reconciliation?
- What are implications of the controversy for school leaders and administrators?

Methodology

For this study, I believed that qualitative research was the most appropriate because it is a complex issue that can only be understood by accessing the multiple meanings that participants brought to it in its natural setting. Especially coming from an outsider or etic perspective, I had to rely on the accounts of individuals who are more directly involved in the process to understand the complexities of the mascot change. As a researcher, I wanted to understand this complex and divisive situation, how it is implicated in post-colonial efforts to decolonize language and symbols and how it contributes to reconciliation in our world today.

Based on the research synthesized in chapter two, I decided that a Case Study design would be the most appropriate method for this research. The goal of the research is to understand the controversy from the perspectives of the many sides involved in the argument. By seeking to understand the motivations, beliefs, and actions of individuals who were directly involved in the mascot change, I hoped to gain a better understanding of the events that transpired from different perspectives. The Case Study approach was appropriate for this study because it attempted to understand a situation that could not be understood without documenting and analyzing the shared experiences of individuals who were directly tied to the circumstances. All ethical considerations and protection of participants for the study were discussed in Chapter Three. Case Study is also appropriate for research that is bounded by time, place and participants.

One on one semi-structured interviews were deemed the best method of data collection in order to understand the perspectives and motivations of those involved. I conducted interviews with six participants to gain their insights into the events that transpired during the mascot transformation. Purposeful sampling was used to identify these individuals. According to Suri (2011), Purposeful sampling requires access to “key informants in the field who can help in identifying information-rich cases” (p. 4). Participants were chosen based on their involvement in the controversy based on the assumption that they will provide the best data compared. They felt the pushback and the criticism from all accounts during the mascot change; therefore, their perspectives were most significant. Possible people to interview included the following: Cody Hanke the Principal of Bedford Road during the time of the mascot change, the individual in charge of the mascot shift campaign, Erica Lee, students of Bedford Road during the shift (athletes, SRC members, band, etc.), Barry McDougall or George Rathwell, the Director and superintendent, respectively during the time of the change.

The data analysis was vital to understanding the participants’ perspectives. Creswell (2007) explained that the researcher builds evidence for the explanation through the codes and themes that emerge from the analysis of data provided by various participants in the study or other sources consulted, and confirms validity. (187). By using the Data Analysis Spiral (Creswell, 2017, p. 186), I sought to identify themes and patterns arising from the interviews and when aligned with the secondary literature and my field notes, it allowed me to develop and present my findings.

Limitations

The study was subject to the following limitations, challenges, or deficiencies. The biases of the researcher may have affected the interpretation of the data. It is assumed that these

participants provided accurate information regarding their involvement in the controversy but there are limitations which are the result of the nature of qualitative research. Qualitative interviews rely on a respondent's opinion and thoughts. People who are interviewed have varied memories as they recall or frame past events. In this sense, the accuracy and honesty can be undermined. Moreover, people who are interviewed have different experiences and perspectives, which create bias and it may be that the interpretation of the results might encourage them to offer socially acceptable responses. The participants played a significant role in this research, therefore, the term "key" must be defined. In this study, a key participant will be determined by their involvement in the mascot shift, either directly related to the campaign or an administrator during the change. All other participants involved will be students who were a part of Bedford Road and were engaged in extra-curricular activities, signifying their strong ties to the school.

Delimitations

The study was subject to the following delimitations. This study was delimited to the athletic mascot change at Bedford Road Collegiate High School and no other mascot changes or disputes in Saskatchewan, Canada, or internationally. This study only looked at the events that took place during the mascot change campaign between 2010-2014. Rather than seeking an exhaustive engagement with all individuals engaged in the process, a purposeful sample of key and representative individuals was conducted. Finally, this research will specifically focus on the *Redmen* and other Indigenous mascots in North America. Other ethnic or cultural mascots that have been caused controversy throughout history will not be discussed in depth in this study.

Researcher Positionality

This section discussed the positionality and my past experiences that influenced this research. I am a 29-year-old Canadian born teacher, coach, and former athlete, giving me

experience with what it is like to be a part of a team and belonging to a school. Fortunately, my high school's mascot, Lloydminster Comprehensive High School *Barons* is not Indigenous, nor are any of the surrounding schools or rivals. However, I can understand whole-heartedly why alumni and students during the athletic mascot change at Bedford Road were upset and bothered by the switch. When you have roots there you gave a lot of time, energy, and effort for your school and program. You have a sense of belonging, association and pride that goes along with that mascot. You felt as though you were a part of the *Redmen* and now that name has been changed, causing you to feel like a part of your youth has been altered or discarded. However, I also identify as an ally of Indigenous peoples and can understand the other side of the dispute where individuals felt the mascot depicted an unflattering misrepresentation of their Indigenous heritage. I am aware that from my upbringing I carry my own inherent biases and will attempt to be mindful of them throughout the research process.

Throughout my education, I was taught small amounts about Indigenous people and their history. It wasn't until I was at Lakeland College where I took Native Studies for the first time in my life that I was awakened to a lot of the tragedies Indigenous people faced throughout Canadian history. My journey at the U of S began in 2011 when I entered the College of Education. Throughout my tenure, I've been exposed to more and more insights into Indigenous history and current circumstances of Indigenous people and I am grateful for them. I would consider myself an ally and a major proponent of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.

I initially became interested in this topic while attending the U of S. During that time, the campaign to change the athletic mascot at Bedford Road Collegiate was at its height. The leader of the campaign, Erica Lee, would hold open-house debates in the College of Education so all

could come out and learn more about the cause she was advocating for. At that time, I was under the opinion of “what is the big deal” about an Indigenous mascot? What’s the harm? Are there not more significant issues of more importance currently happening? However, it became apparent right away that this campaign was and is a big deal. Miss Lee shared with us her position and why this was a passion project for herself, as well as some of the backlash she received via social media. It was at that moment that I realized this topic wasn’t insignificant; people don’t spread hate and get upset over matters that are insignificant.

Literature Review

A more detailed literature review is provided in Chapter Two, so this section provides a brief introduction to background research in this area. What we do know from analyzing the literature is that there were broad similarities in the environments in which the mascot changes took place. Many occurred in urban contexts with colleges and universities, suggesting that the more educated the population the more likely it is that minorities will advocate for social change and receive support from members of the majority population. Similar tactics and events were evident in mascot changes in North America, with peaceful protest from members of the minority being the typical catalyst for change. Strong opposition was also typical, with opponents often threatening to withhold donations in protest against mascot moniker changes. In most cases institutions have chosen to abandon Indigenous mascot monikers, even in the face of strong opposition, based on a commitment to racial sensitivity and justice. This study chose to focus on Indigenous mascots and the implications for relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples rather than other ethnically charged mascots such as Vikings, Fighting Irish, or Spartans. The argument for not including other cultural groups will be discussed later in the chapter; however, the main reason being, this study is to center on Indigenous mascots and the

impact that naming and power has had on their culture. It was also noted that Case Study was the most common approach adopted by researchers. This influenced my choice of methodology and participant selection, as outlined in Chapter Three.

Definitions of Significant Terms

Aboriginal: Aboriginal group refers to whether the person is First Nations (North American Indian), Métis or Inuk (Inuit). These are the three groups defined as the Aboriginal peoples of Canada in the Constitution Act, 1982, Section 35 (2). A person may belong to more than one of these three specific groups. Retrieved from:

(<http://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p3Var.pl?Function=DECI&Id=246581>)

American Indian: Individual members of North American groups descended from the original inhabitants of the Americas.

Cultural Awareness: Cultural understanding or the capacity to understand cultural differences and be aware of different cultural values, beliefs, and perceptions. Retrieved from:

(<https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/cultural-awareness/6366>)

Disproportionate Representation: A situation or condition in which the percentage of individuals from a specific population group, such as a cultural or ethnic minority, is smaller or larger than the percentage of group members in the total population.

First Nation: First Nation is a term used to describe Aboriginal peoples in Canada who are not Métis or Inuit. Section 35 of the *Constitution Act of 1982* declares that Aboriginal peoples in Canada include Indian (First Nations), Inuit and Métis peoples. Retrieved from:

(<http://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p3Var.pl?Function=DECI&Id=246581>)

Mascot: A person or thing that is supposed to bring good luck or that is used to symbolize a particular event or organization. Indigenous mascots have been used by professional and amateur sports teams, educational organizations and other entities to create a particular institutional identity.

Racial Bias (Racism): Differential treatment or unequal access to opportunities, based on group membership such as racial or cultural origin or ethnicity.

Organization of the Thesis

Following the guidelines set out by the College of Graduate Studies at the University of Saskatchewan, Chapter One included the identification of the problem, the purpose of the study, research questions, significance of the research, researcher's positionality, definitions, limitations, delimitations, and assumptions. Chapter Two provided a review of the literature about the history of Indigenous mascots in North America and their significance to the Bedford Road Collegiate athletic mascot change and the conceptual framework. Chapter Three explained the research design, methodology and data collection methods along with a description of the data analysis, as well as boundaries in the study. This chapter concluded with an explanation of qualitative validity and reliability, ethical considerations, and the theoretical framework for the research. Chapter Four reported the results of interviews conducted with six participants and the results of a preliminary coding and analysis of the data. Chapter Five reviewed the themes emerging from data analysis, and presented the main findings regarding the experiences and insights of individuals associated with the Bedford Road Collegiate High School athletic mascot shift. The discussion of the findings emerged from the themes identified through data analysis and coding. Chapter Six served as conclusion to the study by reviewing the purpose and approach to the research and highlighting insights from the literature review, data collection and

data analysis. Benefits and limitations of the methodology and theoretical framework were reviewed and recommendations were advanced.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review was to provide background on the topic of Indigenous mascots throughout North American history, to explore how other institutions, including university and high school administrations, have handled demands and proposals for mascot changes and to document the various transformations, resistances and continuities that occurred. The chapter began with a description of the processes used to identify the pertinent literature. This was followed by a brief overview of the origins of Indigenous mascots and a consideration of the circumstances in which various institutions chose to adopt Indigenous monikers for their institutional mascots. Subsequently, a short description of the various controversies surrounding demands to change Indigenous mascots highlighted in the literature was provided. From analysis and synthesis of the various secondary sources consulted the broad themes identified through the literature review were then considered, and similarities and differences between the events described in the literature and the situation that occurred at Bedford Road Collegiate High School in Saskatoon were identified. The chapter concluded with an analysis of the methodologies and theoretical frameworks employed by the various authors and a discussion of how these informed a conceptual framework for my research.

Overview of the literature

I utilized three data bases, Pro Quest, ERIC, and Google Scholar, to identify research on mascot changes. The search words used were *Aboriginal*, *American Indian*, *Mascot*, *Cultural Awareness*, *First Nation*, *Disproportionate Representation*, and *Racial Bias*. Of the three I found Google Scholar to be the most beneficial as it guided me in the direction of a great resource, *The Native American Mascot Controversy* by C. Richard King (2010). This handbook has numerous articles that explore mascot issues from multiple perspectives, including analysis

of how mascot names affect perceptions of Indigenous people and documentation of the multiple controversies related to mascots that have occurred over time. The geographic area covered by the studies included the Northern United States and Canada, with some of the research being particular to the Bedford Road Collegiate High School athletic mascot change. The time frames of the articles ranged from the early 1990's (Connolly, 2000, Hofman, 2005) to the 2000's (Arthur, 2014). All of the resources I found employed qualitative research methods and the research questions that guided their research follow these patterns:

- When and how the mascots were chosen?
- How were mascots and other symbols developed and used over time?
- How did the institutions respond to the concerns of the individuals offended by the mascots?

Indigenous Mascot Changes

A review of the literature revealed that demands for change of Indigenous mascots have generated significant controversy over time, with the earliest documented controversies dating to the 1960s, according to Rosenstein (as cited by King, 2010, p. 259). Dartmouth College was the first institution to change its mascot moniker in 1969. The literature suggested that the origin of Indigenous mascots is associated with the game of playing make-believe of *cowboys and Indians* and dressing the part (as can be seen at sporting events currently featuring Indigenous mascots such as the Cleveland Indians). Researchers additionally noted that the Indigenous mascot phenomenon is entangled in the conquest and colonization of the Americas and the subsequent appropriation of Indigenous people's likenesses and symbols by non-Indigenous peoples, institutions and organizations. As stated by Johansen (2003), "The defense of the Native American mascots by non-natives can be seen as the enforcement of sense of conquest, of a

reminder that European-Americans now set the perceptual rules” (p. 174). Johansen (2003) also argued that resistance to these mascots was a by-product of growing politicization among Native Americans Indians and that “[N]ative American sports mascots became an active political issue during the late 1960’s, with the founding of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Minneapolis” (p. 163). As part of a wider campaign to secure racial justice, Indigenous mascots became a symbol of exploitation and out-dated stereotyping and sometimes also provided an opportunity to build alliances with members of the non-Indigenous community who were sensitive to the potentially offensive nature of some monikers. According to Connolly, (2000) opposition to changing Indigenous mascots was motivated in part by a belief that these mascots actually honoured Native Americans in addition to the regional pride and booster culture that their mascots represent (p. 531).

In the vast majority of cases where change was called for, institutions responded to public pressure by deciding to abandon mascots with traditional Indigenous monikers and replace them with less controversial or more inclusive mascots or monikers. A rare example of an institution that avoided public controversy in effecting a positive and harmonious shift, changing their school mascot from *Redskins* to *Redhawks*, is Miami University of Ohio (MOU) (Connolly, 2000). MUO’s smooth transition dates back to the early 1970’s. During that time, Stanford University and Dartmouth College, responding to public pressure, both changed their Indigenous mascots from “Indians” to “Cardinal” and “The Big Green”, respectively. This prompted MUO to engage in self-reflection, leading to a decision to create a review committee to examine the appropriateness of their mascot. The committee voted to keep the *Redskin* moniker in 1972; however, it was decided to henceforth eliminate any derogatory caricatures or labels around the college, for example “[using] only authentic Indian symbols and artifacts, changing

the name of a campus dining hall to something other than *The Redskin Reservation*” (Connolly, 2000p. 524). Controversy around the use of the *Redskin* mascot remerged in the 1990’s whereupon university president Paul Risser promised to address the university’s use of the moniker. Risser’s plan involved consulting with the alumni and the local Miami Tribe as much as possible, leading ultimately to a change of mascot name to the *Redhawks* in 1996. Respectful communication was critical for the Miami University of Ohio mascot change saga.

Like Bedford Road Collegiate, many other high schools have felt the need to abandon their *Redskin* mascot. Some positive examples in the United States include: Cooperstown Central High School in the state of New York, Port Townsend in the state of Washington, and Sanford in the state of Maine (Arthur, 2014). All of these schools previously used the term *Redskins* as part of their mascots and were able to replace that with less offensive monikers because of consistent communication between students and alumni. According to the Superintendent of Port Townsend High School David Engle the choice of a new mascot resulted from a “student brokering process working with the Alumni” (as cited by Arthur, 2014, p. 6). Additionally, Engle indicated “Taking a longer, more evaluative approach on a two-year time continuum was valuable and productive” (as cited by Arthur, 2014, p. 6). And when asked what he would do differently Engle responded “I’d have more public forums early and often ... making better use of communicative technology such as Twitter to help with gathering information and providing another forum for comment” (p. 7). Clearly communication was a major reason why change was met with success in these cases. These are striking examples that should be noted by administrators who are faced with a demand for an Indigenous mascot moniker shift. Broader benefits also resulted from these communications. For example, according to Engle (as cited by Arthur, 2014), Port Townsend also adopted a Native American curriculum to educate their

students further on the history of the relationship between Indigenous people and early colonizers of America. (p. 7).

Change with Resistance

Many of the demands for mascot changes throughout Canada and the United States were met with significant resistance and one of the most complicated cases occurred at Eastern Michigan University (EMU). The EMU mascot was originally named the *Hurons* after one of the Iroquois tribes that occupied the area around the St. Lawrence River. The logo for the university depicted an Indigenous male's head and remained in circulation until 1991. At that point president William Shelton decided to change the moniker from *Hurons* to *Eagles* after a two-year consultation and discussion process, despite the fact that the committee voted 8-6 in favour of keeping the old mascot. Although Shelton was acting on a recommendation from the Michigan Civil Rights Commission "The decision to replace both the Hurons mascot and the Indian-head logo was met with vociferous and persistent opposition" (Connolly, 2000, p. 528). Curiously it wasn't just the student body and alumni that were disgruntled with the change but the surrounding Huron-Wyandot tribe members were also opposed. As stated by Connolly (2000), "Chief Leaford Bearskin said that the action taken to discontinue the Huron logo was much more degrading to the culture of my people than leaving it alone and viewing it as a symbol of honour and integrity" (p. 528).

After the mascot was changed to *Eagles*, a group known as the EMU Huron Restoration, Inc. mounted a campaign to restore the tribe's name and even tried to secure a legal injunction to prohibit the university from using the *Eagles* name and logo. Additionally, at EMU 75 alumni cancelled their memberships and funding significantly dropped the year following the shift. As evidenced by these circumstances, the calls for change were not always made by Indigenous

people and furthermore, sometimes the changes were actually opposed by local Indigenous spokespersons.

