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OKAY, SEMINOLES, TAKE OVER FROM HERE: NATIVE AMERICAN MASCOT AND
NICKNAME AS ORGANIZATION BUILDERS AT FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Educational Policy and Leadership Studies
(Higher Education and Student Affairs) in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

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Thesis Supervisor: Professor Christopher C. Morphey

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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To my parents

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ABSTRACT

Intercollegiate athletics is a very important part in American higher education both financially and symbolically. One of the most distinct features of college sports is athletic mascots and nicknames of colleges and universities represent not only the athletic programs but also the whole institutions and communities. As they were deeply ingrained in American culture, some colleges and universities maintained Native-American themed mascots. Scholars and activists criticized the use of these mascots due to offensiveness and racial stereotyping. After the criticisms and the sanctions by the National Collegiate Athletics Association in 2005, many abandoned or modified the mascots in a more politically correct way. In case of Florida State University (FSU), however, the university could avoid the possible nickname change mainly because of the endorsement by the Seminole tribe in Florida.

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the roles of the Native American nickname and the mascot (the Seminoles and Chief Osceola) at the Florida State University as organization builders for the university. The following research questions framed this study: (a) What organizational roles have the Seminoles nickname and Chief Osceola mascot played at Florida State University and what can these roles tell us about the organizational trajectories of the university? (b) Do the nickname and mascot and their use correspond to the conceptual framework of “invented tradition?” If so, what is the utility of this framework in understanding the role these traditions play at the university?

Qualitative data sources for this case study were collected from informal observations, documents, and semi-structured in-depth interviews. I reviewed how FSU’s football and its Native-American mascot and nickname played a huge role in the process of institutional growth and development from a small regional women’s college to a research-oriented, flagship state

university, utilizing Eric Hobsbawm and Tony Collins's framework of "invented traditions".

Managerial implications for higher education administrators who want to establish school symbols as organizational builders similar to those of FSU were suggested.

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

Intercollegiate athletics is a very important part in American higher education. One of the most distinct features of college sports is athletic mascots and nicknames of colleges and universities represent not only the athletic programs but also the whole institutions and communities. As they were deeply ingrained in American culture, some colleges and universities maintained Native-American themed mascots. Scholars and activists criticized the use of these mascots due to offensiveness and racial stereotyping.

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the roles of the Native American nickname and the mascot (the Seminoles and Chief Osceola) at the Florida State University as organization builders for the university. The following research questions framed this study: (a) What organizational roles have the Seminoles nickname and Chief Osceola mascot played at Florida State University and what can these roles tell us about the organizational trajectories of the university? (b) Do the nickname and mascot and their use correspond to the conceptual framework of “invented tradition?” If so, what is the utility of this framework in understanding the role these traditions play at the university?

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Football (along with geography) is what distinguishes otherwise indistinguishable large universities (and otherwise indistinguishable states) on a national level. What most people nationally are likely to know about the University of Oklahoma or the state of Oklahoma, for example is something about the Sooners – and that it is one squarish shaped state in the middle of the national map. The same is true at Arizona State, Ohio State, Mississippi State, or any other institution (and state) noted as much or more for its spectator sports than for anything else. Even faculty are likely to know little more about other institutions or even other departments in their own field, with the exception of relatively few leading ones, than where they are located and something about their athletic program. (Quick quiz: state three facts about Florida State University – and not about the Seminole football team.)

(Toma 2003, p.10)

Background to the Study

Unlike many people in the United States, I can answer the above quiz correctly because I came to the United States and began my master's program in the fall semester of 2004 at the Florida State University (FSU). Although virtually everything was novel to a newly-arrived international student, big-time college sports, especially football, was something beyond my imagination. A stadium that can accommodate 85,000 spectators in a city with a population of about 160,000 seemed to me irrational. This sport, as sports writer Austin Murphy (2007) puts it, “comes with a pageantry and passion that is simply not found in other games” (p. 9). As Douglas Toma (2003) defined “Football U” as “large universities where football, the quintessential spectator sport on American campuses, receives considerable attention” (p. 2), it did not take long for me to recognize that Tallahassee is a prototypical football town and FSU is indeed a Football U.

I paid attention to the fact that football played a significant role in connecting the students, alumni, fans, and local community. What I found more interesting is the fact that the symbols of the football team (the nickname, mascot, rituals, and school colors etc.) were omnipresent in town not only during game days but also every day. The finding includes an embarrassing moment at my graduation ceremony at FSU. All of a sudden, there was a time when everybody was supposed to sing the “school song” (Alma Mater - "High O'er Towering Pines") in unison. However, neither I nor most people in the Donald L. Tucker Center (where FSU’s men’s and women’s basketball teams play) knew the song. Frankly, I had never heard of it before. To me, that scene remains a stark contrast to FSU’s “fight song” and “war chant” which 85,000 spectators in the football stadium enthusiastically sing together. I have another memory of FSU’s athletic symbols. After I moved to Iowa, I still had an FSU “Seminole head” decal on the tail of my sedan. One day, a man in a vehicle behind me honked a few times and stopped his car right next to me. I thought he had something to say about my driving, but he did a “tomahawk chop,” which is a rhythmic extension and contraction of the forearm with the open palm, mimicking the action of chopping. This chop is a universal sign among fans of FSU and some professional teams such as the Atlanta Braves and the Kansas City Chiefs. I felt unexpected camaraderie with a total stranger in a Midwestern city that was about a thousand miles away from Tallahassee.

In August 2005, I was on campus when the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) banned the use of FSU’s “the Seminoles” nickname along with other schools’ Native American-themed mascots and nicknames because they were deemed “hostile and abusive.” The entire FSU community, including President T. K. Wetherell and Governor Jeb Bush, were stunned by the decision and fought to retake its beloved nickname. After a few weeks of turmoil, FSU was allowed to use the nicknames again thanks to the endorsement of the Seminole tribe of

Florida. As FSU administrators saw many other schools had abandoned Native American nicknames, FSU made enormous efforts to make sense and legitimize the “Seminole” nickname, trying to maintain good relationships with the namesake tribe because, as we can see the case of Miami University of Ohio and the University of Illinois, tribal support could be revocable. Witnessing this procedure made me ponder the role of the athletic mascot/nickname as a source of pride, passion, and support from constituents in the way of institution and community building.

Obviously, Florida State is not the only “Football U” in the U.S., and many state colleges and universities and their football programs play roles as epicenters of their communities. Furthermore, the meaning of athletic nicknames goes beyond the football field or arena. In some cases, state nicknames are the same as the nicknames of one of its state universities such as the Iowa Hawkeyes, Tennessee Volunteers, and Ohio State Buckeyes. Thus, athletic mascots and nicknames of college sports teams often function as symbols of universities and communities. In American sports, from pee wee to professional level, mascots and nicknames play very important roles; nicknames and mascots symbolically represent teams’ cultural and geographical ties to the community. In college sports, the athletic nicknames of colleges and universities are generally more historic than those of professional teams, and they are more deeply attached to the community.