Not all demands for change resulted in actual name changes, as evidenced by the Salamanca Central High School *Warriors* from the state of New York. Much like the aforementioned high schools, Cooperstown Central, Port Townsend, and Sanford which were examples of relatively peaceful change, communication was critical to deliberations around the mascot at Salamanca Central High School. In 2001, a letter to all New York Board of Education and school superintendents asked local districts to end the use of American Indian mascots and team names on the grounds, “That Indian mascots and symbols can make the school environment seem less safe and supportive to some children, and may send an inappropriate message to children about what is or is not respectful behaviour towards others” (Taylor, 2011, p. 247). However, this was strongly opposed by the people of Salamanca. The controversy began with the administration seeking the opinion of the students on the proposed name change, and in a school vote 94% voted in favor of retaining the name *Warriors*. Subsequently the Seneca tribal council, the City of Salamanca Common Council, and the city School Board all voted to keep Salamanca the home of the *Warriors*.

A major factor contributing to the broad support for the *Warriors* mascot was the fact that the logo had been completely revised in 1978. Prior to that the mascot was portrayed as a Lakota/Plains-styled Indigenous person wearing a ceremonial head-dress (which is similar to what most Indigenous mascots portray). After discussions with the local Indigenous community the Salamanca *Warrior* logo was changed to one which was specific, historically correct, and culturally appropriate for the Seneca community. (See Figure 2).

Figure 2: Taylor, 2011, p. 25



Context and Factors Prompting Change

The brief overview of Indigenous mascot controversies provided in the previous section makes it clear that context, both geographic and temporal, was frequently critical in these debates. These controversies were often preceded by related events locally, nationally or internationally that brought heightened attention to racial injustice, serving as catalysts for demands to change mascots deemed to be insulting or disrespectful to and by Indigenous people. They often occurred in contexts where Indigenous peoples were a significant demographic presence or, if a minority, where they were able to focus the attention of the majority population on their concerns through campaigns of public protest utilizing various media. Mascot controversies also frequently occurred in university towns where, typically, consciousness around social justice and racial issues was more elevated, and where Indigenous communities

were more emboldened, in part because the likelihood of their receiving support from non-Indigenous allies was greatest.

Indigenous mascot monikers were changed at Miami University of Ohio (MUO) in 1996, Eastern Michigan University (EMU) in 1991, and Mankato State University (MSU) in 1977 (Connolly, 2000; Hofman 2005). Typically, discourses around race and social justice are different in university towns because of greater awareness and consciousness of racial injustice linked to theoretical engagement with critical theory, anti-racist and anti-oppressive theory and commitment to decolonization. In these institutions the impetus for change came initially from within. In MUO and EMU university administrators were concerned about the impact the mascots had on the local Indigenous populations, especially when it became obvious that the mascots were in fact caricatures that inaccurately depicted Indigenous people, “[T]he idea of symbols from several different tribes mashed together angers Indians” and “the Chief Illiniwek dance was not an authentic Indian dance but a gymnastics routine” (Connolly, 2000, p. 519-520). For instance, in the case of the Mankato State University the demand for change was initiated by some concerned students. According to Hofman (2005), “...three students in the Department of Human Relations and Multicultural Education at SCSU wrote letters to the Sauk Rapids Rice School District Superintendent asking that the school board address the racist use of the school’s mascot, *The Indians*” (p. 157). The tendency of mascot changes to occur in university towns is not a coincidence. Members of a minority group who are better educated and have a deeper understanding of their marginalization are more likely to stand up for their rights than those who are not as privy to higher learning. Similarly, increased understanding of ongoing power dynamics and the impact of racial injustice stemming from university curriculum influenced by critical theory and anti-racist pedagogy is more likely to induce members of the majority

population to position themselves as allies of minority groups in supporting or advocating changes demanded by the minority (Green, 2005; McLean et al, 2017).

Mankato State University changed its mascot moniker from the *Indians* to the Mavericks in 1977, ending a ten-year long debate. Because of the public attention generated by this controversy, and increased awareness around the potentially negative implications of Indigenous mascots, wider changes within the state of Minnesota and neighbouring states occurred subsequently. For example, “the Minneapolis Star Tribune implemented a policy requiring sports writers to avoid using American Indian mascots in reporting by using the name of the city or school” (Hofman, 2005p. 158). Additionally, some higher education institutions in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa made the decision to prohibit “any visiting universities from bringing their American Indian mascots to their campuses to perform during halftime, and student and faculty senates passed resolutions condemning the use of American Indian mascots and monikers” (Hofman, 2005, p. 158). The University of Illinois still holds on to the mascot name of the *Fighting Illini* to this day, however they eliminated the Chief Illiniwek symbol in 2007.

Figure 3: University of Illinois Fighting Illini logos



In the case of the B.R.C.H.S. controversy the final decision to change the *Redmen* athletic moniker was made in 2014, but the campaign began in 2010. During that time, an important event was taking place across Canada known as the “Idle No More” (I.N.M.) movement. The I.N.M. campaign emerged in response to Bill-C-45 in 2012 which Indigenous people feared posed a significant threat to land and water by privileging wealth-creation over concern for and protection of the environment. I.N.M. drew national attention and prompted marches and protests throughout Canada and provided significant momentum to the existing campaign to change the B.R.C.H.S. *Redmen* mascot.

According to McLean, Lee, and Wilson (2017), “The significance of I.N.M. cannot be downplayed. I.N.M. is a grassroots movement that leveraged the power of the participatory web and open source ideology” (p. 7). Students of Bedford Road led by Erica Lee carried the movement forward utilizing social media urging administration to change the athletic mascot. The movements were at the forefront of the news and were aggressively debating their counterparts. The surrounding circumstances and demands for B.R.C.H.S. students for a mascot change forced a decision from the administration: and on March 4, 2014 in a vote of 8 to 2, the Saskatoon Public School Board voted to retire the *Redmen* mascot (McLean, et al, 2017).

Why are Indigenous Mascots So Controversial?

The research reviewed here suggested that many of the monikers attached to Indigenous mascots and indeed, the selection of Indigenous mascots themselves, are vestiges of the historical colonization of Indigenous peoples and play a critical though subtle role in the ongoing power dynamics signifying processes of neo-colonization. Leavitt et al. 2015 as cited by McLean et al. 2017) suggested that Indigenous mascots “signify stock tropes of Indigeneity and masculinity that freeze Indigenous people in the colonial era” (p.2) and McLean et al concluded

that “Indigenous mascots in and of themselves, can be understood as a form of racialized colonial violence that is created and protected by white settler surveillance and control” (McLean et al. 2017. P. 1).

Several authors noted that mascots represented continuity with a colonial history in which people of European descent asserted the power first to inaccurately label the Indigenous peoples of the Americas as “Indians” and then subsequently to impose the pejorative term “Redskin” onto all Indigenous peoples to signify both their difference from and inferiority to Whites (Munson, (1999). This capacity to name and to determine the names of others was a critical part of the power exercised by the dominant or colonizing group over Indigenous peoples. So by requesting a mascot change, Indigenous people are attempting to exercise some power where previously they have had none or little, challenging the dominant group to relinquish some of their influence or, even more significantly, to acknowledge that what they did in the past was wrong.

Munson (1999) elaborated on this argument by suggesting that other ethnic groups would not appreciate having derogatory labels attached to them: “If your team name were the Pollacks, Niggers, Gooks, Spics, Honkies, or Krauts and someone from the community found the name and symbols associated with it offensive and asked that it be changed, would you not change the name?” (p. 14). In response to the argument if it isn’t okay to use *Indian* or *Redskin*, why is it okay to use terms like *Dutchmen* and *Irishmen*? Hofman (2005) stated: “The differences that exist in these cases are that Germans chose Dutchmen and Irish chose Irish as an institutional [moniker]” (p. 169). While this is certainly true, Hofman’s elaboration is certainly open to challenge. “Irish people were not deprived of their land and basic human rights and were not targeted for harassment” (2005. P. 169). Perhaps Hofman is not familiar with the colonization of

the Irish people at the hands of the English for hundreds of years? Nor is it accurate to argue that Irish immigrants to the USA were free of discrimination, as when they first arrived in America they experienced a great deal of racism. This suggested an unbalanced approach in how researchers view racism, (e.g. only occurs to Indigenous people) especially when they are making their point about one group of people in particular.

In his study of the controversy over the *Fighting Sioux* mascot used by the University of North Dakota, Jensen (2003), utilized an analogy from his time working at St. John's University, an all-male school that had a relationship with the College of St. Benedict an all-female school. At one point, some of the professors and staff at St. Benedict came to the St. John's staff asking for permission to change the term 'freshmen' to the term 'first year' because they felt "freshmen" did not accurately describe their all-female student body. This was met with significant backlash from the powers that be at St. John's. Jensen, was initially puzzled by this backlash but eventually concluded that it emanated from a power struggle between genders. In those days, especially in the Catholic Church, "girls didn't tell boys what to do" (Jensen. 2003. P. 36). Jensen then applied this insight to the controversy over the *Fighting Sioux* mascot and concluded that, "Indians don't get to tell white people what to do" (p. 37). This resonated with me as a researcher as I realized how much of this topic is actually about power rather than it is about the name of a mascot. Jensen, (2003) also made the case that Indigenous people should have a say in how they are honoured, "I am calling for white people to acknowledge that we have no right to choose how Indians are named or represented" (p. 39). Years later, the University of North Dakota laid the *Fighting Sioux* mascot to rest and they are now known as the *Fighting Hawks*, partially in response to this argument.

In their analysis of the Bedford Road controversy McLean et al pointed to aspects of cultural appropriation and inappropriate representation associated with Indigenous mascots: “Sports fans and students who ‘play Indian’ by adorning their bodies with paint and feathers become part of the text or performance of the mascot, further normalising a racial hierarchy, dominance and oppression” (McLean et al. 2017. P. 3).

Longwell-Grice and Longwell-Grice (2002) emphasized what they believed were the three main arguments presented by those who opposed demands for change to Indigenous mascots: “tradition, money, and broader societal support” (Longwell-Grice, R., Longwell-Grice H. (2002). P. 4). With respect to tradition, non-Indigenous people often asserted that they are paying tribute to Indigenous presence and culture by adopting monikers like “*Indian*” “*Redskin*”, “*Warrior*”, “*Chiefs*” or “*Braves*” as mascots, by using their likeness and branding it on flags, uniforms, and other merchandise and by adopting cultural traditions such as tomahawk chops and pipe ceremonies. They argued that economically, “these mascots make it easy to sell goods because their stereotypical symbols appeal to alumni, students, and community supporters” (Longwell-Grice and Longwell-Grice (2002, p. 5). Indigenous mascots embody a broader societal meaning since throughout North American history, Indigenous people have been colonized by white settlers, giving power to the colonial group. This is crucial according to Longwell-Grice, R., Longwell-Grice H. (2002) because in “times of strife, stereotypical images can arise to help one group gain an advantage over another. By portraying Native Americans as savages or heathens, white Americans established a feeling that Indians were less worthy and gained the backing of the majority of Americans” (p. 6).

The University of Illinois still holds on to the moniker of the *Fighting Illini* to this day, according to Connolly, (2000) because of the regional pride and booster culture that their

mascots represent (p. 531). A particularly strong example of the depth of social support for an Indigenous mascot and economic implications of mascot change occurred in North Dakota when “an alumnus threatened to withhold a \$100 million contribution he had pledged for the purpose of building the school a new hockey arena if the school changed its “*Fighting Sioux*” mascot” (Longwell-Grice, 2002, p. 8). In this instance, the University of North Dakota was in favour of the change and was taking steps to phase out the mascot. However, with this threat the board unanimously voted to keep the mascot. This example suggests that in some circumstances financial considerations can trump good intentions or commitments to social justice.

Tactics Used by Both Sides

McLean, Wilson & Lee’s analysis of the transformation of the Bedford Road Collegiate athletic mascot the *Redmen* to the *Redhawks* highlights the use of social media and the impact of broader social movements. The authors speak to the importance of the *Idle No More* campaign and how the broad mobilization and consciousness-raising that it prompted played a key role in advancing the #ChangeRedmen campaign cause. Throughout the article, McLean et al make a case for how using an Indigenous mascot is harmful and detrimental to reconciliation, as well as, normalizing colonialism through sports.

McLean et al explain the process of the #ChangeRedmen campaign occurred and how social media helped to raise awareness on a faster and broader scale than other media sources could. The article also describes the negative backlash that this campaign generated and how even gender came into play. The campaign utilized non-violent direct action to get its point across, for example, protesting at school sporting events. This article outlined a campaign that successfully met its goal of changing the mascot by utilizing social media to raise its awareness. In summation, the young leadership by the students was paramount for the progression of these

movements, demonstrating that generally, youth are at the forefront of change while adults are often slower to embrace transformation.

A common theme among institutions where mascots were changed was the prevalence of ongoing resistance to the new mascot. Wiscasset High School, Maine's mascot was changed from *Redskins* to *Wolverines* in 2011 and the change was not well received. According to Arthur (2014), instances such as “walk-outs and a group of students showing up to a Basketball game with the old *Redskin* logo printed on t-shirts supported by a cheering crowd” (p. 7). There are even talks that the *Redskin* logo could return to Wiscasset High School. This instance is similar to an occurrence during the #ChangeRedmen campaign described in Chapter Four and Five.

After examining the research, the Bedford Road athletic mascot change was similar to other mascot shifts as the call for change came from within. As stated previously, the campaign to abandon the *Redmen* athletic moniker at Bedford Road was led by Erica Lee in the #ChangeRedmen campaign similar to the Mankato State University where three bold students came forward and requested a change. Like a majority of other instances, the original call to change was made by peaceful request but was met with some strong backlash. The Bedford Road campaign was unique from other mascot shifts due to its recent occurrence, so protagonists were able to use social media to gain momentum to receive the outcome they desired. It was able to generate significant force through the online media. However, there was also negative backlash felt online. On the campaign's Facebook page, *Bedford Road Redmen, It's time for a change*, numerous racially charged comments were directed at the women involved in the campaign, demonstrating that there were deep underlying opinions held surrounding this topic.

Methodological and Theoretical Approaches

Qualitative Case Study was the most common method employed by the researchers reviewed for this chapter. Gay et al, (as cited by Mertler, 2016) described this as a “qualitative approach to studying a phenomenon; focused on a unit of study, or a bounded system; not a methodological choice but a choice of what to study; and an all-encompassing research method” (p. 426). Authors such as Arthur (2014), Connolly (2000), Hofman (2005), McLean, Wilson & Lee (2017), Munson (1999), Jensen (2003), Longwell-Grice (2002), and Taylor (2011) all focused on a particular event at various institutions and attempted to make sense of these events by compiling deep and rich data on specific bounded contexts. In addition to utilizing the Case Study method, all of these studies were also grounded in variations of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Anti-Oppressive Theory, including Post-Colonial Theory (PCT) (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2006) 2008).

According to Taylor (2016) CRT emerged in the “1970’s when lawyers, legal scholars, and activists in the United States (US) realized that the perceived gains of the civil rights movement of the 1960’s were at best being stalled and more likely, losing ground” (p. 10). CRT is a framework exploring how systems of culture, privilege and power are intertwined. CRT scholars see race not as a real biological reality but rather as a contextually based social construction animated by social thought and power relations. The fundamental goal of CRT is “to uncover and document the different processes, mechanisms, trajectories and outcomes of potentially racialized practices that essentialize, dehumanize, “other,” and oppress minority groups while imbuing privileged groups with power and resources in nations across the globe” (Weiner, 2012, p.332). Unlike many academic frameworks, CRT also contains an activist dimension, since it tries both to understand how societies organize themselves along racial lines and to mobilize these insights for anti-racist social transformational purposes, to create a more

socially just world (Hylton, 2012). Not surprisingly, since CRT seeks to give voice to the voiceless, it has had particular resonance for Indigenous researchers and non-Indigenous academics who position themselves as allies of Indigenous people. Many of the authors reviewed here fell into one of these categories.

A central tenet of CRT is the concept of “Whiteness as a property” or the “expectation of control and power by the status quo (whites) that serves to maintain white domination in America through subordination and racialization of identity which legitimized seizure of land of Indigenous people and the slavery of African people” (Hylton, 2012, p. 12). Through this lens of “Whiteness as property” control over language, including the ability to name things, is a prime, though often unconscious aspect of the privilege conferred on Whites by colonial relations. This control of language, including the naming of mascots, facilitates ongoing White domination and the perpetuation of Indigenous racialization and subordination. To disrupt these hierarchical processes many of the authors thus portrayed Indigenous mascots as fundamentally inappropriate vestiges of an unjust colonial past and recommend that readers consider the “developmental, community, institutional, and anti-pluralistic effects of using Native Americans as mascots” (Longwell-Grice, R., Longwell-Grice H. 2002. P. 10). Achieving justice, according to Jensen, requires that a “person or group of people should have control over their name and image” (Jensen, 2003, p. 37). Thus many of the authors conclude that non-Indigenous people have no right to appropriate Indigenous monikers or symbols for their own use and benefit.