College Athletics in Higher Education

There is abundant research on college athletics as many American institutions of higher learning jump into the athletic arms race. It is an open secret that not many schools make a profit from their athletic programs. Even if they do, schools usually spend that surplus on coaches’ salaries and stadium renovations. Regardless of their NCAA classification (Division I to III), colleges and universities are spending more money on their athletics programs. Football and

men's basketball are the two sports that mandate high prices. In 1982, there were 497 football teams and 40,773 players. The number increased to 633 programs with 66,313 players in 2010 (Hacker & Dreifus, 2011, p. 165). Schools strive to field their football teams in the upper divisions and more competitive (lucrative) conferences. Of course, there are exceptions to this trend. Northeastern University (Division I) in Boston and Hofstra University (Division III) in New York shut down their football programs in the midst of financial crises in 2009. In 2014, the University of Alabama at Birmingham, where top level (Division I, Football Bowl Subdivision) college football was played, decided to discontinue its football program. However, it revoked the decision in 2015.

College sports is a multi-billion dollar business by itself, but the role and relation to intercollegiate athletics in higher education is the focus of this study. As mentioned earlier, the role of athletics is extremely significant, and the following topics are discussed in the ensuing chapter. The role of athletics in higher education can be illustrated in many ways. First, one can raise a fundamental question whether successful athletic programs can bring financial gains to universities. This means not only direct revenue from sports teams but possibly more state appropriations. I review the literature addressing whether the successes in the most competitive revenue-generating sports (i.e., football and men's basketball) lead to alumni donations to their alma maters. Second, the literature about the relationship between athletic success and better and more applicants (the "Flutie Effect") is reviewed, as are other intangible benefits from athletics such as community building, distinction, and overall institutional reputation. Additionally, historical accounts about college sports along with the impetus of Southern college football are discussed, since FSU was way behind building this football culture compared to other schools, and therefore needed to invent such traditions.

FSU and Osceola

In this dissertation, I delve into FSU's overall nickname (the Seminoles), mascot (Sammy the Seminole, Chief Fullabull, and Chief Osceola), and ritual (warchant, tomahawk chop, and planting spear) issues in the context of institutional evolution and development. This will be accompanied by some historical and current accounts. Some stories include the process of how the "Seminoles" became FSU's official nickname in 1947, and how FSU's other symbols and rituals (school colors, fight song, Osceola and Renegade, warchant, and Cimarron) were introduced or invented. In addition, former Seminole leader Osceola's life and death (he died about 20 years before the establishment of FSU) in American history and culture are reviewed. Finally, controversies about FSU's mascot during the 1990s and 2000s are discussed as the counter case of University of Illinois's mascot controversy. FSU's various efforts to keep the "Seminole" nickname (i.e., creating a closer relationship with the Seminole tribe, initiating a Seminole history course in the History Department, and building statues of Seminole Indians on campus) after the brief NCAA ban on the use of the Seminole mascot in 2005 are discussed also.

The universal use of athletic symbols in non-athletic settings is discussed in the later chapters. For example, Chief Osceola's physical presence is not only on the football field but in other places such as homecoming parades and other community gatherings. The name and image of Osceola are everywhere in Tallahassee including the campus bus route and an off-campus apartment complex. The university-wide use of athletic symbols such as Chief Osceola in TV commercials, war paint in the catalog of the business school, and the Panama City campus is omnipresent. The membership card of the FSU Alumni Association features the statue of Osceola riding his horse Renegade.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the roles of the Native American nickname and the mascot (the Seminoles and Chief Osceola) at the Florida State University as organization builders for the university.

Research Questions

Based on this purpose, the following research questions were raised: (a) What organizational roles have the Seminoles nickname and Chief Osceola mascot played at Florida State University and what can these roles tell us about the organizational trajectories of the university? (b) Do the nickname and mascot and their use correspond to the conceptual framework of “invented tradition?” If so, what is the utility of this framework in understanding the role these traditions play at the university?

Significance of the Study

Since the 19th century, sports have played an important role in American higher education both symbolically and substantively. Historian John Thelin (1994) indicated that intercollegiate athletics are American higher education’s “peculiar institution,” and big-time college sports is an American phenomenon that is rarely found elsewhere in the world. Schools spend millions of dollars annually on athletic programs, and this trend will not change soon. A report by the American Association of University Professors revealed that most institutions of higher education in America, regardless of their classification (Division I, II, or III), are rapidly increasing their spending on intercollegiate athletics (Lewin, 2014).

Many journalists and scholars have published numerous articles and studies about sports team mascots, but those studies are mostly about the problematic usages of Native American mascots. They generally argue that those nicknames and mascots have many negative aspects.

They also maintain that some Native American mascots are racial slurs (e.g. Redskins, Redman) and tend to reproduce the negative stereotypes of American Indians and therefore should be abolished (Black, 2002; Davis, 1993; King, Staurowsky, Baca, Davis, & Pewewardy, 2002). Scholars argue that the usage of Native American mascots in college sports is even worse than that of professional teams because educational institutions are supposed to be more sensitive to diversity. Today, despite the importance of the topic, very few studies have focused on mascots' role as organization builders in higher education. Furthermore, this study adds to previous research by utilizing the unique conceptual framework of invented traditions. Along with the review of the Seminole mascot, another major Native American college nickname of the University of Illinois (the Fighting Illini) and its mascot (Chief Illiniwek) will be reviewed for better understanding.

Invention of Tradition

British historian Eric Hobsbawm (2003 a), along with other scholars, argued that many traditions we consider as ancient and historic are in fact relatively new and were literally invented over a short time period or during a certain event. More specifically, Hobsbawm defined "invented tradition" as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm, 2003 a, p. 1).

In *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm provided various case studies of these invented traditions. One of the most distinctive examples from the book is a study by Hugh Trevor-Roper (2003) that illustrates the Scottish Highland tradition of the plaid kilt. The combination of this costume and the musical instrument of the bagpipe is widely known as the symbol of the Scottish

national identity. Some Americans of Scottish origin buy the plaid kilt to celebrate their legacy. However, Trevor-Roper reveals that the tradition is neither original nor an authentic representation of old-style Highland Scottish society. In fact, although the tradition existed before the Union, it was regarded by many people of Scotland as a sign of barbarism rather than of civilized Scotland. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when Scotland revolted against Ireland, this tradition was recreated and adopted by the whole population of the country. Another study by Hobsbawm (2003 b) articulated the phenomena of created traditions during the 30- to 40-year period before World War I. Hobsbawm argued that many newly invented traditions of this time such as festivals and holidays were connected with nationalism under the circumstances of the labor movement and the rise of the middle classes. One of the most significant tools to facilitate these new social practices, according to Hobsbawm, was sport. Welsh rugby and Gaelic football were developed to make a distinction from English soccer. So did American football from English rugby.

Hobsbawm juxtaposed three types of invented traditions: (a) establishing or symbolizing social cohesion and collective identities, (b) establishing or legitimizing institutions and social hierarchies, and (c) socializing people into particular social contexts. Generally, according to Hobsbawm, the first type has been the most common, and it is sometimes presumed to imply the two other types as well (Hobsbawm 2003 a, p. 9). Although Hobsbawm originally pointed out type (b) to emphasize the role of European imperial rulers' attempt to legitimize their colonization, Hobsbawm's argument extended to the point where all invented traditions use references to the past not only for the cementation of group cohesion but also for the legitimization of action. This point can be found easily in modern political contexts especially when countries try to rebuild and negotiate their national and ethnic identities with invented traditions.

In this dissertation, the concept of invented tradition is utilized to analyze Florida State University's (FSU's) Native American-themed mascot, nickname, ritual, and traditions. Hobsbawm's three types of invented traditions will serve as the bridge between the conceptual framework and methods. That is, the three types will guide and interpret as a result of the three types of invented traditions according to Hobsbawm. At FSU, the presence of Chief Osceola is not just on football Saturdays but the type of invented tradition that helps to create this notion of a collective identity. For example, "establishing or symbolizing social cohesion and collective identities" suggests how the mascot might link disparate and multiple communities together within the larger FSU community. The pervasiveness of the Osceola/Seminole symbol across the campus and beyond in academics, co-curriculars, fundraising, beyond athletics will be presented. In order to do so, operationalization of each of the three types of invented traditions are linked to data and data sources to test whether this type of invented tradition applies in the case of Chief Osceola and FSU.

This dissertation deals with historical accounts of Osceola and FSU, but mostly covers the time period between 1980 and 2014 during which, in the sense of "punctuated equilibrium," FSU grew as a national football powerhouse and a flagship state university by achieving such accomplishments as three football national championships and the membership in the Atlantic Coast Conference. FSU's efforts to maintain a close relationship with the Seminole tribe in this period will be noted. This provides opportunities to test whether the invented tradition framework holds.

Data

Marshall and Rossman (1999) suggested that there are four primary methods for gathering information in qualitative research: participation, observation, interview, and documents/material. In this dissertation, I utilized these four sources of data. My dissertation heavily relied on the latter two. “Official” participation (or participant observation) in the setting for the dissertation was not available. Neither was the observation. However, as mentioned earlier, I lived a few years in Tallahassee, observing FSU’s football culture. As I lived near the stadium, I took field notes about how people dress, drink, cheer, and party during game days. My status as an international student gave me a unique and objective perspective like many researchers in the field of cultural anthropology who spend a large amount of time in the aboriginal setting as a temporary resident. Sometimes researchers immerse themselves as a member of the community or they just remain as observers, distancing themselves from other members. In my case, I maintained both identities; I chose to attend FSU mainly because of its football program, and became a Seminole football fan while I still had an outsider’s mentality. Robert Stake (1995) wrote that there is no particular moment of beginning data gathering, and data gathering begins before there is commitment to do the study (p. 49). Even though I did not have the intention to write a dissertation about this topic until 2012, all the materials that I observed in Tallahassee played an important role in this dissertation. Obviously, without those materials, this dissertation would have not begun.

Documents included institutional administrative documents (e.g., proposals, reports, and minutes) and the articles in university newspapers and local newspapers and magazines. Archival records included organizational records such as institutional application and enrollment records. Specifically, I visited both Florida State University and the University of Illinois campuses. At

FSU's special collections and archives, I checked out one of the primary areas of collection, Florida State University history collections, to access important correspondence and publications of the university; photographs of faculty and students, events, buildings, and campus scenes; scrapbooks; papers of distinguished alumni and faculty; and memorabilia documenting student life and university traditions which include Chief Osceola. Other records such as the Alumni Association Records and Former President Doak Campbell Papers were utilized. At the University of Illinois archive, which is located in the main library, sports research resources is one of the main sections of the archive, and it contained data such as clippings, documents, photos, films, and taped interviews about intercollegiate athletics at UI. The archive contained 17 matches of records and manuscripts and 48 matches of images and records by the topic of "Chief Illiniwek" In order to trace the Chief Illiniwek tradition, I mostly utilized the University Bands Collections including Raymond F. Dvorak Papers and Mark H. Hindsley Papers. Jay Rosenstein Papers of Journalism Department at the College of Media were used to investigate mascot controversies. The reason I included the case of the University of Illinois is that it featured many good comparisons and contrasts to the FSU case. While both institutions have big-time athletics and perhaps the two most prominent Native American mascots in college sport, the two universities are quite different culturally and historically; Illinois was founded as a land-grant institution, and FSU was a women's college for about 40 years.

Finally, I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with professors, administrators, and an alumnus/fan to triangulate with other objective assumptions (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). In-depth interviewing is the most commonly known and is widely employed among qualitative researchers. These interviewees were purposefully selected because they were deemed to provide crucial information. The list of interviewees and questionnaires is in the appendix.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is composed of five chapters. In the first chapter, there is a brief introduction. In the following chapter, the literatures about the roles of athletics in higher education and Native American mascot controversies in sport are discussed, followed by the cases at both FSU and Illinois. Finally, there is a deeper investigation about the “invention of tradition,” which is the conceptual framework of this study, along with David Prochaska’s “playing Indian” and Guy-Ernest Debord’s *Society of the Spectacles* to better explain the research questions. After Chapter 3, the methodology section, FSU’s Native American mascot in the context of institutional development is discussed. In Chapter 4, I discuss FSU’s institutional history and development from a regional women’s college to a modern flagship state university. In Chapter 5, the focus is on how FSU’s Native American mascot and other symbols are omnipresent and how this issue can be explained under the concept of “invention of tradition.”

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

I knew something was amiss in the fall of 1992 when my 12-and 13-year-old-sons, Michael and Jeffery, announced that they wanted to attend the University of Michigan. In March of that year, Michigan had appeared in the NCAA basketball finals. Three years earlier they won the national championship. Michigan hats and sweatshirts were hot items in Northampton, Massachusetts. Jeffrey and Michael, of course, knew nothing of Michigan's fine academic reputation and had no idea what they wanted to study, but for the moment anyway they wanted to become Wolverines. (Zimbalist, 2001, p. x).

Role of Athletics in Higher Education

It is hard to imagine American higher education without big-time sports. This is an American phenomenon. In many other countries, college sports often produce elite athletes, but the status with regard to revenue and spectatorship is not as high as in the U.S. Athletics is an essential part of college culture and therefore affects nearly every aspect of campus life (Bowen & Levin, 2005; Shulman & Bowen, 2001). Intercollegiate athletics is also big business at many U.S. universities, and it is "one of the fastest growing parts in this leisure marketplace" (Padilla & Baumer, 1994, p. 123). A university with a powerhouse football program such as the University of Oregon generates \$196 million annual operating revenue (Brady et al., 2015). Many universities also get a share of revenues from TV broadcast rights negotiated by athletic conferences and the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

Despite its huge importance, it seems that some scholars of higher education do not regard big-time sports as an integral part of this academic field (Clotfelter, 2011). Frederick Rudolph received much criticism when he wrote a chapter about college football. John Thelin, a historian of education, wrote an introductory essay in Rudolph's monumental book, *The American college and university: A history*. "In 1960, Rudolph endured sharp criticism from

colleagues who thought his attention to intercollegiate sports was inappropriate for serious historical scholarship” (Rudolph, 1990, p. x).