In addition to being informed by CRT some of the research reviewed here was underpinned by post-colonial theory (PCT) which anticipates processes to move past colonialism towards a future characterized by non-colonial or more equitable and harmonious relations. Effecting this change in relations according to Battiste, (2013) requires “a reorientation of

societal valuing of marginalized peoples' rich knowledge and cultures, rather than a sole valuing of the dominant peoples' interests" (p. 20). Longwell-Grice and Longwell-Grice urged readers to shift their thinking and language to give some power back to the colonized group and create the conditions for reconciliation. PCT suggests that a key role in this social transformation will be played by individuals referred to as *allies*. According to St. Dennis (2010) allies possessed the following characteristics:

genuine and honest people . . . positive and open-minded . . . listened, learned and made the effort to change . . . secure in their own identity. . . accepted the need for change. . . had a positive impact on Aboriginal students. (p. 52).

Other authors point to the broader questioning of accepted assumptions required in order to advance reconciliation. Regan, (2010) suggested that reconciliation will necessitate all "non-Indigenous readers to question the myth of Canada as a peacemaking and peacekeeping nation, and to, name the violence, to face the history – to turn over the rocks in your own garden which have been cultivated with such care" (p. 29). CRT influenced the conceptual framework of this study by highlighting the possibility of multiple truths in situations characterized by power imbalances. The concept of multiple truths and multiple understandings of circumstances will be addressed in further detail in Chapter Three through engagement with constructivist theory.

Conceptual Framework

The research reviewed in this chapter provided detailed contextual information on a variety of mascot changes in educational institutions across North America since the 1960s and provided support for the development of a conceptual framework to support the original research to be undertaken for this thesis. The review delineated disputes over mascot monikers as a significant source of social tension and controversy over the past half century and highlights

broad similarities in the chronological evolution of these controversies. Typically, the controversies began with a call to change or to abandon long-established Indigenous mascots on the grounds that they were offensive to Indigenous people. Demands for change frequently provoked strong resistance and pushback motivated by “tradition, money, and broader societal support” (Longwell-Grice, R., Longwell-Grice H. (2002). P. 4). Ultimately, most controversies were resolved by institutional decisions to abandon contentious Indigenous mascot monikers and replace them with less offensive and more inclusive symbols. In a minority of circumstances, especially when significant financial pressure was exerted, institutions elected to retain contentious Indigenous mascots.

The use of Case Study methodology highlighted the importance of context in generating mascot controversies, as the research reviewed here demonstrates that educational institutions, especially universities, were more likely to be at the center of these controversies. Larger social movements, such as Civil Rights, AIM or *Idle No More* were also very significant catalysts of mascot controversies; but these were also more likely to resonate in urban centers with substantial Indigenous populations or well-educated non-Indigenous youth oriented towards issues of social justice.

CRT and PCT suggest that that many of the monikers attached to Indigenous mascots and indeed, the selection of Indigenous mascots themselves, are vestiges of the historical colonization of Indigenous peoples and play a critical though subtle role in the ongoing power dynamics signifying processes of neo-colonization. As a conceptual framework for this research then, these theoretical lenses frame mascot controversies as conflicts between different truths: the truth of the colonizer, that Indigenous mascots signify strength and honour, being challenged by the truth of the colonized, that the mascots promote negative and inaccurate stereotypes of

Indigenous people. Through CRT and PCT lenses demands for change represent efforts on the part of colonized people to disrupt historical hierarchies and reclaim power over language and symbols in order to reclaim their right to identify themselves and create more equitable cross-cultural relations. Similarly, resistance to Indigenous mascot changes, through CRT and PCT lenses, represent efforts on the part of elements within the dominant society to perpetuate the status quo and ensure the benefits of Whiteness as property are maintained by descendants of the colonizers. This assumption of conflicting truths will inform data collection and data analysis approaches, which are outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design

According to Mertler (2016) “research designs describe the plan to be used by the researcher to carry out the actual study” (p. 61). The research design for this study was presented in Chapter Three and included the research methodology, research questions, theoretical framework, participant selection, data collection, transcription and coding of data, data analysis, ethical considerations, and presentation of findings. Gall, Gall, & Borg stated that the research method describes “sampling procedures, data collection procedures and any other procedures that are critical to the study” (2007, p. 54). For this study, I used the qualitative research approach, described as follows by Denzin & Lincoln: “A qualitative research allows qualitative researchers to study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (2011, p. 3). I attempted to understand this phenomenon through individuals who were directly involved in the process. The Case Study aims to “thoroughly describe complex phenomena in ways to unearth new and deeper understandings of the phenomena” (Mertens, 2015, p. 245). According to Merriam, (1998)

the qualitative Case Study design is employed to gain an in depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interest is in the process rather than outcomes, in context rather than specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation. Insights gleaned for case studies can directly influence policy, practice and future research. (p.19)

As a researcher, my main interest was to gain understanding of the complex controversy that arose over the campaign to change the athletic moniker of the Bedford Road *Redmen* and specifically to gain insight through the individuals involved about the multiple truths that were in

evidence in this divisive debate. I also wanted to explore ways in which the controversy touched on issues of power and race and to gain insight into how efforts to decolonize language and symbols contribute to reconciliation in our community and wider society. Fundamentally the case study approach “attempts to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p.3).

Research Questions:

The following broad research questions guided the data collection:

- Why did the name of the Bedford Road athletic mascot (*Redmen*) become so controversial between 2010- 2014?
- What were the perceptions of key individuals regarding the factors contributing to that controversy?
- How was the controversy resolved?
- What implications did the controversy have for post-colonial efforts to decolonize language and symbols and to advance reconciliation?
- What implications did the controversy have for school leaders and administrators?

Based on the research synthesized in Chapter Two, I decided that Case Study was the most appropriate method for this research. Stake argued that “Case Study is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a case over time, through detailed data collection and reports a case description and case-based themes” (2007, p. 73); and Lincoln and Guba added that the “object is not to focus on the similarities that can be developed into generalizations, but to detail the many specifics that give the context its unique flavor” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 201).

Given the unique nature of the controversy to be investigated and the importance of the meaning attached to the events by participants, seeking to understand the motivations, beliefs, and actions

of individuals who were directly involved in the mascot change was the primary focus of the Case Study.

The Case Boundaries

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that boundaries within a case allow the researcher focus on the factors that are most important to the research. (p. 42). This Case Study was bounded by time, setting and participants.

Time as a Boundary

Case Study research no longer solely depends on participant observation or interviews and as a result a Case Study can be completed in less time with the utilization of other data collection methods to produce high-quality research (Yin, 2014). Data gathering for this study was focused on the events that took place at Bedford Road from 2010-2014 regarding changes to the *Redmen* athletic moniker while outside developments such as *The Idle No More* movement that had a national impact during this time are also considered, insofar as the impacted the Bedford Road controversy. Using this four-year time-frame as a boundary allowed the researcher to concentrate on those developments which were of greatest importance to understanding the controversy within a specific chronology.

Setting as a Boundary

Where an event takes place is vital to understanding the outcome of a circumstance. Marshall and Rossman (2011) stated that “human interactions are significantly influenced by the setting in which they occur and that one should, therefore, study that behaviour in those real-life natural situations” (p. 91). Similarly, to understand the circumstances under investigation here it was necessary to delineate the setting within which they occurred.

The Bedford Road *Redmen* athletic mascot controversy unfolded within a very unique setting within the city of Saskatoon. The school is located in the Caswell Hill and Pleasant Hill areas, located on the west side of Saskatoon. The area historically was characterized by lower socio-economic status and greater cultural diversity than other parts of the city and remains so to the present. Tank (2018) compared Pleasant Hill to a more affluent area of Saskatoon, The Willows, and noted the following differences:

MEDIAN INCOME (2015)

- Pleasant Hill: \$21,520 (\$21,620 in 2014)
- The Willows: \$71,750 (\$71,510)
- Saskatoon: \$39,760 (\$39,190)

ETHNIC DIVERSITY* (2011)

(* a higher number indicates greater diversity)

- Pleasant Hill: 1.47
- The Willows: 0.02
- Saskatoon: 0.61

VOTER TURNOUT

- Pleasant Hill: 12 percent in 2016 civic election (18 percent in 2016 provincial election)
- The Willows: 51 per cent (36 per cent)
- Saskatoon: 40 per cent (56 per cent)

Tank (2018) clearly outlined the socioeconomic status of the area of the city that Bedford Road Collegiate is located. The area is very culturally diverse, varying from blue-collar Caucasian families to the majority of this area being populated by Indigenous people. Additionally, due to the lower cost of housing in this area, there is a larger than average immigrant or Newcomer population. This diversity likely contributed to the controversy, because of the multiplicity of

opinions among the culturally diverse population. Having an Indigenous mascot in a neighbourhood with a high Indigenous population arguably negatively affects their perceptions of themselves. According to Baptiste (2014), “We are essentially allowing ourselves to accept the minimum, instead of demanding equality in all things” (p. 1).

Bedford Road Collegiate is a High School in this area housing grades nine to twelve. According to the Saskatoon Public School Division & Greater Saskatoon Catholic Schools (2016) (as cited by Neighbourhood Profiles, 2017) the school has a population of 597. It has a rich history of athletics, most notably the Bedford Road Invitational Tournament (BRIT). The B.R.I.T. is a Basketball Tournament that brings in teams from all over Canada and occasionally attracts teams from international contexts. The tournament began in 1968, continues to present, and is a significant source of pride and interest for the school (Bedford Road Handbook, 2018).

During and after the campaign (2010-2014), there were numerous headlines in the newspapers, locally, *paNow*, and Nationally, *CBC News*. Some notable ones include: “‘Redmen’ name and logo history at Bedford Road Collegiate,” “Change Bedford Road *Redmen* name, school board says,” “Saskatoon school could soon drop ‘Redmen’ name, logo.” (CBC News, 2014). The extensive media coverage obviously contributed to greater public awareness of the developments and likely resulted in more people choosing to become involved on one side or the other of the debate. In addition to traditional media, because the *Redmen* controversy happened relatively recently, much of the debate played out on social media. Particularly influential was a Facebook page created by Erica Lee, which sought to recruit support for the campaign to change the mascot moniker, called *Bedford Road Redmen, It’s Time for a Change*. Through Facebook Lee received numerous violent and hate-filled messages to end her campaign. One particularly aggressive post read:

Figure 4: Comment on the It's time for change Facebook change.



This post is one example of the negative responses that the campaign to change the *Redmen* logo generated, outlining what the climate within the setting was like during the shift. The context and climate of the school and social media platforms had a significant negative impact on the individuals advocating for the mascot change, with the use of negative gender and racial stereotypes being very common.

A significant factor in understanding the setting was the recent disturbing history of extreme racial conflict in the city of Saskatoon. A particularly egregious example was the so-called “Starlight Tours” or the practice whereby Saskatoon City Police Officers were confirmed to have taken Indigenous men out of the city and abandoning them on the outskirts, often in severe winter conditions, leading to death by freezing. According to Report of the Commission of Inquiry commissioned by The Honourable Mr. Justice David H. Wright, “[O]n November 29th, 1990, two construction workers discovered the frozen body of a young male in a field in the northwest section of the City of Saskatoon. The deceased was subsequently identified as Neil Stonechild, age 17” (2004, p. 8). The Stonechild and other similar cases brought significant negative attention on Saskatoon, earning the city and province an unenviable reputation as a hotbed of racism and White supremacy. Significantly, it was less than a decade later that the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign began, bringing further negative media attention to Saskatoon. As

will be discussed later, this had a significant impact on how the school division handled the Bedford Road athletic mascot shift, as they wanted to move swiftly to disassociate their organization from any connection to the Saskatoon City Police and the racist mistreatment of Indigenous people.

Research Participants as a Boundary

Activity typically constitutes a boundary in Case Study research, so participants deemed to have played an important role in the controversy around the *Redmen* formed another boundary of the study. Purposeful sampling was used in this study to ensure that the participants chosen possess critical knowledge about the events that this study is seeking to describe and are available to participate in the research. According to Patton, (2002) (as cited by Surri, 2011):

The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term purposeful sampling. Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations (Patton, 2002, p. 230).

Desirable attributes for the participants in this Case Study included the following:

- Closely connected to Bedford Road Collegiate High School (either as staff, student, parent or member of administration)
- Cultural background (ideally 50% Indigenous 50% non-Indigenous)
- Diversity of socioeconomic backgrounds

- Positionality of the participants (50% in favour of changing the *Redmen* moniker 50% against the change)
- Lastly participants were chosen based on their availability to participate in data collection during the time determined by the researcher.

Six individuals agreed to participate in the research and the rationale for choosing these participants was to access data to document and analyze the multiple truths involved in the mascot controversy. Individuals that were identified as significant in this study were: Erica Lee (leader of the campaign for changing the *Redmen* athletic mascot), Cody Hanke (the principal of Bedford Road during the controversy), Barry McDougall or George Rathwell (superintendent during the controversy), members of the Bedford Road High School SCC during the controversy, and prominent student activists and advocates associated with the multiple perspectives that emerged during the controversy.

Collecting Data

There are numerous methods for collecting data in qualitative research. The primary method selected for this study was face-to-face interviews. Face-to-face interviews require the interviewee and the participant to discuss a phenomenon. Therefore, the researcher, “knows enough about the domain of inquiry to develop questions about the topic in advance of interviewing but not enough to anticipate the answers” (Richards & Morse, 2013, p. 127). Interviews are one of the best means for researchers to investigate issues in an in depth way and to discover how individuals think and feel about a topic and why they hold certain opinions. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) described the face-to-face interview as an “attempt to understand the world from the subject’s point of view, to unfold the meaning of subject’s experience, to uncover their lived world” (p.1). As one of the main goals of this research is to understand the

multiple truths involved in the argument, and to explore the meanings that people associated with the debate, face-to-face interviews were deemed to be the most appropriate means of collecting data.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Kvale and Brinkmann (2008) stated that the “semi-structured interview is neither an open conversation nor a highly structured questionnaire” (p. 27). According to Gall et al. (2007), “the major advantage of semi-structured interviews is their adaptability” (p. 228). They are a useful means to obtain detailed information about personal feelings, perceptions and opinions; they allow more detailed questions to be asked; and they allow ambiguities to be clarified and incomplete answers followed up on. Semi-structured interviews consist of leading questions that help to describe the areas to be explored and allows the interviewer or participants to pursue an idea or response in detail. It also allows the researcher to pose probing questions that may elicit deeper insights into the experiences of participants.

Interview Guide

An interview guide was used during this research to direct the data collection. (**See Appendix A**). An interview guide “increases the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection somewhat systematic for each respondent. Logical gaps in the data can be anticipated and closed” (Patton, 2002, p. 349). The questions in the interview guide were designed to provoke in-depth self-reflection from the participants to gather responses that delineate the beliefs they held or currently hold about the mascot change, the meanings they ascribe to that change and its larger significance for the community. A Pilot interview was conducted to ensure the interview questions would to attain the desired information. The interview guide was revised, after the Pilot interview was conducted to sharpen or alter questions to ensure the best

data emerged from the interview. There is a case for potential worry in regards to participants not disclosing their true feelings about this topic. To counter this, I attempted to create a safe and comfortable atmosphere for individuals to share their opinions without apprehension.

According to Gill et al. (2008), “interviews should be conducted in areas free from distractions and at times and locations that are most suitable for participants” (p. 294). For the participants in this study, the interviews were held in a room free of distractions at a location of their choosing. Establishing rapport with participants before the meeting was also important as this can also have a positive effect on the subsequent development of the interview (Gill et al., 2008, p. 292). It was necessary to engage in informal conversation before the interview began to allow individuals to become comfortable and ensure a sense of safety and security so that they could respond as completely and as honestly as possible to the interview questions.

Furthermore, to ensure that the interview is as productive as possible in soliciting the most insightful data, researchers must possess a collection of skills (Gill et al., 2008, p. 292). One of the most critical skills is the ability to listen attentively to what participants say in response to questions. I allowed the participants to be aware of the recording and I also adopted non-threatening and encouraging body language, nodding, smiling, maintaining eye contact and making supportive noises during the interview.

Face-to-face interviews

Before an interview takes place, each participant will be informed about the study details and given assurance about the ethical principles of research required by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioral Research Ethics Board. After they agreed to participate in the study, I gave each participant a consent form to confirm their willingness. Participants were assured that they could withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. After each participant signed

the consent form, I provided them with answers to any further questions that they may have had and reassured them that at any point they could leave the interview without penalty and data they may have provided would be deleted if they wished.

Reading and Writing Memos

Memos were be written throughout the data collection and data analysis stages.

Acknowledging the constructivist paradigm, I used memos to reflect on my experience and discoveries as the researcher throughout the process. As Saldana (2013) identified, writing memos provides a place to “dump my brain” about the participants, phenomenon and the process and evoked more thinking and deeper reflection on the data (p. 44). When writing memos, I followed the recommendations by Saldana (2013, p. 53) and directed my memos towards reflecting on the following categories:

- the study’s research questions,
- the code choices and their operationalized definitions,
- the emergent codes, categories, subcategories, and themes,
- the possible links between codes, categories, subcategories and themes,
- the potential problems with the study.

Reading and writing memos added depth to the data collection process and assisted in the coding and analysis of the data. It allowed me to create a provisional ‘start list’ of codes prior to fieldwork that comes from the list of research questions, hypotheses, problem areas and key variables that the researcher brings to the study. As interviews were conducted and data was

collected it also allowed me to record my first impressions of the insights provided by participants to assist with the formal data analysis process when all interviews were completed.