Athletic Success and Financial Gains to Universities

One can raise a question regarding the benefit of maintaining a big-time intercollegiate sports programs. More specifically, one can ask whether big-time athletic departments make money for universities. Researchers have studied the impact of athletics on college campuses in many ways. Most of all, whether colleges gain financial benefits from their intercollegiate athletics is a contentious topic because it usually requires huge financial investments to maintain and expand athletic programs, men’s football and men’s basketball in particular. As Tsitos and Nixon (2012) put it, this “star wars arms race” makes college athletics departments spend astronomical amounts of money building and renovating facilities and hiring renowned coaches. In 40 of the 50 states of the U.S., either a football coach or a basketball coach was the highest-paid state employee (Fischer-Baum, 2013). The drastic escalation of coaches’ salaries can be illustrated by the following. John Wooden, a legendary basketball coach of the UCLA Bruins from 1948 to 1975, earned about twice as much as an average professor (Dwyre, 2013) but currently a large number of coaches make 100 times as much as professors.

Many scholars have pointed out that there is a positive relationship between athletic success and donations to universities. (Brooker & Klastorin, 1981; Grimes & Cressanthis, 1994; Siegelman & Bookheimer, 1983; and Tucker, 2004). Goff (2000) noted that athletic success can produce direct and indirect financial gains to universities. Some scholars conducted empirical studies about the relationship between certain success in football and men’s basketball and alumni donations. Baade and Sundberg (1996) reported that football’s postseason bowl

appearances and the NCAA men's basketball tournament appearances led to a 40% increase and a 35% increase, respectively, in total alumni giving to public research universities. Rhoads and Gerking (2000) found that football bowl appearances led to a 7.5% increase in alumni giving but no increase in general giving to a university. In a similar vein, Humphreys and Mondello (2007) concluded that football bowl games and NCAA men's basketball-tournament appearances were accountable for significant increases in restricted giving. However, they found that there were no increases in unrestricted giving to public institutions the next year. One thing to notice in Humphreys and Mondello's research is the donation pattern and the type of institutions. As opposed to public institutions that capitalize on both football and basketball success, private schools are more dependent upon postseason basketball appearances to their restricted giving to the institutions. Meer and Rosen (2009) studied how alumni donation patterns differ by gender after athletic success. In short, the donations of male graduates are more associated with the team's athletic success. They concluded that, after his alma mater's conference championship, a male graduate's donations for both general purposes and athletic programs increase by about 7% although football and basketball records generally have small and statistically insignificant effects. Also, former varsity male athletes whose team won the conference championship during their senior year are likely to donate to their athletic program. Recently, a former student-athlete and her husband gave \$5 million to endow the University of Notre Dame's women's head basketball coach position (Casey, 2015). However, this is not common. Female alumni showed no statistically significant effect of a former team's success on current giving. A study by Stinson and Howard (2007) also concluded that athletic success in Division-I schools had a positive effect on fund-raising both by alumni and fans. However, they found that athletic success did not increase donations to academics.

Some argue that winning football programs can even bring more state appropriations. According to Humphreys' (2006) study, regardless of a winning record, fielding football itself makes money. Schools with Division I-A football programs receive about 6% more in state appropriations than schools without a Division I-A football team, and schools with a successful football program receive 3% to 8% increases in state appropriations the next year. One of the most interesting parts in Humphrey's research is the fact that winning an intra-state rivalry game resulted in an increased appropriations in the next year.

Others do not agree with the association of athletic success and financial gain. Only a small portion of colleges and universities make money through their athletic programs. In his paper for the Knight Commission, a watchdog group for college sports, economist Robert H. Frank explained that this is due mainly to the nature of the "zero-sum game" and "winner-take-all" market of college sports (Frank, 2004). Although a large investment is needed to build a winning program, only a few teams can be successful on the field. While it is extremely competitive to be invited to football's major bowl games and reach basketball's Final Four, at least half of the teams are destined to lose in every occasion. Moreover, scholars such as Bergmann (1991) claimed that varsity sports programs in colleges and universities frequently drain a large amount of money from the academic side of the school's budget, maintaining that "the idea that big-time athletics programs bring millions of dollars to the university is false" (p. 30). Bergmann was skeptical about the correlation between successful athletic programs and appropriations or donations to a university's academic programs. She also argued that athletic programs hurt academic integrity by siphoning off regular scholarship monies to athletic scholarships. Shulman and Bowen's (2001) empirical study with an extensive data set of 30

colleges and universities concluded that almost all college teams lose money on their sports teams.

Financial independence of the athletic departments is also a serious matter. Among 230 NCAA Division-I public member institutions, only seven reported receiving zero subsidy from the school, meaning their athletic departments achieved complete financial independence (NCAA Finances, n.d.). Generally speaking, the bigger the athletic programs, the smaller the percentage of subsidies. This means big programs in powerhouse conferences have many chances to generate revenues from various sources. This also means that many athletic programs of relatively small regional and commuter schools as well as historically black institutions are heavily (50~90%) dependent upon subsidies. Even some of the flagship state universities with big athletic departments such as Rutgers University (47.41%) and the University of Maryland (24.68%) witnessed heavy reliance on subsidies (NCAA Finances, n.d.) which are mostly from students' athletic fees. Considering that the average student loan debt per person reached almost \$30,000 in 2014 (Bidwell, 2014), one may argue that these subsidies to athletic departments should have been used for academic purposes.

Athletic Success and Better and More Applicants

Another huge question about college athletics is whether successful athletic programs contribute toward better and more applicants to universities. The “Flutie Factor,” a hypothesis that a school’s outstanding athletic performances can bring more applicants both in quantity and quality, is a classic example of possible institutional gain from a varsity sports team. On November 23, 1984, Doug Flutie, a Boston College quarterback and Heisman trophy winner, threw a thrilling 48-yard Hail Mary touchdown pass as time expired that led the Eagles to beat

the heavily favored University of Miami Hurricanes 47-45. It is commonly believed that the nationally televised victory was responsible for boosting applications to Boston College in subsequent years. A commentator mentioned that Flutie put his school “on the map” especially for younger TV viewers (Sperber, 2000, p. 60). *USA Today* analyzed that "whether it's called the 'Flutie factor' or 'mission-driven intercollegiate athletics,' the effect of having a winning sports team is showing up at admissions offices nationwide" (Dodd, 1997). In fact, after Doug Flutie won the Heisman Trophy (college football’s most valuable player award) in 1984, applications to the school reportedly went up about 30% (Chung, 2013). Although the number of applications declined a few years later, it was still much higher than the figure before Flutie. In 1995, Northwestern University won the Big Ten Conference championship in football for the first time in 60 years. Although the school had already achieved its high academic reputation before rare football success, the private elite research university in the greater Chicago area experienced a 21% increase in admissions applications after the team’s success. (Dodd, 1997)

Similar cases can also be found in public colleges. In 2006, the 11th seeded George Mason University men’s basketball team reached the school’s first ever Final Four in the NCAA basketball tournament, winning four straight games. After that, George Mason became a hot commodity by national media. This was an unusual opportunity for this new institution that began its academic mission as the Northern Virginia branch of the University of Virginia in 1957. The university’s dean of admissions and enrollment development, Andrew Flagel, said in 2006 that "nothing at an institution can dominate the media the way athletics can." He also added, "If you have a story to tell, it gives you an opportunity." (Epstein, 2006). As Todd Zywicki, a George Mason law professor said, GMU’s basketball success generated "a sense of unity" and identity at an institution "often described as a suburban commuter school"(Epstein, 2006).

Butler University, a small private institution in Indianapolis, IN, also benefited from its sports team when the “Cinderella” Bulldogs men’s basketball team advanced to the national championship game in the NCAA tournament in 2010. Experts calculated the estimated value of media exposure during the tournament was worth at least \$1 billion in national publicity. Merchandise sales skyrocketed, the school web site had record traffic, and the next school year, applications for admission increased by 40%. These factors contributed to a fundamental change in student demographics: Students from out of state outnumbered those from Indiana (Johnson, 2013) for the first time in 2011, and the trend continued as 57% in 2013 and 54% in 2014. (Allan, 2015, personal communication) More recently in 2013, Florida Gulf Coast University (FGCU), a relatively small public school that was established in 1997 in Fort Myers, FL, made its first NCAA tournament and upset second-seeded Georgetown and San Diego State to become the first No. 15 seeded team to reach the Sweet 16. *Sports Illustrated* ranked FGCU’s improbable journey as number 24 out of 113 sports moments of 2013. The team’s flying-high performances not only captivated the nation’s attention but rebranded its hometown Fort Myers as “Dunk City.” Mariana Coto James, who was credited by the university as the first person enrolled in FGCU in 1997 said to *USA Today* that “sports, I don’t think it was even a topic of discussion then. No way” (Lopresti, 2013). James, a nurse educator at an Orlando hospital, said that her friends and coworkers did not know much about her alma mater, but now she is confident that if “sports is what puts us on the map, then hey, we’ll go for it” (Lopresti, 2013).

There are some studies that reinforce the idea of the Flutie Effect. Toma and Cross (1998) found that successful athletic programs (men’s football and basketball) resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of applications when compared to peer institutions. Willis Jones (2014) found that simply competing in an upper-tier in football (from Football Championship

Subdivision to Football Bowl Subdivision) resulted in an increasing number of incoming freshmen applications both at Florida Atlantic University and at Florida International University. Additionally, Tucker (2004) found that a successful football team had a positive impact on attracting a higher quality incoming freshman class, improved graduation rates, and increased alumni giving. Pope and Pope's (2009) findings include: After the successful season in football and basketball, top 20 football and top 16 basketball schools witnessed an increase in the number of applications by 2 to 8%. This trend was more evident in applications to private schools than to public schools. One unique pattern of application increase is enrollment applications consistently grew for the freshmen applicants, while the growth was not consistent among transfer and graduate students (Hansen, 2011). This raises a question whether the increased number of applicants guarantees better quality of applicants. Obviously, as Pope and Pope (2009) indicated, the extra applications received do not necessarily mean highly qualified students (i.e., students with higher SAT scores). However, these extra pools of applicants can provide schools with possibilities for better admission outcomes and a better overall incoming freshmen class.

On the contrary, studies by Tucker and Amato (2006) and Litan, Orszag, and Orszag (2003) found that successful athletics program did not positively affect average SAT scores for applicants, and the Flutie Effect had no empirical evidence. Using data from 1993 to 2002, Tucker and Amato (2006) concluded that a highly successful basketball team did not contribute to an effect on the applicants' average SAT scores. Tsitos and Nixon (2012) argued that "the beliefs concerning profitability, donations, and applications seem to be myths" (p. 72). Furthermore, when athletic success is accompanied with scandals (this is highly likely), it might serve as negative publicity for the university. For example, the success of the men's basketball team at the University of Nevada Las Vegas during the late 1980s and early 1990s obviously put

the university on the map nationally. However, players' involvement in point-shaving and gambling scandals not only offset the success on the court but also tarnished the image of the school. Unfortunately, it is not uncommon to see college student-athletes' involvement in such behaviors as domestic violence, substance abuse, and academic cheating. No organization would want its name associated with these kinds of activities.

Other Intangible Benefits from Athletics

Athletic programs can also provide universities with other intangible benefits. Leeds and Von Allen (2002) pointed out that public goods and financial spillovers are the main reasons for universities to invest in big-time college sports. They argued that intercollegiate athletics provide a university with the same kind of public goods that professional sports franchises provide to a city. Identification of students with their school through sports teams is less likely to be achieved through academics. Thelin (1994) called it "a vicarious alumnus"; this sense of belonging through athletic programs can function as a catalyst not only among students but also among alumni and fans of the community (Kotlyarenko & Ehrenberg, 2000). Also, sports is a very common and straightforward way of communicating, and it is very important for communities in higher education and American society in general (Toma, Wolf-Wendel, & Morphew, 2001).

This "community building" is what makes college sports unique and important. Toma (2003) viewed spectator sports, especially football, as an outlet for institutional enthusiasm, vehicle for institutional identity, and tool for institutional appetite (p. 4). Spectator sports, according to Toma, is a quintessential American collegiate culture just like residence life and student activities. Also, football provides rare unity between the campus culture and the local community. In other words, football (rather than academics) is what outsiders know and care

about a certain institution (Martin & Christy, 2010). This is very significant because many colleges and universities are always eager to build external relations with local communities, and football can offer an outreach to external constituents for revenue generating and fundraising as well as psychological commitment.

Another function of big-time football is the distinction provided to the university when the program is successful. While many large state universities are very similar in nature with regards to enrollment number, buildings, and curriculum, a successful athletic program provides not only national recognition but also national prestige. That is, it is often the case that success in the athletic department is regarded as overall institutional excellence.

In a similar vein, Mullholland et al. (2014) conducted a very interesting study about the impacts of football success on *the US News and World Report* college rankings. In the *USN* rankings, reputation by peer group was the only methodology in the 1980s and is still an important part (Bastedo & Bowman, 2010). Their study showed that administrators and faculty tend to rate more highly universities whose football teams receive a greater number of votes in either the final Associated Press or Coaches Poll. This study suggests that winning athletic programs might be regarded as overall institutional success (even in academics) not only for incoming undergraduate applicants but for professors and administrators in higher education. Lifschiz, Sauder, and Stevens (2014) focused on the “status” function in higher education, not only in academic aspects but also in athletics, especially football. They suggested that athletic performance can contribute to a school’s better overall status because of two reasons. First, overall outstanding performances in football can lead a university to an affiliation with a bigger and more lucrative athletic conference, which is usually a group of schools with a higher academic reputation. As Nebraska’s membership in the Big Ten and the Atlantic Coast

Conference's addition of Louisville exemplify, conferences are always eager to expand and bolster their competitiveness and universities are ready to join bigger and better conference with more revenue to share. Second, many traditional rivalries in academics are also fierce opponents in athletics (e.g., Harvard - Yale, Berkeley - Stanford, and Army - Navy). This reorganizes football's rivalry status of Michigan-Ohio State, Texas-Oklahoma, and Florida-Florida State. While the former group of institutions are arguably more academically prestigious, the latter group are regarded academically as good as the former due mainly to their rivalries on the football field.