Constructivism

The theoretical framework used for this study is constructivism. According to Creswell, (2013, as cited by Merriam 2009) “In this worldview [constructivism], individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences” (p. 9). Additionally, reality is best explained by multiple interpretations, not one single lens (Merriam, 2009, p. 9). In research, the participants construct individual and shared meanings about a lived experience, and the researcher works with the participants “to understand the complex world of lived experiences from the point of view of those who live it” (Schwandt, 1998, p. 221). In this study, I relied heavily on constructivist assumptions to attempt to understand this complicated issue.

Etic Approach

Being from outside of the Greater Saskatoon area, belonging to a non-Indigenous culture, and not being directly involved in the *Redmen* controversy means that I adopted an etic stance in conducting this study. According to Godina & McCoy (2000), “The terms [emic and etic] originated in linguistics and anthropology in the 1950s and 1960s and over the following decades researchers in numerous fields and disciplines, including education, have found the concepts useful” (p. 172). An etic approach is sometimes referred to as research done by an outsider. Lett (as cited by Godina & McCoy, 2000) offered this definition: “Etic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the community of scientific observers, (p. 172). Being an outsider allowed me the advantage of bringing greater objectivity to the research than if I had

been directly involved in the phenomenon under investigation. However, I was not entirely without bias. My experience and passion for athletics and knowing what it means to be part of a team meant that I could empathize with the side of the controversy that did not want the change. Moreover, as I identify as an ally for reconciliation, this obligated me to understand the perspectives of individuals who saw the mascot as offensive and who strongly advocated for change.

Researcher Bias

According to Johnson and Christensen (2008), researchers must be open to findings that contradict the researcher's previous assumptions and challenge their expectations of the outcomes of the study (p. 411). I was fully prepared to have any positions I currently have tested and altered through the interview process. Without fail, individuals draw on their past experiences to understand and make decisions on events. I attempted to become aware of my own biases and expected that they would be challenged, while ensuring that my assumptions did not get in the way of the data collection and analysis portion of the research. My hope, but not the purpose of the research, was to construct a study whereby participants were able to hear and appreciate what the other side had to say; as it was evident during the debates that neither side showed much willingness to listen to or understand the other. The utilization of bracketing was necessary for research such as this. According to Carpenter (2007) (as cited by Chan, Fung, and Chien 2013), "Bracketing is a methodological device of phenomenological inquiry that requires deliberate putting aside one's own belief about the phenomenon under investigation or what one already knows about the subject prior to and throughout the phenomenological investigation" (p. 1). As a researcher, I needed to be aware of my biases and put them aside to fully understand this topic.

Data Analysis

This section explains how the data was analyzed. After the data has been collected and transcribed, the process of data analysis commenced in search of patterns through inductive analysis. The inductive analysis process organized the data collected into categories through coding and identified relationships and patterns or themes based on the categories (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010, p. 109). The data obtained from the individual interview transcripts was summarized and synthesized to facilitate interpretation.

Interpretation

The next step was to sort the data into categories and themes. The transition to themes required a higher level of interpretation to understand the larger meanings or the “lessons learned” from the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The research questions were used to construct the initial categories within the data and a data analysis spiral was then followed to develop themes within the data.

The Data Analysis Spiral

The process of data analysis and interpretation can be challenging to navigate, especially considering the topic. In a Case Study “conveying an understanding of the case is the paramount consideration in analyzing the data” (Merriam, 1998, p. 193). In an attempt to better analyze the data, I utilized Creswell’s (2017) Data Analysis Spiral. The Data Analysis Spiral (2017), as illustrated in figure 5, consists of four main analysis procedures: managing and organizing data; reading and writing memos; describing, classifying codes into themes; developing and assessing interpretations, and representing and visualizing the data. The data from this case was analyzed through these procedures.

Figure 5: The Data Analysis Spiral



Note. Adapted from “Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches” by J.W. Creswell, C.N, Poth, (2017). P. 186. Sage publications.

Coding

Coding is the process of making sense and finding the significance of the data and becomes the basis for organizing the data to facilitate the analysis. According to Richards & Morse (2013) “Coding enables data retrieval so you may begin the processes of analysis” (167). Additionally, Braun & Clarke (2006) state that a code “identifies a feature of the data that appears interesting to the analyst” (p. 7). The presence of multiple truths through CRT and PCT lenses was particularly important in coding and analyzing the data.

Triangulation

Triangulation was employed in the data analysis process to ensure validity. As stated by Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, (2013), “The data triangulation process involves using different sources of information in order to increase the validity of a study” (p. 25). According to Janesick (1998) (as cited by McMillan and Schumacher, 2010), “Triangulation is the use of multiple

researchers, multiple theories, or perspectives to interpret the data; multiple data sources to corroborate data and multiple disciplines to broaden one's understanding of the method and the phenomenon of interest" (p. 110). Triangulation was achieved by combining participants' interview data, memos and field notes compiled during the data-collection process and insights from the literature review, especially the idea of multiple truths. Triangulation of methods ensured the "consistency of findings generated by different data collection methods" (Patton, 2002, p. 556).

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is of utmost importance during the research process for the researcher and the participants involved. This was ensured with member checking. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) member checks are "the most crucial technique for establishing credibility" (p. 314) in a study, whereby the participants themselves confirm the accuracy of the transcripts. After the data was transcribed, transcripts were forwarded to participants to ensure they believed the data they provided had been accurately represented.

Ethical Considerations

To protect participants from emotional and physical harm, I secured Ethics approval from the University of Saskatchewan Behavioral Research Ethics Board before data collection. Before the data collection, I obtained consent from participants. The participants were thoroughly briefed on the ethics requirements, and the purposes of the study and each question was reviewed in detail with the participants to ensure they clearly understand their rights and the questions being asked so they may consider their responses in advance. Participants often shared passionate personal views and experiences that can cause them to be at risk of distress (Stake, 2005, p. 154). Ethical procedures required that participants had the option to not participate in

the interview or to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. Participants were given the option of being assigned pseudonyms; but all agreed to the use of their real names.

Respect

Respect for the participants is imperative for ethical research and being respectful begins with the researcher accepting that each participant is an autonomous, self-determined being who is free to make choices and is not merely a means to an end (Burns & Grove, 2001; Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 46). I accepted that participants were free to believe and share their thoughts and feelings in response to my interview questions. During the interview process, I recorded the answers provided by interviewees and asked probing questions with the intent to understand their perspective rather than solicit data that confirmed my preconceptions.

Justice

The principle of justice holds that each participant should be treated fairly during the study. Participants were “selected for reasons directly related to the problem being studied and not for their easy availability; their compromised position or their manipulability” (Burns & Groves, 2001, p. 203). Fairness was demonstrated through the purposeful selection of participants. Participants were selected based on their desirable traits and characteristics. Fair treatment extends from sampling to data collection where informed consent ensured fairness through clear disclosure of risks and benefits associated with the research (Creswell, 2014, p. 134).

Beneficence

As Marshall and Rossman (2011) stated, “Beneficence addresses the central dictum, *primum non nocere* (first, do no harm)” (p. 47). While the topic under review was a controversial one, every effort was made to ensure participation poses minimal risk to

participants. To further protect the participants, their privacy was maintained: as Burns and Grove stated, “Privacy is the right an individual has to determine the time, extent and general circumstances under which personal information will be shared with or withheld from others” (p. 200). To the best of my ability I ensured to protect the privacy rights of my participants.

Summary

Qualitative Case Study was deemed the most appropriate approach to understand the controversy generated by demands to change the Bedford Road *Redmen* athletic mascot between 2010-2014. The case was bounded by time, participants, setting and activity. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with six individuals selected through purposeful sampling procedures who were involved in various aspects of the controversy. Once the data was transcribed a data analysis spiral was followed for the purposes of data analysis, with triangulation of interview data, field notes and insights from the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. Ethical considerations, especially respect, justice and beneficence were adhered to in order to ensure that the rights of participants were protected in line with the highest standards of ethical research.

CHAPTER FOUR

Presentation of Data

Utilizing a Case Study approach and qualitative methods to collect data by interviewing six participants, this study sought to document and analyze the lived experiences of key individuals and observers with ties to the Bedford Road Collegiate High School athletic mascot change, to better understand the significance of the controversy. In this chapter, I reported the results of interviews conducted with six participants and the results of a preliminary coding and analysis of the data. The Case Study approach was deemed most appropriate given the context-specific nature of the phenomenon under study; and the complexities of the topic combined with my position as an etic researcher, necessitated accessing the insights of individuals who were directly involved to better understand the situation.

The interviews occurred in neutral, agreed-upon locations and each of the participants was interviewed for between three quarters to one and a half hours. The interviews were tape-recorded and the participants were instructed that the recording of the interview could be discontinued at any time. The recorded interviews were transcribed and a copy of the transcript was sent to each of the participants to add, delete, or change any part of the transcript. Transcript release forms were given to the participants to sign after they had reviewed and confirmed that the transcript accurately reflected what they communicated during the interview. Two participants completed the interviews electronically, where they were given the interview questions and responded by email at a more convenient time. Face-to-face interviews were the preferred data collection method; however, these participants preferred to answer via email and convenience required that their request was accommodated. The participants in the study included two Indigenous students, Myles and Jordan, two Caucasian students, Matthew and

Tyler, one administrator during the shift, Cody Hanke, and a professor from the University of Saskatchewan, Dr. Paul Orlowski.

The Case Study was compiled by semi-structured interviews and all participants provided rich and insightful data. Case Study method was appropriate for this research because it is a means of investigating a particular phenomenon within a specific context, particularly when it is difficult to separate the phenomenon's variables from the environment (Merriam, 2009, p. 19). The main benefit of Case Study in this research was that it allowed me to explore the phenomenon of Indigenous athletic mascot shifts within a unique geographic context over a prescribed period while focusing on the context-specific dimensions of the phenomenon. It additionally allowed me to make sense of, or interpret, the phenomenon of the Bedford Road mascot change in terms of the meanings that some of the people involved brought to it (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Transcribing Interviews and Coding Data

The interviews were recorded using a cellular device and the data were made by transcribing the recorded interview with the participants. After the data were collected and transcribed, the process of data analysis commenced, in search of patterns through inductive analysis. The inductive analysis process organizes the data collected into categories through coding, and identifies relationships and patterns or themes based on the categories (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010, P. 109). As previously stated, triangulation was achieved by combining participants' interview data, my field notes, and insights from the literature review. In particular, the notion of multiple truths emanating from Critical Race theory's insights into the dynamics of colonialism, informed both the collection and the analysis of the data. Consistent with constructivist theory, multiple truths were established by the participants through the concept of

constructivism, whereby the lived experiences of the participants dictated their perception of reality. Additionally, the power dynamics identified by CRT explains how participants involved in the study viewed the events differently from one another. This did not detract from the validity of the data but added another layer of analysis for the researcher to sort through when collecting and analyzing data. Trustworthiness was ensured by having the participants check for accuracy of the transcripts, and allowing them to delete, add or modify any part of the transcription that was not accurate. Lincoln and Guba, (1985) suggested that trustworthiness includes credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (p. 314). The participants also clarified and expanded on any misunderstandings of the sub-investigator to ensure validity during the interview process.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the data analysis spiral (Creswell, 2017) was utilized for data collection and analysis. Step one of the interpretation was managing and organizing the data. After the interviews and transcription were completed, the task of sorting the information began. Initially, the data were grouped using the research and interview questions. During that time, memos taken during the interview process were reviewed and examined for further detail within the transcription notes. Thirdly, the identification of themes took place by sorting through data and identifying commonalities between the lived experiences of the participants. Once themes were identified, the assessment of the interpretations commenced. I had to gauge the validity of participant's responses and triangulate them with the field notes and the literature review, noting any similarities or differences between the triage. Finally, representing the data in a written form was necessary to make sense of the research.

In the following section, the research questions will be presented and the responses from the participants will be organized where appropriate. Initially, the data was organized and sorted in response to the research questions.

Participants	Indigenous Yes or No	Connection to B.R.C.H.S
Jordan Adilman	Yes	Parent and extended family are former members of B.R.C.H.S. Actively involved in Indigenous education and research.
Matthew Graham	No	Former student and athlete at Bedford Road Collegiate High School. Teacher in Saskatoon Public School Division.
Myles Shingoose	Yes	Former student and athlete at Bedford Road Collegiate High School.
Tyler Kalmakoff	No	Former student and athlete at Bedford Road Collegiate High School.
Cody Hanke	No	Principal at Bedford Road during the <i>#ChangeRedmen</i> campaign.
Paul Orlowski	No	Professor at the University of Saskatchewan, spoke on behalf of Usask to CTV to explain Usask's involvement in the campaign.

Interview Question: Why did the name of the Bedford Road athletic mascot (*Redmen*) become so controversial between 2010- 2014?

As with many other mascot controversies, the Bedford Road *Redmen* mascot controversy had deep historical roots. The Bedford Road Collegiate began using the athletic name *Redmen* and the lantern logo for sports teams back in 1923; however, the Indigenous mascot was not adopted until the 1960's. Additionally, there was also a school mascot that had no connection to Indigenous culture that was a figure dressed in red. According to Adilman, the Indigenous warrior mascot was chosen to represent *Redmen* based on "a time when First Nations and the American Indians in the states were on the rise in Hollywood". Indigenous people had become popular in television and movies to represent antagonists that were fierce warriors, and some participants believed that it was this honouring the fighting spirit of Indigenous people that explained the particular choice of mascot by the school, to signify the spirit of its sport and athletic teams.

The controversy evolved over time and the first attempt to change the mascot occurred in 1996, prompted by a student-led campaign. However, this petered out without any effect. According to Kalmakoff, "75% of the students voted for keeping things the same, probably all the Caucasian students". During the early 2000's another attempt to change the logo occurred, but this went the same way as the previous attempt in the 90's and the *Redmen* logo and mascot persisted. Although Kalmakoff denotes a Caucasian vs. Indigenous divide in these early controversies, that was not the perspective of Hanke, the administrator.

During the 1990's and early 2000's the Indigenous and multi-cultural population of Saskatoon grew dramatically, causing a once-predominantly Caucasian population to become much more diversified. As noted in Chapter Three the area in which Bedford Road is located is home to significant cultural diversity and is also one of the lower socio-economic

neighbourhoods in the city Tank (2018). Additionally, faculty at the University of Saskatchewan and teachers within the K-12 school systems increased their focus on racial and cultural issues, creating greater awareness of historical and contemporary social injustices against Indigenous people within the broader community.

The controversy resurfaced in the early 2010's with a few Indigenous students creating a campaign using social media to bring more awareness to the inappropriateness of the *Redmen* mascot. The campaign began as a small number of students led by Erica Lee, who wrote a satirical article in the school paper suggesting that B.R.C.H.S. change the logo from *Redmen* to *Spider-men*. To advance the demand for change, Erica created a Facebook page titled *Bedford Road Redmen, It's time for a change*. This Facebook page soon became a focus of intense controversy and backlash, suggesting that the campaign to change the mascot had touched a nerve, both within the school and the wider community. Other students also joined in, creating signs that read "People not Mascots" and displaying them at high profile events like the B.R.I.T. (Bedford Road Invitational Tournament). A student during the medal ceremony ran on to the floor with a banner protesting the *Redmen* logo and it certainly caused some negative attention as those students were escorted from the gym to loud boos and jeers. Cody Hanke explains,

There were little things where the banners were put up in the middle of the night around the school... Certainly, it was a bit of a negative cloud that hung over the other things that were happening at the school, positive things like BRIT. People were worried that somebody was going to do something stupid and a few stupid things did happen.

According to Hanke, the controversy initially was not one that pitted Indigenous against Non-Indigenous students, as Indigenous students themselves were divided on the issue:

There were two sides to the debate, it wasn't First Nations and non-First Nations side. There were two sides among First Nations in the debate. One side was obvious, they wanted the change and the other side of the First Nations population did not want the change. In fact, they were very proud of the name and logo.

As principal of a school where roughly 35% of the student population was Indigenous, Cody Hanke decided that education and discussion were vital for the decision-making process. Therefore, he had teachers and students during the advisory time go through a three-week process, discussing arguments for and against the change. During the first week, he had those favouring the change put together presentations and share them with the student bodies. For the second week, individuals from the F.N.M.I. committee who were First Nation and Metis from around the province that advised the school division, presented their case for keeping the *Redmen* logo. Finally, during the third week, students had an opportunity to discuss their opinions during that allotted advisory time. Hanke then had all students write a response to him, sharing their thoughts on the Indigenous mascot. Hanke later gave some samples of the students' writing to the deputy Director of Education so that senior administration would understand the students' perspectives. Hanke was primarily interested in the opinions of the Indigenous students. According to Hanke, "Of the 186 Indigenous student responses, 183 Indigenous students did not want to change the *Redmen* athletic mascot, only three were in favour of the shift".

The campaign to change the athletic mascot was led initially by a small number of student activists, who were supported by allies from outside of the school, including some school teachers at B.R.C.H.S. and the wider Saskatoon school divisions and faculty at the University of Saskatchewan. Coincidentally, at this time the Bedford Road school was committed to revamping its Indigenous Education program, and was engaged in consultation with a cultural advisory committee to promote educating students on Indigenous history, culture and the need for reconciliation. Hanke met with the cultural advisory committee, but even members of this committee were divided on whether the mascot should change. Eventually however the committee advised that if a group of people felt that they were being misrepresented, then those people should have the right to change that representation.

Significantly, the #Change*Redmen* controversy coincided with the Idle No More (I.N.M.) campaign. The I.N.M. campaign emerged in 2012, in response to Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Bill-C-45, which Indigenous people feared posed a significant threat to land and water by privileging wealth-creation over concern for and protection of the environment. I.N.M. drew national attention and prompted marches and protests throughout Canada and provided significant momentum to the existing campaign to change the B.R.C.H.S. *Redmen* mascot.

Another significant influence on the campaign was the use of social media. Activists created the Facebook page, #Change*Redmen* and quickly received hateful comments, indicating the depth of emotion generated by the campaign to change the mascot. According to Cody Hanke, Social Media had a very significant impact on the controversy. It brought more attention to the school and attracted larger media sources such as CBC News, who then were able to communicate the controversy to national audience. Another participant, Jordan, seconded the impact of Social Media, stating that it created a push of momentum and drew attention from

other schools with Indigenous mascots. Additionally, students used opportunities like the B.R.I.T. (Bedford Road Invitational Tournament), which is the largest basketball tournament in western Canada, to draw attention to their cause.

Bedford Road seemed to lead the charge for neighbouring institutions, as noted by Hanke:

Interestingly enough, North Dakota made their change, Balfour (Regina) made their change, and the school in Calgary (Western Canada High) all made their change. There was some rendition of *Hawk*, or *Red Hawk* used in theirs as well.

It was as if we were all following each other.

Coincidentally all those institutions that were once Indigenous mascot-themed adopted new bird-themed logos.

The Bedford Road athletic mascot shift had a long history that finally came to a head in the mid-90's only to be dismissed until the 2010's. A small number of activists took charge of the campaign, supported by some educators and coupled with allies from the University of Saskatchewan. While utilizing the momentum of another national issue "Idle No More," the #ChangeRedmen campaign was successful. However, whether the mascot change ultimately improved relations between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous students at Bedford Road or advanced reconciliation in the wider community, remains very much a matter of perspective.

Perspectives on the Controversy

From the multiple perspectives of the participants, it is evident that the athletic mascot shift affected everyone deeply, intensely, and differently. Indigenous people expressed mixed

opinions. While some felt that the *Redmen* mascot was detrimental to their culture and was a negative fixture at Bedford Road Collegiate High School, others approved of the mascot and took pride in it, while others were largely indifferent. One Indigenous participant noted: “I am a First Nations man, I personally liked the team name but although I understood why the logo upset people I was rather indifferent whether or not they changed the logo at all on a personal level”. While others were very strongly in favour of change: “This logo is so derogatory that if we had the same name for Jewish or African-Americans, it would be looked at right then and there”. Graham, a non-Indigenous participant, cited feelings of loss, almost as if something was being taken from them,

The *Redmen* was how you identified as a team. There’s a lot of history at the school. The *Redmen* was on the front of the jerseys. It was on the bags. All the bunny hugs all that kind of stuff that we had. That was what brought you together as a team.

Additionally, the *Redmen* logo was seen as a rallying symbol for individuals who were on an athletics team. Interestingly, Graham mentioned that the *Redmen* name only occurred to him as a potential problem when his Indigenous teammates faced slurs and chants negatively associated with the mascot:

Hearing the slander from the crowd that was directed to some of my teammates at that time, that was the only times that I thought about the connotation of the Redmen mascot. I think it definitely made it worse for those Indigenous players that were on the teams. Particularly Basketball where you're so close to the fans, you can get pretty up close and personal.

From the responses of the participants, it seems that the opinions of some were impacted by their socioeconomic status or their residence. According to Adilman,

Yes, I do think it did impact how I looked at it. I was just going through my undergrad so I've learned, as an educator, you're always learning, you're a lifelong learner. So I was more open to it growing up as a Metis man I did look at stuff with another perspective. Even more so going through S.U.N.T.E.P. as it opened me up to more of an Indigenous world-view and paradigm. So I viewed it from another way.

Additionally, many of the participants referenced other Indigenous mascots and how they impacted the Bedford Road controversy. For many of them it was a starting point for this debate and conversation, as noted by Adilman.

When I was younger, I didn't understand the implications of that. But now as I'm older and have gone through my undergrad in S.U.N.T.E.P. and my graduate studies in Indigenous Education I see it did have a big implication on Indigenous peoples and at a time when First Nations and the American Indians in the states it was a rise in Hollywood, so I see how it made its way into it and if formed as a tradition for the other students. So when the change started to happen, people were upset on the other side because they saw it as a tradition thing and didn't see how it affected Indigenous peoples.

Others mentioned that it might be acceptable for members of the Indigenous group to wear the clothing that represents the Indigenous mascot for a sports team, for a few reasons. One reason cited was they simply like the team and support them by wearing the clothing. They don't find it

offensive so why should anyone else? Another reason given for Indigenous people wearing Indigenous mascot clothing was it was a way to own the oppression and use it as a rallying cry in their protest against the Whiteness and neocolonialism that they are facing.

Hanke described his position and challenges to reconcile different opinions among the Indigenous students as follows:

I was the white-person immersed in the middle trying to navigate the waters. The previous two controversies with Bedford Road name and logo were Indigenous vs. Non-Indigenous. This time it was not that at all. It was two groups from the same culture, one wanted it to stay and the other wanted it to change. It was a bit different that way, as I wasn't sure which group to listen to. They both made good arguments but both wanted, in a strong way, their way. My first reaction was, how was I going to navigate the in between and what was the right answer. At some point, I knew I was going to have to make one of the groups unhappy.

Why was the Bedford Road *Redmen* mascot change so controversial?

For some, the *Redmen* athletic logo was perceived as positive, representing a symbol of strength and honour, something to rally around and which unified the school. For others, the *Redmen* was an outdated figure, with negative and derogatory connotations that reinforced harmful stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. The controversy, although often presented as pitting Indigenous vs. Non-Indigenous, was actually far more complicated because it also divided Indigenous students, as indicated previously. Kalmakoff reflected on the controversy in terms of respect and consideration, regardless of their feelings about the actual logo:

This is also a great thing to keep in mind in general conversation. If I hurt my wife's feelings, but my intention was good ... never mind, it doesn't matter! I hurt her feelings. That's what matters. So apologize and do something different next time. Too often, as humans, we defend ourselves because our intentions were good and we'd rather stick to our intentions and justify our actions with our intentions instead of listening to what I like to call "the pain of outcome". If you felt that the mascot was racist, you were happy that the controversy was coming to the forefront of people's conversations. You were tired of your culture being used to perpetuate a negative stereotype.

How the Controversy was resolved?

Participants' noted that even though the controversy was resolved, many underlying issues remained unaddressed. The school division appeared to handle the controversy primarily with a view to minimizing publicity, especially negative perceptions of the school and the division. Once it became obvious that the controversy was not going to die down as it had in the past, then a formal decision of the school board was required. They elected officials met and voted 8-2 in favour of the changing. According to Hanke,

There was a period of 3 weeks where the elected members of the division knew this was coming up and some reached out towards the school and came to talk to the students and others didn't make an appearance and probably had their decision made before the vote even took place.

The decision to replace the *Redmen* logo with *Redhawks* was a complicated procedure in itself. Twenty-four individuals selected from alumni, teachers, and students were asked to give their opinion and to come to a consensus. Eventually, the twenty-four came down to ten people

that made the decision. A graphic artist was then sought out to see what could be created from their ideas. The decision came down ultimately to two options: *Bedford Road United* and the eventual winner, *Bedford Road Redhawks*. Both logos involved the same colour scheme, however, with the *Redhawks* being the provincial bird and the overall superior esthetics, the *Redhawks* logo was decided upon. The consensus from the participants was that the *Redhawks* was a great choice for the new athletic name and logo as it kept the colour-scheme the same, paying tribute to the history of the school, while presenting a more inclusive symbol to represent athletics at Bedford Road Collegiate High School.

A common perception of participants was a belief that the controversy represented an opportunity missed by Bedford Road high school, Saskatoon Public School Division, and the media that provided coverage of the athletic mascot shift. There was a tendency to focus on the polarizing event but to ignore some of the deeper issues underlying that event. For example, Hanke noted that he reached out to the media, and other outside institutions that visited Bedford Road school during this time with an offer: “When the controversy is all said and done and this goes away, I would love for you guys to come back and help me with some of the other problems in this school and in our city”. Evidently, some of the individuals who were involved in local institutions, especially the cultural groups, wanted to help out with some of the underlying issues that were behind the overt issue of the Indigenous mascot. However, the media very quickly lost interest in Bedford Road and surrounding community once the controversy was resolved. One cultural advisor determined that the controversy was, “Low-bearing fruit, let's get rid of that, now let's deal with some of the socio-economic issues, the help didn't come from that group”. All participants interviewed believed that the controversy represented a missed opportunity for a deep conversation about race and inequality in the school, city and province that would initiate

meaningful change in the lives of residents. As voiced by Adilman, “Overall, I think this was a positive development but again, it could've been used as a catalyst for change. It was used somewhat but not to the extent it could've been used. They did what they had to do and then they stopped, put out the fire”.

Despite limitations, all participants viewed the athletic mascot shift as a significant first step for reconciliation between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous people at the school and in the wider community. The campaign was a wake-up call for many, as the attention it received on television and social media forced people to confront and examine their perceptions and prejudices. As Graham explains, “I think it shows how much it's needed when people are that opposed to the change to be more considerate of other people”. Reconciliation, for many, is not a comfortable transition or discussion. However, that discomfort is necessary in order to force change. The controversy divided people but it allowed for the discussion to occur; and at the end of the day most participants agreed that the change was necessary and positive, regardless of their stance at the time.

Participants also had the sense that the change can encourage future reconciliation. According to Shingoose, “If First Nation people feel their concerns and demands are being heard and dealt with, it may make them more open to being a part of any reconciliation process in the future” (2019). Orlowski believed that the *Redmen* shift to *Redhawks* represented a significant moment in the movement away from colonization in Canada:

Indigenous people in Canada have had to contend with the process of colonization for quite some time, 58% of Indigenous children live in poverty compared to 13% of Non-Indigenous people. I would place this mascot shift context within the

overall ethos of colonization in Saskatchewan and Canada. This is a start of reconciliation in Canada, baby steps, but baby steps are better than no steps at all.

Participants agreed that change of this magnitude puts a spotlight on the leadership; and in the case of this controversy it was principal Cody Hanke that faced much of the internal pressures and external media attention. Speaking to the importance of leaders in dealing with cross-cultural controversies, Orlowski noted “by definition; school administrators should be informed, progressive, and open-minded in nature to contend and make safe places for all students”. Cody Hanke, the administrator at the time, confided in the interview that there were some things he would have done differently, in hindsight. Firstly, he acknowledges that there may have been more of an opportunity for deep learning towards reconciliation if he had not left the school shortly after the mascot shift, as it is difficult for a new principal to come into a school and understand a complex situation without having been through it with the staff, students, and community members. Secondly, Hanke regrets that the majority of the Indigenous students’ voices were not heard (the 186 mentioned earlier who were in favour of keeping the *Redmen* name and logo). If Hanke could do it again, he would’ve had a forum or an opportunity for the school board to come and sit down with the Indigenous students and hear their voice in all this controversy. The advice given by some of the participants included, listening to the group which is voicing their concerns of offense and do not be a prisoner of history or tradition. Furthermore, ask yourself what is the purpose of this symbol? Is it promoting unity and cohesion within the school and community or is it fomenting division? Finally, involve as many individuals as possible in the decision-making process. Allow for students, staff, community members, and members of the group being represented to have a voice about a topic that involves all of them. The administration has a significant responsibility in promoting reconciliation in their schools

and it starts with being aware of the influence that school symbols have on everyone involved, especially those that have historically been marginalized within educational institutions.

Thematic Analysis

The coding method appropriate for a Case Study, as preferred by Miles and Huberman (1994), is to create a provisional ‘start list’ of codes prior to fieldwork that comes from the list of research questions, hypotheses, problem areas and key variables that the researcher brings to the study. My prior knowledge of the subject matter, information from the participants and the insight from the literature review helped me to create these codes which “identify a feature of the data that appears interesting to the analyst” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.7). The ‘start list’ of codes stemmed from engagement with the literature, the conceptual framework of multiple truths, and the responses to the five broad research questions from the interviews.

Identification of Themes

“Repetition is one of the easiest ways to identify themes” (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 89). During the interviews, many of the same ideas and concepts were repeated by a number of different participants. For example, the concept of the mascot change being a positive outcome even if they didn’t agree with it originally was expressed by many as was the importance of Social Media as a catalyst in the controversy. That opportunities were missed by the school, division, and wider organizations covering the athletic mascot change was also mutually agreed upon by participants. The abstract similarities and differences that the research questions generate can also be identified as themes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 89). Thus the themes in this research were also identified by organizing the data around the research questions. These research questions were:

- Why did the name of the Bedford Road athletic mascot (*Redmen*) become so controversial between 2010- 2014?

- What were the perceptions of key individuals regarding the factors contributing to that controversy?
- How was the controversy resolved?
- What implications did the controversy have for post-colonial efforts to decolonize language and symbols and to advance reconciliation?
- What are the implications of the controversy for school leaders and administrators?

The themes of Change, Motives, Power, Reconciliation, and Opportunities Missed presented themselves throughout the interview process and will now be discussed further.

Change

Not surprisingly, the theme of change within an organization due to public pressure was mentioned in every interview, with perspectives varying between participants. Like some of the other mascot shifts mentioned in Chapter Two, this innovation was brought about primarily by internal change agents within the student population who utilized public protest tactics to force the institution to consider changing the *Redmen* mascot. A novel feature of the #ChangeRedmen campaign led by Erica Lee was the use of social media, which communicated the concerns of the protestors to a much wider audience than would otherwise have been possible. As a result, the athletic mascot controversy garnered national attention and became something that could no longer be swept under the rug. Unlike some depictions of the controversy, however, data gathered for this study suggests that the demand to eliminate the *Redmen* mascot did not pit Indigenous against non-Indigenous students or representatives. According to the school principal Hanke, all Indigenous students were asked to write to him to convey their opinion of the athletic mascot shift, and the results were far from a consensus. Evidently an overwhelming majority of the Indigenous students were not in favour of the suggested change. However, pressure from the group of students leading the #ChangeRedmen campaign, with strong support

from educators and academics, combined with intense media scrutiny, resulted in the School Board making the decision to replace the *Redmen* mascot with the *Red Hawks* logo with a vote of 8-2.

Motives

The motivations of the various individuals and groups involved in the controversy emerged as a significant theme in data analysis, with a variety of diametrically opposed perspectives coalescing in three broad camps. Proponents of the change felt passionately that the *Redmen* logo was an outdated and offensive vestige of a colonial past which had a continuing negative impact on Indigenous students and people and which constituted an impediment on the path towards reconciliation within the school and larger community. Others were largely indifferent or expressed opinions such as “what’s the big deal” and “aren’t there more important things to be worrying about right now?” In contrast a third group was constituted by individuals who expressed a strong attachment to the *Redmen* mascot on the basis of its symbolic significance as emblematic of the school’s history and tradition, especially its sporting accomplishments, and who consequently were vehemently opposed to the demands for change. This last group was left with feelings of disappointment and betrayal when the school board ultimately voted to discontinue the *Redmen* mascot.

Power

While the Bedford Road athletic mascot controversy centered on the *Redmen* logo, the depth of animosity which was generated suggests that the stakes were much higher. In calling for an end to the *Redmen* logo, participants suggested that proponents of change were tacitly challenging power dynamics within the school and wider community which had allowed non-Indigenous people to assume an unquestioned right to make all important decisions, including

decisions about how things should be named. Although many opponents of the change insisted that the *Redmen* logo was selected as a means of honouring Indigenous peoples, participants suggested that it was the loss of their hegemonic right to dictate language, and to appropriate Indigenous symbols as they saw fit, that caused the greatest upset. In short, many non-Indigenous people felt a sense of their belonging being taken by young Indigenous people who had no right to take it.

Reconciliation

According to all participants in this study, the shift of the Bedford Road Collegiate High School *Redmen* mascot to *Red Hawks* was the correct decision, representing a positive step towards cross-cultural reconciliation within the school and wider community. Matthew and Tyler believed that the demand to terminate the *Redmen* logo was a wake-up call in that it forced non-Indigenous people to acknowledge that naming connoted power and that language had the capacity to inflict pain, hurt and psychological marginalization. Although initially divisive, the controversy also demonstrated the capacity of Indigenous people to mobilize with the assistance of allies, to communicate their concerns and to force large educational institutions to acknowledge the justice of their demands. Once those demands achieved widespread publicity through social media, it became apparent that the retention of the *Redmen* logo was inconsistent with the mandate of the school and school division to advance reconciliation.