Historical Accounts about College Sports

Intercollegiate athletics in America began in the 19th century. Following the British model, the standards of amateurism and "the Olympic ideal" have been the foundations of college sports. However, as college sports – football in particular – gained huge popularity, many changes were made. For example, the shift of control began in the late 19th century, when many colleges initiated faculty's control of intercollegiate athletics over students (Smith, 1988). In the first half of the 20th century, many institutions of higher education in the U.S. had to choose whether they would incorporate "big-time" athletics or not.

There are college administrators who embraced intercollegiate athletics as a vehicle to institutional growth (Leeds & von Allmen, 2002). John Hannah of Michigan State University and Rufus von Kleinsmid of the University of Southern California are examples. Under the leadership of Hannah, Michigan State became a member of the Big-Ten athletic conference in 1949, replacing the University of Chicago. What was formerly the Michigan Agricultural College was transformed into a major research university. A similar success story happened at the University of Southern California (USC) which used to be a small private, Methodist college.

It is hard to argue that successful athletic programs along with newly developed affluent neighborhoods did not contribute to USC's academic and athletic success (Thelin, 1994).

In some cases, public figures played crucial roles in developing varsity football teams in state universities. Huey P. Long, Governor of Louisiana and United States senator from 1928 to 1935, thought of the Louisiana State University varsity football team as the center piece of building the state's higher education system and state pride. He emphasized the importance of a winning football team, arguing that "LSU can't have a losing team, because that will mean I am associated with a loser" (Thelin, 1994, p. 73). Long's commitment toward athletic and academic excellence was inherited by succeeding governors and legislatures, and this eventually contributed to LSU's modern state university status in terms of size and resources. The situation was similar at the University of Minnesota, where its Governor Harold Stassen believed that varsity sports teams were a symbol of state pride.

President Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago believed that big-time athletics was not an essential part of college education and therefore dropped the once dominant football program in 1939. Robin Lester (1999) cited many factors in his book *Stagg's University: The rise, decline, and fall of big-time football at Chicago* that caused the demise of Chicago football. On top of many reasons such as the absence of charismatic coach Amos Alonzo Stagg and cumulative disastrous seasons after his retirement, the university leadership, above all, wanted to abolish the football program. Hutchins wrote in an article for the *Saturday Evening Post* that money was the root of the evils of intercollegiate football in America, and physical education might have a proper place in higher learning. Due to Hutchins' philosophy, McNeill (1991) pointed out that Chicago's rigid compulsory curriculum contributed to student-athletes' struggles.

About 20 years later, Ivy League schools (Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Yale) followed the model of the University of Chicago. After its official inauguration as an athletic conference in 1956, the Ivy League teams prohibited athletic scholarships, and decided to award aid only on the basis of financial need. Ronald Ehrenberg (2000) attributed the Ivy League institutions' rationale of prohibiting "preferential packaging" based only on athletic prowess to the league's effort to maintain academic qualifications of the student athletes compared to that of the general student body. Although they did not abolish football programs, and are still playing at the Division I level of the NCAA, Ivy League football no longer embraced its "big-time" status.

Impetus of Southern College football

College football was first organized in the Northeast, but it became even more culturally important in the South. Patrick Miller (1997) viewed the significant role of college football in Southern culture at the beginning of the 20th century. He argued that college football played an important role, providing people who were seeking to create a "New South" with rituals and spectacles of modern team sports. Due to the lack of any professional sports, college football was virtually the only available option for Southern people during the process of reconstruction and revitalization of its economy. Many institutions of higher education in the South established their "school symbols" in this period.

In his milestone book *The American Colleges & Universities: A history* (1990), Frederick Rudolph emphasized that college football made schools begin "to realize the existence of intercollegiate relations" (p. 374) and therefore most colleges developed their traditions because of intercollegiate sport teams. He wrote:

Most college colors were selected in the early days of intercollegiate baseball, but intercollegiate football brought forth the banners, the songs, the posters, and such other carnival-like manifestations as led to the public identification of great institutions of learning with a particular color. From identifying an institution with a color to identifying it with a football team was a very short step, and before long very many Americans would be acting as if *the* [emphasis by Rudolph] purpose of an American college or university were to field a football. (p. 387)

As Rudolph described, for the people of the South, where most of the states were devastated after the Civil War, college sport – football in particular – was considered a religion. As football was a sport that was predominantly played at the collegiate level, this gave college football a special elite standard within an educational setting as well as an “egalitarian” element and manly tradition of White Southern sporting competition (Miller, 1997). At first, in most cases Southern football was introduced either by “Yankees” or by natives who had returned from the North. For example, two professors, Addison Clark, Jr. and A. Campbell Easley, at Add-Ran Christian University (now Texas Christian University) helped a group of students form the football team after returning from Michigan. Similarly, football tradition at the University of Alabama began in 1892 when William “Bill” Little (also known as the father of Alabama football) returned to Alabama, where he originally attended before enrolling in Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts. The University of Georgia even borrowed its athletic nickname (the Bulldogs) from a northern school, Yale University. The two institutions had strong ties because Georgia's first president, Abraham Baldwin, was a Yale graduate and the early buildings on campus were designed very similarly to those of Yale. (Georgia traditions, n.d.)

Despite the fact that the game had its origin in the Northeast region of the United States, Southern football was developed distinctively. Although current conference and in-state rivalries had not matured yet, football was supported by students and alumni. An ardent group of alumni returned to their alma maters as the football season began. According to Miller (1997) civic

boosters tried to connect the development of college football to the maturation of the New South. Although Southern college sport, like that of other regions, had originated as an extracurricular activity by students, it would have been impossible to become a big-time business without the endeavors of alumni and local boosters. Furthermore, professors' and presidents' attitude towards football was very important to the flourishing of the sport as Charles Herty of Georgia and John Franklin Crowell of Trinity College (now Duke University) played critical roles in establishing respective early football programs. In 1888, after Trinity College defeated the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 16-0 in a football game, Crowell recalled:

That single game probably did more than anything else to send into limbo the age-long habit of the condescending attitude with which certain friends of that venerable institution (the University of North Carolina) were inclined to look upon the denominational colleges in general and Trinity College in particular. (Sumner, 1990, p. 5)

Besides the popularity of the sport among most students, many college administrators believed that success on the football field was equated with institutional prestige. Colleges began to organize athletic conferences to serve their best interests. In 1894, the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association was formed, and in 1896 the Big Ten Conference was taking shape, mostly by Midwestern state colleges. The only private institution in the Big Ten, the University of Chicago, was a national powerhouse in football at that time, due mainly to its legendary coach Amos Alonzo Stagg.