Opportunities Missed

Although the shift was unpopular for some, all participants agreed that in hindsight, it was the right decision. Matthew admitted to being disappointed at first and not understanding how a group of people could see the team that he loved and associated with now deemed inappropriate and racist. However, since he has begun his teaching career, he sees first-hand

how the Indigenous mascot and other forms of cultural appropriation are harmful to the people or group that is being inaccurately portrayed. While the athletic shift was agreed upon as the right decision eventually, all participants believed there was a missed opportunity for more substantial change at Bedford Road Collegiate High School. Hanke stressed that the athletic mascot, although a problem, was not the biggest problem facing his students. When it came time for the decision to be made, he challenged the media and other individuals calling for the shift to come to assist in other issues such as poverty, food and housing insecurity, academic struggles, and wider systemic challenges faced by students. After the mascot shift, little else changed to help make a substantial impact on the school and to advance genuine reconciliation between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous people by altering broader material and social realities.

Summary

In this chapter, data from participants' interviews were summarized and presented as a means of gaining insight into the controversy that arose over the campaign to change the Bedford Road Collegiate mascot from *Redmen* to *Redhawks*. Data revealed significant diversity in perspectives among those involved in the controversy and also suggests an account of events somewhat different than that presented in other narratives. While confirming antagonisms between Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants regarding the appropriateness of the *Redmen* mascot, data presented here also suggested differences of opinion among Indigenous students, with some championing the change and others advocating for retention of the old mascot. Use of a data analysis spiral delineated a number of broad themes in the data, including change, motives, power, reconciliation and opportunities missed. These themes were revisited in Chapter Five and subjected to further analysis through triangulation with the literature review and field notes.

CHAPTER FIVE

Data Analysis and Discussions of Findings

This chapter reviewed the themes emerging from data analysis, and presented the main findings regarding the experiences and insights of individuals associated with the Bedford Road Collegiate High School athletic mascot shift. The discussion of the findings emerged from the themes identified through data analysis and coding. As presented in Chapter Four these themes included Change, Opportunities Missed, Reconciliation, Motives, and Power. Findings were delineated by aligning these themes with the larger research literature on Indigenous mascots synthesized in the literature review in Chapter Two, with particular attention to the idea of multiple truths emerging from Critical Race theory. Additional insights and triangulation were derived from my observations during the interview and data analysis process as an etic researcher.

Change

Since the 1960's, as a result of resistance from Indigenous spokespersons and shifts in consciousness among non-Indigenous peoples resulting in a greater commitment to social justice, campaigns in opposition to Indigenous mascots have gained significant public attention across North America. Researchers such as Farnell (2004), Staurowsky (2007), Fryberg et al. (2008), Leavitt et al, (2015) and McLean et al, (2017) located the production of Indigenous mascots within a larger history of policies and practices that exalted white settler narratives, identities and institutions, while relegating Indigenous peoples' to positions of inferiority within emerging Anglo-American colonial societies. McLean et al (2017) argued that "Indigenous mascots in and of themselves, can be understood as a form of racialised colonial violence that is created and protected by white settler surveillance and control" (p.1). As a white invention that drew upon negative stereotypes of Indigenous peoples as savages in order to reinforce those stereotypes and

justify the confiscation of Indigenous lands and the marginalization of Indigenous peoples, advocates and researchers increasingly came to see Indigenous mascots as devices to assert ongoing control over the representation of Indigeneity and to enable the construction and maintenance of White superiority (Staurowsky, 2007; Farnell, 2004; NCAI, 2013McLean et al, 2017).

As outlined in Chapter Two, the first Indigenous mascot shift occurred in 1969 with Dartmouth College abandoning the *Indians* logo and replacing it with the *Big Green*. The Mankato State University mascot change demonstrated that it only took a few students to make a significant difference. Hofman (2005) noted that, "...three students in the Department of Human Relations and Multicultural Education at SCSU wrote letters to the Sauk Rapids Rice School District Superintendent asking that the school board address the racist use of the school's mascot, *The Indians*" (p. 157). The increased attention generated by these and other controversies induced a number of high profile organizations to demand a total ban of Indigenous mascots by schools and sports teams (McLean et al, 2017). Particularly influential was a public statement by the American Psychological Association in 2005 which confirmed the pervasive harm caused by racist mascots, including violence against and the degradation of Indigenous peoples; prompting it to call for "the immediate retirement of all American Indian mascots, symbols, images, and personalities by schools, colleges, universities, athletic teams, and organizations" (APA, 2005 as cited in McLean et al 2017, p.4).

Mascot controversies have frequently occurred within educational institutions and the catalysts for change have generally come from within the institutions in question, with members of minority groups often benefitting from strong support from allies within the majority population and supportive cross-cultural relationships playing a significant role in subsequent

debates and naming shifts (McLean et al, 2017). With the growing public attention and resistance to the utilization of mascots, many institutions resolved the controversies by abandoning traditional mascots deemed racist or offensive and adopting more inclusive, progressive, anti-racist, and socially acceptable mascots and monikers. Over 2,000 schools, universities, colleges and sporting organizations in the United States and Canada have changed mascot names over the past three decades (NCAI, 2013; Mclean et al, 2017).

Johansen (2003) argued that resistance to these mascots was a by-product of growing politicization among Native Americans Indians and that “[N]ative American sports mascots became an active political issue during the late 1960’s, with the founding of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Minneapolis” (p. 163). As part of a wider campaign to secure racial justice, Indigenous mascots became a symbol of exploitation and out-dated stereotyping and sometimes also provided an opportunity to build alliances with members of the non-Indigenous community who became increasingly sensitive to the potentially offensive nature of some monikers and their contribution to the perpetuation of neocolonial dynamics.

A comparison of insights from the literature reviewed in Chapter Two with the data provided by participants’ interviews, suggests that there were many similarities between the Bedford Road Collegiate High School athletic mascot controversy and previous Indigenous mascot shifts across North America. As with many other such controversies, the Bedford Road situation had deep roots, since the genesis of the *Redmen* mascot was the highly colonized context of Treaty Six territory in Saskatoon at a time in the 1920s when those colonial dynamics remained largely unquestioned and unchallenged. A number of attempts to critique and change the *Redmen* mascot were made previously, in 1996 and in the early 2000s, without success. But the issue resurfaced in 2012 with criticism of the *Redmen* logo being voiced by a few Indigenous

students, supported by educators from within the provincial school systems, faculty from the University of Saskatchewan, who had a commitment to anti-racist theory, and members of the broader Saskatoon community. As will be elaborated on below the #Change*Redmen* campaign benefitted from the Idle No More movement, which attracted significant attention to Indigenous issues among the Canadian public at the same time (McLean et al, 2017). Effective use of social media was an additional feature of the #Change*Redmen* campaign; and the widespread negative public attention resulting from an effective social media was a major catalyst in persuading decision-makers to replace the controversial *Redmen* logo (Duplex, 2013; McLean et al, 2017).

The #Change*Redmen* athletic mascot shift bore similarities to the other mascot controversies which were located in university cities across North America. These urban centers are typically home to larger populations with post-secondary education and are often characterized by a greater awareness of racial injustice because of exposure to anti-racist discourse stemming from Critical Race and broader anti-oppressive theory. As mentioned in Chapter Two these are frameworks which explore how systems of culture, privilege and power are intertwined as explanations of inequality and which seek to mobilize these insights for anti-racist social transformational purposes, to create a more socially just world (Hylton, 2012). Consequently, university towns tend to have deeper and more explicit public commitments to social justice and cross-cultural and racial reconciliation, with mandated programming dedicated to educating government employees and the public at large on the history of colonization of Indigenous peoples. The fact that university towns tend to have larger numbers of better educated members of minority groups, with greater awareness of their legal and civil rights and typically see more support for campaigns to undertake large-scale social changes from allies within the majority Caucasian populations, speaks to the capacity of Critical Race theory and

anti-racist discourses to effect meaningful social and political change, at least in certain contexts. As Green (2005) noted: “initiatives like this lead to shifts in knowledge production and in the preparation of cohorts of students obtaining elite education. They, in turn, will help shift the consciousness of civil society” (p.252).

As with other Indigenous mascot controversies the initial demand for change at Bedford Road was met with strong resistance from students, alumni, and outsiders. Significantly, as indicated in Chapter Four, a high percentage of Indigenous students at B.R.C.H.S. were not initially in favour of the mascot change. In other contexts, these negative reactions included withdrawing of funding from alumni to institutions. As noted in Chapter Two at Eastern Michigan University “75 alumni cancelled their memberships and funding significantly dropped the year following the shift. (Connolly, 2000, p. 528). And at North Dakota State “an alumnus threatened to withhold a \$100 million contribution he had pledged for the purpose of building the school a new hockey arena if the school changed its “*Fighting Sioux*” mascot” (Longwell-Grice, 2002, p. 8). From interviewing participants for this research, no evidence could be found that funding was threatened in response to the campaign to eliminate the *Redmen* logo. However, there was widespread opposition both within the school and the larger community of Saskatoon, especially from alumni of B.R.C.H.S., to the campaign to eliminate the *Redmen* logo. Angry and often racist and sexist comments online were the main source of negative responses, but hostility was also expressed in real time. During the Bedford Road Invitational Tournament (B.R.I.T), which is a very well-known international tournament, a student holding a poster that read “We are people not mascots” protested the old *Redmen* logo. McLean et al, (2017), noted that “He was booed by hundreds of basketball fans before being escorted out of the school, demonstrating

that there is a certain type of red man that is acceptable (a cartoon) and one that is not (a living person with a voice)” (p. 11).

As in other contexts, hostility to those advocating change at B.R.C.H.S. reveal the depth of attachment to traditional mascots, and the disturbing challenge that demands for mascot changes pose to individuals whose sense of power and entitlement is rarely challenged or questioned. A critical race theory lens, especially the concept of Whiteness as a property, frames control over language, including the ability to name things such as mascots, as a prime, though often unconscious aspect of the privilege conferred on Whites by colonial relations which facilitates ongoing White domination and the perpetuation of Indigenous racialization and subordination. Opposition to the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign thus suggested that many individuals, particularly white males in positions of authority, were resistant to the idea that Indigenous people should have control over how they were represented (Duplex, 2013), since this constituted a challenge to the narrative of White dominance and Indigenous subordination which underpinned colonial dynamics within Saskatchewan and Canadian society (Hylton, 2012; McLean et al, 2017).

The Bedford Road athletic mascot shift differed from other Indigenous mascot changes discussed in Chapter Two in a number of key ways. Firstly, social media had a major impact on the campaign as the *#ChangeRedmen* debate was one of the first Canadian race-related controversies to occur in the cyber age. Traditional media is typically owned by those with wealth and the mainstream media has a tendency to support dominant groups within society, thereby perpetuating elite control and reinforcing the status quo (Carlson and Frazer, 2016). In contrast social media is fundamentally democratic and, as McLean et al argue, affords unprecedented access to groups formerly shut out of the realm of communications:

[Social media] ...in its increased accessibility to Indigenous peoples provides a public space where people can openly challenge stereotypical representations, thereby disrupting and circumventing institutional regulation and control...

Through social media Indigenous Peoples can narrate their own stories, produce their own symbols of representation, and challenge racialising practices” (McLean et al, 2017, p.2).

Because of ease of access, social media provided a platform for a wide range of individuals to join the cause and to help support the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign. According to one participant: “without that push [of social media], you couldn't just sweep it off, the social media created a much bigger platform for the controversy”. On the other hand, the prevalence of social media intensified the rancor around the debate, as individuals are frequently more likely to express extreme views or to engage in abusive commentary online than in face to face communication (Carlson and Frazer, 2016). Thus the use of social media exposed the *#ChangeRedmen* proponents to significant abuse and revealed the extent of tensions about race relations in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, and Canada. As noted in Chapter Three, Erica Lee was the target of hostile, racist and sexually charged comments on Facebook, signifying a deep racial divide and animosity generated by the controversy. According to Mclean, et al (2017) “As the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign gained more visibility, the attacks via social media on individual women and two-spirit people who were part of the campaign increased” (p. 7). Social media amplified the controversy, and incorporated far more people into the debate than would otherwise have been the case. But it also intensified the bitterness of the debate, and likely resulted in far more extreme, hostile, disrespectful, sexist and racist views being expressed than if only traditional media were available.

Unlike many of the previous mascot controversies discussed in Chapter Two, the Bedford Road *Redmen* protesters benefitted from the increased national attention to Indigenous issues resulting from the Idle No More campaign. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Idle No More campaign to assert Indigenous rights and protect Indigenous lands and water in response to Prime Minister Harper's Bill C45 demonstrated the capacity of Indigenous grassroots organizers to mobilize Indigenous youth, obviously generating a sense of confidence and agency within Indigenous communities and an appetite to bring attention to a range of other grievances. This campaign had already placed Indigenous issues in the national spotlight and had generated significant support among the non-Indigenous population, creating an environment in which Indigenous people were more apt to advance other concerns given the prevailing climate and groundswell of support. According to Hanke, I.N.M. had a significant impact on the athletic mascot shift: "Yes, the Idle No More movement, got a little bit of a start with the *Redmen* name and logo. One of the founders, I worked with them at Royal West, they were certainly behind the scenes making things happen". The Idle No More campaign therefore was a catalyst for local Indigenous protests such as the #Change*Redmen* campaign, adding a dynamic typically not seen in previous mascot controversies, many of which tended to be stand-alone issues.

In a sense then the #Change*Redmen* campaign was a by-product of the wider politicization and mobilization among Indigenous peoples in Canada effected by the I.N.M. movement; and opposition to the *Redmen* logo, which came to be seen as a symbol of exploitation and out-dated stereotyping, also provided an opportunity to build alliances with members of the non-Indigenous community whose sympathies had already been mobilized by the I.N.M. movement (Johansen, 2003). As McLean et al noted: The issue of racist Indigenous mascots became a national conversation in Canada as the Idle No More (I.N.M.) movement and

the human rights case against the Nepean “Redskins” in Ontario gained traction in the media. The Idle No More movement expertly used social media and non-violent direct action to raise critical consciousness regarding Indigenous self-determination and land protections... This strategy connected people to the movement, and provided a platform for organising with others in the movement. The scope of a public social media campaign is important in pressuring organisations to make necessary changes rather than maintaining the status quo” (p.6).

An additional factor unique to Saskatoon which significantly impacted the course and outcome of the *#ChangeRedmen* controversy was the recent history of racial tension between Indigenous peoples and police within the city. As referenced in Chapter Two, the ‘Starlight Tours’ was the term given in the 1990s to a practice of municipal police taking young Indigenous men to the outskirts of the city and leaving them there to battle the elements, sometimes resulting in death by freezing (Wright, 2004). The story of one of the victims, Neil Stonechild, attracted particularly sensational national and international attention and tarnished the reputation of Saskatoon as a profoundly racist community, where Indigenous lives were deemed of lesser value and even disposable. It led to an official provincial inquiry which confirmed many of the allegations against the police and called for wholesale changes in relations between police, the wider justice system and Indigenous peoples in the city and province (Wright, 2004). The report and subsequent commentary brought additional attention to the persistence of structural, systemic and individual racism in Saskatchewan, and the dire threat that this posed to the maintenance of social cohesion in a province with one of the largest Indigenous populations in Canada. Because of the attention that revelations of the ‘Starlight Tours’ brought to race relations in Saskatoon, and the need to bolster social cohesion through greater cross-cultural understanding, authorities were particularly sensitive to the negative publicity which attended the

#Change*Redmen* campaign. It can be inferred that public officials, including some at the Saskatoon Public School Division, moved swiftly to change the offending *Redmen* logo to avoid additional negative press. Were it not for sensitivities around race relations stemming from the Starlight Tours, and a strong desire to distance the city from its highly publicized controversial past by promoting tangible reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, it is possible that decision-makers would not have been as receptive to demands to change the *Redmen* mascot.

Motives

Another theme prominent in the data was the motives of the various individuals and groups involved in the controversy around the Bedford Road athletic mascot change. Many of the dynamics, emotions and motives identified in Chapter Two in discussions of other mascot controversies were also present at Bedford Road, obviously flavoured by local context. Participants in this research who attended Bedford Road who were opposed to the change indicated that they had a very significant emotional investment in the logo and felt as though a piece of their personal and institutional history and identity was being taken from them. According to former student and athlete Matthew Graham,

There's a personal connection with it (*Redmen* logo), there's a lot of history at that school, it's been open a long time. A lot of people identify as *Redmen*; it feels like a big part of your life and when the demand to change it emerged you feel as if your identify is being taken away or changed.

Bedford Road alumni who participated in school teams felt a special affinity for the mascot as it was the symbol they had identified with as athletic representatives of the school, fostering a strong sense of belonging to the institution and logo. Some school administrators shared this

attachment, as in a media interview a member of the school administration said that retiring the mascot was “like losing a member of the family” (Young, 2014).

Using critical race and anti-oppressive theory McLean et al, (2017) argued that the emotional response of those opposed to the mascot change represented a “move to innocence”, and that focussing on the heroic, honouring and traditional dimensions was a means of concealing ways in which the *Redmen* mascot was implicated in malign racial dynamics within the community: “The backlash our campaign initially received on social media and in the wider community was often framed with emotional rhetoric such as “honor,” “school pride,” “tradition,” and a personal connection to school memories that the mascot somehow embodied. These iterations are code words that make the violence seem more palatable and maintain the innocence of white settlers. The emotional investment that so many white settlers had in the racist mascot is a protection of their whiteness and white supremacy as a colonial system of power: (McLean, 2017, p.5). And they concluded that “White settlers socialised into dominance will resist retiring the mascot because it is a blow to who they think they are, and their desire to control Indigeneity” (p.7).

From one Indigenous student’s perspective, “I was indifferent when I heard about the demand to change the mascot. Even though I personally liked the logo, I understood why others might have found it offensive”. According to Hanke, very few Indigenous students originally opposed the *Redmen* logo; and in the informal survey that he conducted 186 out of 189 of the Indigenous students expressed support for keeping the mascot. However, even though many individuals were against the change initially, once the change occurred they saw the positive impact that this had on cross-cultural relations and generally endorsed the decision.

Participants who favoured the change cited their opposition to cultural appropriation and the blatantly racist implications conveyed by the *Redmen* logo. According to Adilman, “[*Redmen*] is so derogatory that if we had the same name for Jewish or African-Americans it would be looked at right then and there. It's because it's been going on for so long”. Erica Lee, one of the leaders of the #Change*Redmen* campaign, poignantly explained the dehumanizing effect that the mascot had on Indigenous peoples and the benefits of retiring the *Redmen* mascot as follows:

Refusing to put up with racist sports team names, mascots, and logos is a declaration that we are more than disposable stereotypes with tomahawks in John Wayne stories where the injuns always lose. We are teachers, students, lawyers, writers, artists, musicians, workers, and activists. We are capable of doing well in schools and universities while still holding on to our traditional knowledge—recognizing that the two are not incompatible, and that Indigenous knowledge ought to be (and already is) present in Western academic institutions. We are members of unique communities and we are individuals (Lee, 2014, p.5).

A significant source of dissonance between primary data collected from participants and secondary analysis from the literature review revolves around the opinions of the Indigenous students attending the B.R.C.H.S. at the time of the dispute. McLean et al’s analysis of the conflict suggests that the dispute was largely between Indigenous opponents and non-Indigenous supporters of the *Redmen* mascot. These authors further suggested that the support of a small number of Indigenous students for retaining the *Redmen* mascot was weaponized by their opponents as a means of delegitimizing their critique of the mascot and to introduce gender, race, and sexuality as divisive forces in the debate. In contrast the principal Cody Hanke asserted that at the outset of the debate “I wasn't interested in everybody's opinion, I was interested in the

Indigenous opinion”. Based on a survey he conducted only a very small number of Indigenous students at the school were initially in favour of retiring the *Redmen* mascot; the vast majority seeing it as providing a positive depiction of Indigenous peoples and cultures. As Hanke noted:

There were two sides to the debate, it wasn't First Nations and non-First Nations side. There were two sides to the First Nations in the debate. One side was obvious, they wanted the change and the other side of the First Nations population did not want the change. In fact, they were very proud of the name and logo.

Participant Myles Shingoose, an Indigenous male student at BRHC noted: “I played both football and basketball at Bedford Road and personally I always liked both the *Redmen* logo and name” (2019). Clearly, the controversy revealed complex dynamics within the school community and within the Indigenous student population; and it’s also evident that peoples’ opinions changed during the course of the debate.

Emotional fatigue was also a factor motivating people’s responses to *the #ChangeRedmen* controversy. In particular, some of the senior staff who had been employed at the school for longer periods had been involved in previous controversies around changing the *Redmen* mascot were emotionally drained from the debate. They also saw the ongoing controversy as a significant distraction from the academic mission of the school and wanted to move on from the controversy as quickly as possible, to ensure that students were able to complete the necessary credits to graduate. According to Hanke,

Those who were around for previous controversies, they were kind of done with the controversy, they were done with dealing with it as it kept coming back. It

was chewing up a lot of time. Let's make this easy and get rid of the old logo and move forward.

Power

Related to the discussion of motives is the theme of power, for all participants agreed that significant power dynamics were implicated in the *#ChangeRedmen* debate. Much of the research on previous Indigenous mascot controversies synthesized in Chapter Two highlighted the ways in which these mascots were implicated both in the original colonial processes and in perpetuating relations of domination and subjection, or neocolonialism, in contemporary society. Farnell (2004), Dei et al (2005), Jensen (2003), Longwell-Grice & Longwell-Grice (2002), McLean et al (2017) all agreed that the original colonization of the Americas by European powers was achieved in part by creating myths of superiority and inferiority, whereby the conquest and dispossession of the original occupants was justified by framing them as wild, savage and primitive and, in contrast, by constructing Europeans as civilized, orderly and benign. According to these authors the Indigenous mascots created subsequently by White individuals and institutions, although often paying lip service to the notion of stoic and heroic warriors, actually confirmed and reinforced notions of biological difference between races, and justified the social, economic, political and economic hierarchies established by colonial relations. McLean et al argued that “Indigenous mascots are an emotional investment for white settlers because the mascot represents white identity, not Indigeneity. Whiteness is co-constructed with Indigeneity, and one of the many ways this construction is reified is through the stereotypically racist images of Indigenous people. In this way, the text of the Indigenous mascot comes to represent white supremacy” (McLean et al, 2017, p 11).

While none of the participants interviewed for this research articulated such insights, many of them did confirm that issues of representation were involved in the controversy. Tyler Kalmakoff, for example, challenged our ability to shift traditional thinking:

White people took things from Aboriginal cultures and appropriated them to sports teams. Now as humans, let's be clear, WE ARE abstract enough in our brains to re-appropriate and give them back their words and images. We always brag about how advanced we are, but we never hear each other. We're fully capable of re-appropriation.

Participants indicated that the right to name someone or something is evidence of power and the act of naming takes power away from what or who is being named. The creation and naming of Indigenous mascots allowed Whites to “inappropriately claim symbolic American Indian identity without thought to the individual and collective consequences of doing so” (McLean et al, 2017). From this perspective the *Redmen* controversy involved much more than a name. In actuality it was a power struggle to determine who had the right to represent a group of people. Jensen (2003) noted in his analysis of resistance to the campaign to retire the *Fighting Sioux* mascot at the University of North Dakota that just as “girls didn’t tell boys what to do” (p.36) within the Catholic Church, “Indians don’t get to tell white people what to do” (p. 37) with respect to university mascots. Similarly, opposition to the #ChangeRedmen campaign was based at least in part on assumptions that Indigenous people in Saskatchewan do not get to tell non-Indigenous people what they could and could not do. While it is not clear that resistance to the #ChangeRedmen campaign was a way to maintain schools and sports institutions as white domain (Farnell, 2004), it is evident from this research that the campaign to retire the mascot

challenged many White people's perceptions of who they thought they were and threatened their desire to control representations of Indigenous peoples (McLean et al, 2017).

Proponents of the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign explicitly framed the issue in terms of a power struggle, with Indigenous people continuing "to resist by exerting sovereignty and self-determination in all aspects of their lives, including representation (McLean et al, 2017, p.5).

The leader of the campaign Erica Lee, framed the issue in the following terms:

Like racist costumes and stereotypes, far from being just a name, the Bedford Road "Redmen," Washington "Redskins," Moose Jaw "Warriors," and Chicago "Blackhawks" are products of white supremacy: stories told about us while excluding our voices. While it seems like a small issue on the surface, challenging inaccurate depictions of Native people is a step toward a better life. (Lee 2014 as cited in McLean et al, 2017, p.5).

Achieving justice, according to Jensen (2003) requires that a "person or group of people should have control over their name and image" (p. 37). Despite the impassioned arguments of those advocating for retention of the mascot, the Board of the Saskatoon Public School Division ultimately bowed to pressure from the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign and determined that justice could only be achieved in this context by retiring the controversial mascot. As discussed in Chapter Four a committee subsequently choose *Redhawks* as the new logo, to retain some continuity with the past but to eliminate references that smacked of cultural appropriation.

Reconciliation

Another significant theme emerging from the data is the impact the Bedford Road Collegiate athletic mascot change had on reconciliation between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous

people locally and beyond. The public focus on Reconciliation in Canada began with the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996 as a strategy for envisaging a new relationship between Indigenous and Settler Canadians and achieved even greater currency as a result of the completion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's investigation of residential schools in Canada in 2015. According to Green (2016) reconciliation is a process that "requires awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes and action to change the behavior" (p. 11). Most participants in this research agreed that the #ChangeRedmen campaign contributed to reconciliation by increasing awareness of the past, and calling attention to the ways in which the past continued to negatively impact the present. As stated by participant Shingoose:

In some way it divided people but in other ways allows for future reconciliation going forward. For some people the name change represented the changing their own history and perhaps legacy, being a proud *Redman*. There may have been resentment by many that the changes or even the conversation of changes were occurring, creating an us versus them mentality from both sides of the controversy. However, the changes could be a step towards reconciliation. If First Nation people feel their ideal or thoughts are being heard and dealt with it may make them more open to being a part of any reconciliation process in the future.

A similar opinion was expressed by Graham:

I think it was a bit of a wakeup call because there was so much debate and argument. It got really personal on Facebook groups and chats on social media. I

think it shows how much it's needed when people are that opposed to the change to be more considerate of other people.

The *#ChangeRedmen* campaign, coinciding as it did with the wider Idle No More Movement and benefitting from the advent of social media, brought unprecedented attention to the issue of Indigenous mascots in Saskatchewan. As Adilman noted, this was not necessarily a comfortable process: “[The mascot shift] did show what people's views were when they felt uncomfortable. That's what reconciliation is all about, we can't have a comfortable reconciliation process”. But all participants agreed that for virtually for the first time it allowed some Indigenous people to express their opinions on the mascot to a wider audience and to explain how that mascot allowed non-Indigenous people to appropriate and misrepresent aspects of Indigenous culture, in a way that perpetuated relations of domination and subjection. As Shingoose noted:

I believe that the controversy may have been based on ignorance and sentimentality. Ignorance in the sense that some people may not have understood why some people found the logo and team name as offensive. Maybe by being in favor of the logo they worried that people may have perceived them as racist if they liked the logo/name. Sentimentality in the way people held personal pride or nostalgia for the logo and felt that the name change was changing their own pasts. Most of the people that I knew who spoke about the issue were non-First Nation people who held personal connection to the team name but may not have understood why First Nation people found the logo as offensive.

Although there was significant opposition to the #Change*Redmen* campaign (both from Indigenous and non-Indigenous people), the fact that many non-Indigenous people supported the demand to retire the mascot was especially significant as it provided tangible evidence of the presence of allies and gave hope for the potential of a broad anti-racist and progressive coalition to emerge. As McLean et al (2017) noted this “growing solidarity with the campaign helped to educate the broader public and put pressure on the school board to ban the racist mascot” (p.7).

Opportunities Missed

The decision by the Saskatoon Public School Board to retire the *Redmen* mascot was ultimately welcomed by all participants, regardless of their actual opinion during the controversy. And participants were also unanimous in seeing that decision as a positive contribution to reconciliation in the school and wider community. But many expressed a strong sense that the opportunity for transformational dialogue leading to deep and lasting change both within the local and broader provincial communities afforded by the debate was not fully taken advantage of by those who played leading roles in initiating and resolving the conflict. As mentioned in the previous section, there was a general sense among participants that the resolution ultimately represented superficial change that left many of the underlying issues unresolved. In particular issues of structural poverty, unemployment, food insecurity and gangs continued to plague residents of the local community after the *Redmen* logo was retired. Hanke, in particular, felt dissatisfied with the outcome:

I was disappointed, and I'll use that word because it's the right word. One of my goals was when this was all done, the group of academics, come help Bedford Road. We had lots of struggles, we got this one done. Low-bearing fruit, as one

of our cultural advisers called this name and logo, let's get rid of that, now let's deal with some of the socio-economic issues, the help didn't come from that group.

Green (2016) argued that reconciliation is not a one-time event but, rather, is “a multi-generational journey that involves all Canadians” (p. 13). Unfortunately, many of the central figures in the controversy left the Bedford Road context almost immediately after the retirement of the *Redmen* mascot, effectively preventing this multigenerational change from taking root in the school and community. The principal Cody Hanke expressed regret at not staying longer at the school:

You know in hindsight, if I had stayed a year maybe they would've but you know a brand new principal to a new school, who didn't have the background knowledge in all this, maybe that's where the missed opportunity in all that was. So not putting all the blame on them. Certainly, if I stayed and made some personal connections with people on both sides maybe I could've leveraged that but I needed a fresh start too.

But Hanke noted that many of the leaders and most vocal supporters of the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign also shifted their attention elsewhere once the mascot issue was resolved:

So I was disappointed, they got what they wanted now give me what I want and help me with some of the problems that are around the school, the gangs and the money issues that every school has, but Bedford Road had them even more. So that was a disappointment. It was done, they moved on, Idle No More came to fruition and flash mobs and things like that started to happen.

From Hanke's perspective the *ChangeRedmen* campaign represented "low-bearing fruit" for "Social Justice Warriors" since it was a sensational story that generated media attention and excitement. But when it came to the less public and more mundane work of community development, especially addressing poverty and gangs, many of these individuals were conspicuously absent. Similarly, he noted that some individuals from the University of Saskatchewan and City Council who had expressed strong opinions during the mascot debate were absent from subsequent conversations about community development which would have required a greater investment of time and deeper engagement with the lives of the ordinary people who lived in the community.

In her discussion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Green (2016) noted that "... while reconciliation is premised on past relational evils, it must be oriented toward a reconciled future: while the past must be taught, remembered and understood, the direction being faced is the future" (p. 9). Data collected here suggests that much of the energy generated by the *#ChangeRedmen* controversy focused on such "past relational evils" at the expense of investing in processes that would animate a reconciled future. Participant Graham noted:

I think it kind of stopped with the name change and the logo change. It didn't really feel like Saskatoon or [the] Saskatchewan community really built on that at all. It was kind of this instant change and it stopped there.

Other participants felt that a more robust commitment to anti-racist education within the school and wider division was warranted. Adilman noted that the "division probably thought that they had that curriculum under wraps, instead of seeing need for growth or deeper change. We need

in every school system a catalyst to create change. People have to feel uncomfortable because change is never comfortable”.

Both Green (2016) and Mclean et al, (2017) highlighted the connection between achieving the necessary and desired outcome of enhanced social cohesion in Saskatchewan and confronting and eliminating racism through public education. According to Green (2016)

[g]iven Saskatchewan's demographic trajectory, a failure to deal with white racism guarantees that there will continue to be social stresses between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations, damaging the province's economic and social viability into the future. A proactive, self-reflective, anti-racist policy and a strategy for building public support should be a priority for any Saskatchewan government. Social cohesion, a necessary condition for a healthy citizenship regime and a notion of considerable interest to provincial and federal politicians and to academics in Saskatchewan, cannot be constructed without tackling racism. (p. 511).

By bringing attention to the racist implications of the *Redmen* mascot the *ChangeRedmen* campaign highlighted ongoing colonial dynamics within Bedford Road school, the city of Saskatoon and the province of Saskatchewan. Participants agreed that the decision to retire the mascot represented a positive step in redressing power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and in promoting dialogue around reconciliation. But the research also suggests that the larger imperative of addressing systemic racism and the resulting structural inequities remains unfinished business, with worrying consequences for long term social cohesion in our city, province and nation.

Summary

This chapter reviewed the themes emerging from data analysis, and presented the main findings regarding the experiences and insights of individuals associated with the Bedford Road Collegiate High School athletic mascot shift. Themes included change, motives, power, reconciliation and opportunities missed. Data analysis revealed varied conceptions of the controversy among participants as evidence of neocolonial dynamics within the school and wider community, involving issues of representation underpinned by dynamics of power. While a general consensus emerged from the data analysis that the retirement of the *Redmen* logo constituted an appropriate resolution that offered hopeful evidence of cross-cultural reconciliation within the community, participants expressed regret that an opportunity to use the controversy for anti-racist knowledge mobilization leading to deeper structural change was missed by educational and community leaders.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

This chapter served as conclusion to the study by reviewing the purpose and approach to the research and highlighting insights from the literature review, data collection and data analysis. Benefits and limitations of the methodology were reviewed and recommendations for senior administrators, school leaders, and teachers are outlined.

The purpose of this research was to gain understanding of the bitter public controversy that arose over the campaign to retire the Bedford Road Collegiate *Redmen* mascot between 2010-2014 in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. In addition to documenting and analyzing the perspectives of various individuals involved in the controversy, the inquiry also sought to explore ways in which the controversy touched on issues of power and race and to investigate how efforts to decolonize language and symbols contributed to reconciliation in the local school community and wider society. Additionally, this study sought to offer insights for school leaders and senior administrations who have Indigenous mascots and are looking to move away from their current monikers. Perhaps with this study as a guide, other schools are able to make more seamless transitions and implement more substantial and lasting change in their divisions.

The Literature Review synthesized a large body of research on different mascot controversies across North America since the 1960s, identifying some consistencies among the various protagonists. Researchers generally agreed that the Indigenous mascot phenomenon was a by-product the conquest and colonization of the America's and that increasing resistance to the use of those mascots reflected intensifying decolonizing impulses. Some similarities outlined in the Literature Review with the B.R.C.H.S. athletic mascot shift include the resistance met from members of the settler group and the power struggle that underpins naming disputes. Context and

timing contributed to differences, especially given the importance of social media and contemporary developments like the Idle No More movement in the Bedford Road controversy. The research highlighted the importance of context and the impact of insights from Critical Race and anti-oppressive theory in motivating and rationalizing opposition to the use of Indigenous mascots. Consequently, the research design for my inquiry encompassed qualitative case study with data made through semi-structured interviews conducted with six purposefully-chosen individuals. Critical Race and anti-oppressive theoretical lenses informed the conceptual framework for the research.