The New South ideology in the post-Civil War era contributed to the teams' development. The fundamental underpinning of this ideal was the vision to reintegrate Southern states into the national economy without the sacrifice of the racial, cultural, and political continuity or autonomy. Racial separation, which was reinforced by the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case (1896), was still the rule in the New South ideal, and it was supposed to permeate all facets of Southern life.

Racial separation was essential in stabilizing race relations in urban areas. The lure of jobs promised to bring large numbers of racially obsessed lower-class whites into close proximity with large number of blacks who threatened to become both their economic and social competitors. Segregation, therefore, was crucial to maintaining the rigidly controlled labor climate deemed essential by potential investors' intent on exploiting the South's cheap labor pool. (Pascoe et al., 2005). Disfranchisement insured a similarly restrictive political climate by neutralizing the South's black voters and many of its lower-class white ones as well. This, in turn, cleared the way for conservative New South Democrats to establish political insularity while still pursuing economic assimilation.

The rise of Southern college football coincided with the New South ideology. As Andrew Doyle (1987) put it, Southern college football in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was “a complex and richly nuanced cultural text that offers insights into the searing internal conflicts that beset the South” and “an amalgamation of innovation and tradition” (p. 28). Athletic performance on the gridiron served as a symbol of the New South's reintegration into the national economy. There were some significant victories for the southern college football teams. In 1910, Vanderbilt University played the Yale Bulldogs, which were coached by “the father of American football” Walter Camp, to a scoreless tie. Southern football improved dramatically during the 1920s due mainly to the region's increasing number of high school football programs, which later became fertile recruiting ground. In 1921, Centre College of Kentucky pulled a stunning upset over Harvard, which had won all previous 25 games. Alabama's victory against Washington in the 1926 Rose Bowl was yet another great performance that Sutherners could be proud of. Alabama's victory was very significant because the Crimson Tide (or any other Southern team) was at first not even considered to be invited to the Rose Bowl or “the

granddaddy” of the bowl games. As other candidates, such as Dartmouth, Michigan, Colgate, and Princeton, declined the invitations to square off against the University of Washington Huskies, Alabama, the fourth-ranked team in the poll, was the next team in. However, Alabama was not a desirable matchup card for the Rose Bowl. The Rose Bowl agent did not hide his disrespect toward Alabama (or Southern football in general): "I've never heard of Alabama as a football team," and "I can't take a chance on mixing a lemon with a rose" (Doyle, 1987, p.30).

Southern football was further invigorated by several appearances of Southern schools in the Rose Bowl and the emergence of several bowl games in the 1930s. Between 1929 and 1940, Georgia Tech, Tulane, SMU, Duke, and Tennessee all appeared in the Rose Bowl, which was played in Pasadena, California. The Alabama Crimson Tide made three appearances in the Rose Bowl during this period. Furthermore, in the 1930s, the warm climate of the Southern region enabled the formation of major college football bowl games such as the Orange Bowl (1935), Sugar Bowl (1935), Sun Bowl (1936), and Cotton Bowl (1937).

During the early 20th century, Southern universities began to build their identities by establishing nicknames and mascots for their athletic programs. As college football was the major outlet through which people of the South would rebuild their morale, it is no wonder that universities' self-claimed identities were athletic, powerful, and fierce. At the same time, as there were virtually no minority constituents in Southern universities, nicknames and mascots represented the values of mostly white, male heterosexuals. Sometimes the legacy of the Confederate during the Civil War era was also available such as “Johnny Reb” and the “Rebels” of the University of Mississippi (also known as “Ole Miss”).

One of the distinct nicknames that represented Southern white male identity was the “Crackers.” According to Guiliano (2015, p.15), Crackers referred to poor migrants from many Southern states to Florida who drove livestock in the 19th century. Although the word “Crackers” once had pejorative connotations and they were regarded as poor, hard-drinking, law-breakers, the wide use of “Crackers” nicknames in the early 20th century changed the public conception and finally made this a desirable term which represented self-sufficient and successful male settlers. Guiliano pointed out that these identities were what newly-established Florida State University wanted to have in 1947. When FSU decided on its athletic nickname, “Crackers” was one of the finalists, and it could have been selected. This story will be discussed in a later chapter.

Native American Mascot Controversies in Sport

Located in Pekin, Illinois, Pekin High School used to have the nickname “Chinks.” Obviously, besides similar spelling, there was no relationship between this small city in western Illinois and the biggest city of China. But according to local legend, Pekin is directly opposite Beijing on the globe. So the Pekin high school team used the mascot names of Chink and Chinklette. At halftime of football and basketball games, their male and female mascots marched with an exaggerated motion in stereotypical Chinese dress. After being criticized, the school finally abandoned its moniker and renamed itself the Dragons (Fishman, 2004).

In 1987, an activist group called Concerned American Indian Parents addressed the matter of Native American images in sport, by juxtaposing Chief Wahoo of the Cleveland Indians with three imaginary emblems for the Pittsburgh Negroes, the Kansas City Jews, and the San Diego Caucasians. The caption reads, “Maybe now you know how Native Americans feel” (Strong, 2004). By the same token, Ward Churchill’s satirical book chapter, “Let’s Spread the

Fun Around” (2003), sarcastically proposed that sport teams should be named after all kinds of implicit and explicit racial insults. Although these observations awakened many people to the importance of the problem, it is a reality that one of the professional sport teams in the nation’s capital is still using the highly offensive nickname of “Redskins” while many universities use nicknames of Native American tribes. One of the negative aspects about these nicknames (or mascots) is that they are reproduced and disseminated to the world by global media.

Native American images have been very common in U.S. sports at all educational and professional levels. David Wilkins and Carter Meland (2012) estimated that more than 4600 professional, college, and high school teams had mascots associated with Indians. In response to objections by organizations such as the U.S. Commission of Civil Rights and the American Psychological Association, almost two-thirds of the original Indian sports nicknames were changed (Tramel, 2011). Furthermore, over the past 40 years, more than 600 institutions including high schools, colleges, and universities retired their controversial mascots (Wilkins & Meland, 2012). Then, on August 5, 2005, the National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) Executive Committee announced its guidelines for the use of Native American mascots at championship events. According to the guidelines, Native American nicknames or mascots deemed “hostile or abusive” would not be allowed on team uniforms or other clothing beginning with any NCAA tournament after February 1, 2006. Furthermore, such logos would be prohibited at postseason games on cheerleader and band uniforms starting in 2008. Eighteen colleges and universities with Native American imagery and references were subjected to the new policy. Among these institutions, Florida State University (the Seminoles) and the University of Illinois (Fighting Illini) were the two biggest institutions in terms of student

enrollment and the budget of athletic programs. Therefore, the cases of both schools will be discussed more in detail later in this chapter.