Based on data collection and data analysis it became clear that the Bedford Road controversy evidenced many of the same dynamics noted in previous mascot changes in other contexts. Although ostensibly about an offending mascot name, the controversy released and revealed passionate emotions emanating from the complicated and bitter legacies of North American colonization, and highlighted deep fault lines about appropriate responses to that legacy in the Saskatchewan context. Proponents of the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign framed the mascot as perpetuating anachronistic and demeaning stereotypes of Indigenous people, which they saw as part of larger discourses perpetuating neocolonial dynamics that relegated the Indigenous population to an inferior social, economic and political position within society. Opponents of the change, often expressing their support for the *Redmen* mascot in emotional terms of tradition, identity and attachment, appeared to be motivated by a desire to maintain a larger status quo symbolized by that beloved school mascot, premised on the right of non-Indigenous people to appropriate aspects of Indigenous culture for their own purposes.

While sharing many features of other Indigenous mascot changes, there were also unique aspects of the *#ChangeRedmen* controversy stemming from the local context. The troubled

history of race relations in Saskatoon, especially the evidence of systemic racism within the municipal police force that was revealed by the “Starlight Tours” and subsequent public inquiries, brought very significant negative public attention to the city. As a result, civic and school board leaders were averse to additional negative publicity on issues related to race; and responded favourably to demands to retire the *Redmen* logo perhaps more quickly than might otherwise have been the case.

Coinciding with the beginning of the *Idle No More* movement was an additional unique feature of the *Redmen* controversy; and participants agreed that the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign derived significant benefit from the increased national and international attention to Indigenous issues generated by the *Idle No More* movement. In addition to engendering greater self-confidence among Indigenous leaders, the *Idle No More* movement mobilized unprecedented support among the non-Indigenous population, and provided an opportunity to build a broad social justice alliance which was harnessed effectively by leaders of the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign.

The *Redmen* controversy was also one of the first race-related incidents to occur in the cyber age, and social media was critical both to the tactics employed by the protagonists and the outcome of the controversy. Participants agreed that the use of social media, especially Facebook, provided an entirely new, more democratic and accessible medium for discussing public issues and allowed leaders of the *#ChangeRedmen* campaign to reach a far wider audience than would otherwise have been possible. However, participants also agreed that social media amplified all aspects of the controversy and likely exaggerated the tendency of participants to express extreme views, thereby exacerbating the bitterness of the public debate.

In analyzing the resolution of the controversy the critical race theory concept of Whiteness as a property frames control over language, including the ability to name mascots, as a prime, though often unconscious aspect of power and White privilege. The decision of the Board of the Saskatoon Public School Division to retire the *Redmen* logo by a substantial majority conveyed a very positive message in acknowledging that the use of Indigenous mascots within its schools was no longer appropriate because of its racist connotations. And if naming represents power, then that decision, at least at the symbolic level, represented a willingness on the part of the school division to relinquish some power by respecting and accommodating Indigenous sensibilities on a very contentious issue in a very public forum.

Regardless of their actual opinion during the controversy, all participants ultimately agreed that the decision of the School Board to retire the *Redmen* mascot was the correct one, since it contributed to advancing cross-cultural reconciliation in the school and wider community. But participants also expressed regret that the *#ChangeRedmen* controversy did not serve as a catalyst for greater change. In their view the offending *Redmen* mascot may have been retired, but the broader structural inequalities and injustices that were the malign legacy of colonization remained in place.

Benefits and Limitations of the Methodology

The qualitative Case Study employed here allowed me to gain an in depth understanding of the Bedford Road mascot controversy by exploring the phenomenon within its natural setting, bounded by context, participants and time. Data from semi-structured interviews provided insights into the “complex world of lived experiences from the point of view of those who live it” (Schwandt, 1998, p. 221). And data analysis allowed me to interpret and make sense of the

mascot controversy in terms of the multiple and often conflicting meanings that the participants brought to it (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

However, there are also limitations to the Case Study approach. For instance, time can be a significant limitation in constructing Case Studies. Having to arrange for meetings to sit down with participants proved to be a challenge during the data collection process. Availability was a major limitation that ended up prohibiting some interviews from taking place. Due to the time commitment that an interview requires, some desired participants simply were not available, potentially limiting the addition of valuable data. By their nature Case Studies are unique, and since they cannot be replicated the results of a single Case Study cannot be generalized to a wider population or setting. However, Merriam (1998) notes that the deep insights gleaned from case studies can directly influence policy, practice and future research, allowing researchers to offer recommendations that can be of benefit in other similar situations. Additionally, as the researcher, my responsibility was to provide thick description and it is the readers' responsibility to determine the transferability of the case.

Recommendations

Based on insights from this research, the following recommendations are offered to school and divisional leaders and educators faced with an Indigenous mascot issue. The recommendations include being proactive, incorporating as many voices as possible through effective communication, and being willing to look beyond the immediate sensational issues to mobilize deep learning and change.

An obvious recommendation emerging from the Bedford Road context is the need to be proactive in the retirement of Indigenous mascots. We have now witnessed enough controversies locally, nationally and internationally to appreciate that these mascots are products

of our colonial history emanating from the conquest and subjugation of Indigenous peoples, and fundamentally symbolize the right of non-Indigenous peoples to misappropriate aspects of Indigenous cultures for their own uses. And regardless of their origins or the levels of emotional attachment which may have developed over time, this research indicates that these malign symbols have no place in current contexts, especially educational spaces where the imperative of reconciliation is paramount.

Initiatives addressing issues related to Indigenous mascots ideally should come from governance and divisional personnel, but in the absence of leadership from the top, in school administrators should assume responsibility. Being proactive in initiating conversations around the retirement of mascots may be difficult and prompt controversy, but it does protect them from being forced into a reactive stance and allows school leaders to control the pace of discussions and to frame the ensuing conversations in the most positive light.

Secondly, in initiating the shift to the retirement of a mascot, school leaders should consult widely and communicate effectively. All stakeholders served by the school, but especially students, parents, community and local Indigenous groups, should be engaged in a consultation process where their opinions are respectfully solicited. Teachers should also be encouraged to allow debate and difficult conversations to occur in the classrooms, to ensure that the voices of students and by extension their parents are heard. It is also vital that senior administrators and board members visit the school regularly to understand its local dynamics, support the administration, and acknowledge a possible multiplicity of views.

Once appropriate consultations have occurred a plan of action should be developed and clearly communicated. The Bedford Road case study indicated the power of social media,

suggesting that in future careful attention to this medium through a sophisticated social media campaign will be critical. The communication campaign should outline reasons for the change, acknowledge the diversity of views within the school, and outline an inclusive process for developing an alternative.

An additional theme highlighted in this study was the opportunity missed by the school and school division to implement lasting change at Bedford Road Collegiate High School. This resulted, in part, from the departure of the principal immediately after the mascot change occurred. This has implications for school division policy around the timing of administrator transfers. In the Saskatoon Public School Division administrators are transferred between schools every five years, with teachers being transferred every seven years. This offers a lot of benefits to staff; however, it can also result in constraints. In instances where significant change is necessary, more than five years is required to implement lasting innovations. This suggests a need for greater flexibility in policy around administrator transfers, in order to ensure sustainability of important innovations.

Lastly, this case study of Bedford Road indicated that mascot controversies provide tremendous opportunities for deep learning and change to occur. Courageous educators should use the occasion of mascot and other cultural conflicts to draw attention to the ongoing racialization that retards individual opportunities and relegates certain groups within our communities to second class status. From this study, it is evident that language and naming is tremendously important in promoting reconciliation in Saskatchewan and in Canada. Words have power and by relinquishing some of its naming power in the *Redmen* controversy non-Indigenous peoples indicated a willingness to engage more respectfully with their Indigenous neighbours. Racism still exists, however, and hurts us all; so a proactive anti-racist policy is a

critical first step in promoting the urgent imperative of reconciliation necessary for the creation of the shared, prosperous and harmonious future desired by all residents of our province.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions asked for every participant

- What did the Bedford Road *Redmen athletic* mascot mean to you? What were its implications for the identity of the school? Had you given much thought to this before the controversy?
- What was your first reaction when you heard about the debate or demand for the mascot change?
- Did you have a formal role in the controversy? If so, how did that impact your perceptions and lived experience during the debate?
- From your perspective, why was the Bedford Road *Redmen* athletic mascot change so controversial?
- Do you think your cultural or socio-economic background impacted your response to the controversy?
- How did your family and friends react to the change?
- Do you agree with the schools' decision to change the mascot?
- Do you believe all Indigenous-based mascots should be changed or can an Indigenous mascot be appropriately kept by an organization?
- What is your opinion of the new name and mascot?
- What impact did the Redman controversy have on reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Saskatoon and Saskatchewan?
- What are your opinions on how school and division administrators responded to the controversy?
- What do you think are the implications of this controversy for school leaders and leadership?

Questions asked for administration

- How did the controversy impact your school?
- How would do you feel the controversy was handled during the mascot shift?
- Is there anything you would do differently this time, 5 years later?
- What advice would you give to admin teams if they are faced with a mascot shift?

Appendix B

Student Email Invitation

Dear Sir/Madam

I am looking for volunteers to take part in a study of the Bedford Road Collegiate High School mascot change, titled Bedford Road Athletic Mascot Change: Naming, Power, and Colonialism, in the College of Education's Educational Administration Program.

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to: participate in an interview of your personal experience as part of the school from 2010-2014.

Your participation would involve one 60-minute interview session. During this time, you will participate in an individual interview which will be conducted in a mutually agreed upon location and will be electronically recorded. Several steps will be taken to protect your confidentiality. Only researchers (sworn to confidentiality) will have access to the interview transcripts.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time prior to the data analysis for any reason without penalty. If you chose to withdraw, your information from your interview will be destroyed.

If you would like more information about the study, please contact **Michael Cottrell (306) 966-7690**

Thanks,

TJ

Appendix C

Email Response to Interested Students

Dear Sir/Madam

Thank you for your interest in participating in our research project. We have confirmed your eligibility for this study, and would like to schedule a time to meet with you for the face-to-face interview.

Please indicate your availability for the following 60-minute windows:

· XXXXXX

· XXXXXX

· XXXXXX

During this time, you will participate in an individual interview which will be conducted in a mutually agreed upon location and will be electronically recorded. Several steps will be taken to protect your confidentiality. The interview transcripts will NOT contain any mention of your name, and any identifying information will be removed. Only researchers (**who will uphold your confidentiality**) will have access to the interview transcripts. If none of these times work for you, please let us know a time that is convenient and we will try our best to accommodate your request.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time prior to the data analysis for any reason without penalty. If you chose to withdraw, your information from your interview will be destroyed.

If you would like more information about the study, please contact Michael Cottrell (306-966-7690)

Thanks,

TJ

Appendix D

Invitation to Participate

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is T.J. Dmyterko and I am currently enrolled in the Masters of Education program in the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Saskatchewan. As a requirement for the completion of my Masters of Educational Administration degree, I am writing a thesis which investigates the Bedford Road athletic mascot change in 2014 titled: *Bedford Road Athletic Mascot Change: Colonization, Naming, and Power*. The goal of the research to identify, document, and analyze the perceptions of various individuals involved and to determine the influence a mascot shift has on reconciliation. It is informed by the following broad research questions: Why did the name of the Bedford Road athletic mascot (*Redmen*) become so controversial between 2010- 2014? What was your perception of the controversy? How was the controversy resolved? What implications did the controversy have for post-colonial efforts to decolonize language and symbols and to advance reconciliation? What implications did the controversy have for school leaders and administrators?

You are invited to participate in a semi-structured one-on-one interview as part of this research. This interview will require an hour of your time and will be conducted in a mutually agreed upon location and will be tape-recorded. Several steps will be taken to protect your confidentiality. While the interview will be tape-recorded, the tapes will be destroyed once they have been transcribed. Every effort will be made by me to protect confidentiality and anonymity but you may be recognizable by your position. Only researchers (sworn to confidentiality) will have access to the interview transcripts. Expected Start Date: * 2019-08-01. Expected End Date: * 2019-09-30. **You may also be contacted for the possibility of a second interview which will be an hour also.**

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time for any reason without penalty. If you chose to withdraw, your information from your interview will be destroyed.

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board (BEH # 1292). Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office: ethics.office@usask.ca or (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free (888) 966-2975.

If you would like more information about the study, please contact **Dr. Michael Cottrell (306-966-7690)**

Sincerely

Mr. TJ Dmyterko
Sub-Investigator

Appendix E

Consent Form

[College of Education Administration]

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: Bedford Road Athletic Mascot Change: Colonization, Naming, and Power

Researcher(s): Sub-Investigator, TJ Dmyterko, Grad Student (Education, Graduate Student), Educational Administration, University of Saskatchewan, tj816@mail.usask.ca

Supervisor: Michael Cottrell, Educational Administration, 306-966-7690, michael.cottrell@usask.ca

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

The purpose of this research is to analyze the significance of the Bedford Road Collegiate High School's athletic mascot change that occurred in 2014. This was a very controversial shift and the aim is to understand the multiple truths and its implications for colonization and reconciliation.

Procedures:

You will be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview with the researcher. The interview will take approximately one hour of your time; will be audio-recorded and will take place at a mutually agreed upon location. During this interview you will be asked a series of questions. These questions are designed to allow you to share your insights into the following broad research question: Why did the name of the Bedford Road athletic mascot (*Redmen*) become so controversial between 2010- 2014?

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Potential Risks:

There are foreseeable risks and discomforts associated with this study. The foreseeable risks include the potential for the breach in confidentiality. Because the participants for this research project have been selected from a small group of people, all of whom may be known to each other, it is possible that you may be identifiable to other people on the basis of what you have said. The researcher will undertake to safeguard the confidentiality of the discussion by use of pseudonyms and limiting the length of quotes used in the final report.

The foreseeable discomforts include anxiety, despair or guilty feelings resulting from the disclosure of sensitive or embarrassing information. If these feelings arise and you require further support, personal counseling services can be accessed by contacting employee counselling services through Manulife at 1-888-384-1152 or by contacting Student Services at University of Saskatchewan at 306-765-3333 ext. 7501 to arrange for counselling and Elders' support.

Potential Benefits:

There are possible benefits of the study to both the participants and to others. The goal of the study is to understand the multiple truths of this topic and how this could potentially positively impact reconciliation as we move towards decolonization in Canada. Also, gaining improved understanding of a divisive topic is a major benefit.

Compensation:

No compensation will be offered.

Confidentiality:

Your participation in this study is voluntary. The information provided in the interview will be kept in strict confidence and the researcher will ensure not to disclose identifiable information.

The interview will be audio recorded. You may request the audio recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview. Audiotapes will only be used to transcribe the interview. After the interview, and prior to data being included in the final report, you will be given the opportunity to review the interview transcript to add, alter or delete information as you deem fit.

The transcripts and research results will be password protected and coded with no identified information. The audiotapes, transcripts and research results will be safeguarded and securely stored for a minimum of five years post publication in a locked cabinet at the University of Saskatchewan in the office of the Dr. Michael Cottrell. After five years, post-publication, have lapsed, the audiotapes and interview transcripts will be properly destroyed.

The consent forms and master lists of participants that include any identifiable information will be stored separately from the transcripts and audio recordings, so that it will not be possible to associate a name with any given set of responses. Your name will not appear on the transcripts or audio recordings. The consent forms and master lists will be stored in a locked cabinet at the researcher's home office and will be destroyed appropriately when data collection is completed and the information is no longer required.

Please put a check mark on the corresponding lines that grants me your permission to: You can choose all, one or none of them.

I grant permission to participate in the individual interviews Yes: __ No: __

I grant permission to be audio taped: Yes: __ No: __

Right to Withdraw:

You are free to decide not to enroll in this study. You can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. **You are free to withdraw from the interview at any time until the data analysis period and this withdrawal will not affect how you are treated.** After this it is

possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data. If you do chose to withdraw from the study your interview data associated with the study will be deleted and destroyed.

Follow up:

To obtain results for the study, please contact **Dr. Michael Cottrell (306-966-7690)** or email tjd816@mail.usask.ca

Questions or Concerns:

You may ask any questions concerning this research and have those questions answered before agreeing to participate or during the study; please contact the PI, **Dr. Michael Cottrell (306-966-7690)** or email tjd816@mail.usask.ca

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free (866) 966-2975.

Consent

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided; I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my/our questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
_____	_____	
<i>Researcher's Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>	

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

I read and explained this Consent Form to the participant before receiving the participant's consent, and the participant had knowledge of its contents and appeared to understand it.

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Researcher's Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

Appendix F

Title: Bedford Road Athletic Mascot Change: From the Perspective of Key Individuals

I, _____, have reviewed the complete transcript of my personal interview in this study, and have been provided with the opportunity to add, alter, and delete information from the transcript as appropriate. I acknowledge that the transcript accurately reflects what I said in my personal interview with [name of the researcher]. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to [name of the researcher] to be used in the manner described in the Consent Form. I have received a copy of this Data/Transcript Release Form for my own records.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature of Participant

Signature of researcher