Table 1: The list of schools that were banned by the NCAA in 2005

COLLEGE	NICKNAME PRE-BAN	NICKNAME CURRENT
Alcorn State University	Braves	Braves
Arkansas State University	Indians	Red Wolves
Bradley University	Braves	Braves
Carthage College	Redmen	Red Men
Catawba College	Indians	Indians
Central Michigan University	Chippewas	Chippewas
Chowan College	Braves	Hawks
Florida State University	Seminoles	Seminoles
Indiana University of Pennsylvania	Indians	Crimson Hawks
McMurry University	Indians	War Hawks
Midwestern State University	Indians	Mustangs
Mississippi College	Choctaws	Choctaws
Newberry College	Indians	Wolves
Southern Oklahoma State University	Savages	Savage Storm
University of Illinois-Champaign	Illini	Illini
University of Louisiana-Monroe	Indians	Warhawks
University of North Dakota	Fighting Sioux	*Fighting Hawks
University of Utah	Utes	Utes

*Selected as new nickname for the University of North Dakota in November 2015

Some of the 18 institutions voluntarily changed their nicknames (e.g., Louisiana Monroe changed from Indians to Warhawks, and Arkansas State from Indians to Red Wolves), whereas the University of North Dakota filed a lawsuit. Despite controversies, however, some universities maintained their nicknames; the Florida State University Seminoles, the University of Utah Utes,

and the Central Michigan University Chippewas are examples. These institutions all obtained permission from the namesake tribes and thus avoided NCAA sanctions.

In the statement issued in August 2005, the NCAA acknowledged the complexity of the mascot problem and the uniqueness of the circumstances, saying “each institution’s use of Native American mascots and imagery is different” (NCAA News Release, 2005). Bernard Franklin, NCAA’s senior vice-president for governance and membership, said “Each review will be considered on the unique aspects and circumstances as it relates to the specific use and practice at that college or university.” The NCAA reviewed whether documentation existed and a “namesake” tribe had formally approved of the use of the mascot, name, and imagery of the institution. “It is vitally important that we maintain a balance between the interests of a particular Native American tribe and the NCAA’s responsibility to ensure an atmosphere of respect and sensitivity for all who attend and participate in our championships,” said NCAA President Myles Brand. “We recognize that there are many points of view associated with this issue and we also know that some Native American groups support the use of mascots and imagery and some do not; that is why we will pay particular attention to special circumstances associated with each institution” (NCAA News Release, 2005).

For most colleges and universities, the nicknames of their intercollegiate sports teams are symbols not only for the institutions but also for the communities. As nicknames become deeply embedded in the school and local culture, it is very difficult to change them. Past cases show that there was severe resistance when some schools tried to abolish Native American-related nicknames. However, even before the NCAA sanction, many colleges and universities had already abolished Native American nicknames beginning in the 1960s. The University of Oklahoma was the first higher learning institution to drop its Native American nickname of “Big

Red” and its mascot “Lil’ Red” (Harjo, 2007). Many institutions such as Stanford, Dartmouth, and Syracuse followed suit. While Dartmouth used the “Big Green” nickname, Stanford University used the nickname of “Indians” from 1930 to 1972. After the removal of its former nickname, some boosters and alumni members threatened to withdraw their support for Stanford if the school dropped the Indians nickname, hoping to reinstate it. These lobbies ended up failing in 1981 when the university finally changed its nickname to the color “Cardinal.” Dropping this moniker was never an easy task for administrators. Richard Lyman, a former Stanford president, recalled about dropping the Indian nickname that “when I died and they opened me up they would find Stanford Indian written across my heart” (Guiliano, 2015, p.107). Similar changes occurred at Syracuse University (from “Saltine Warriors” to “Orangemen” to the current “Orange”) and Miami (Ohio) University (from “Red Skins” to “Red Hawks”). When the schools tried to replace their nicknames, they faced considerable criticism and confrontation (Davis, 1993 & Davis-Delano, 2007).

The impetus of the anti-Native American mascot movement dates back to the early 1960s (Tramel, 2011). It was in the 1980s that numerous scholars and activists began full-fledged examinations of Native American imageries especially in media (Locklear, 2011). They described the problems with using Native American nicknames, suggesting that people should no longer use the monikers of the indigenous community (Davis, 1993; King, 2004). Some scholars pointed out that most Native American nicknames are not based on historic facts and called them “pseudo Indian mascots” (King, 2004; King et al., 2002; King & Springwood, 2000; Strong, 2004). Furthermore, in many cases, Native American nicknames in sports contribute primitive and savage warrior images of the Native American people in connection with the adjectives such as “fighting,” “killing,” and “massacring” (Baca, 2004; Davis 1993). In short, Native American

nicknames and mascots in sports tend to negatively stereotype American Indians (Davis, 1993; King, Staurowsky, Baca, Davis, & Pewewardy, 2002; Staurowsky, 2004). In addition to efforts being made by scholars in academic settings, some contemporary sports writers refuse to use Native American mascots in their reporting (e.g., they call the Washington Redskins “the Washington team” and the Cleveland Indians “the Cleveland team”).

Despite continuous criticism and protests, some professional teams with Native American imageries (e.g., Washington Redskins, Cleveland Indians, Kansas City Chiefs, and Atlanta Braves) are not willing to change their problematic mascots. Although there have been many lawsuits, petitions, and protests against pejorative and antiquated racist use of “Redskins,” Washington’s NFL team owner Daniel Snyder is one of the most obstinate people regarding the issue. He said, “We will never change it. It’s that simple. Never” (Brady, 2013). Snyder’s position soon faced multiple political pressures. Early in 2013, Vincent Gray, the Mayor of Washington D.C., said the Redskins should have a new nickname if the team wants to play inside the possible future stadium in the D.C. area instead of current FedEx Field in Landover, MD. The contract between the Washington team and the FedEx Field expires in 2026. Although Gray backed off a month later and indicated that a name change would not be a precondition for the team’s moving back into the D.C. area, political pressures are still possible for the team regarding stadium building and franchise relocation issues. Gray was not the only politician who explicitly opposed the team’s nickname. President Barack Obama criticized the use of the Redskins, saying “If I were the owner of the team and I knew that there was a name of my team — even if it had a storied history — that was offending a sizeable group of people, I’d think about changing it,” (Vargas & Shin, 2013). In 2014, the Senators Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Harry Reid (D-NV) expressed their opinion, and 50 U.S. Senators sent a letter to the NFL, asking for

an abolishment of the Redskins nickname (Hulse & Schneider, 2014). It seems that, however, Snyder will not step back mainly because the team does not feel considerable pressure yet with regard to marketing and public relations perspectives. Even after the U.S. Trademark and Appeal Board ruled that “the Redskins” was disparaging to Native American people in June 2014, the team’s major corporate sponsors (Bank of America and Federal Express) are still keeping their ties with the team. The NFL’s unwillingness to mandate the change enabled Snyder to maintain his position.

Many scholars and sports writers agreed that it was even more problematic for educational institutions to use Native American mascots because it was not only offensive but also inappropriate for educational institutions (King, 2002). Also, some universities have official policies that refuse to schedule against teams whose nicknames are Native American-related. In 1993, the faculty of University of Wisconsin – Madison, for example, adopted a policy on Native American logos and names. UW suggested that colleges and universities should stop using Native American monikers, arguing, “We discourage scheduling athletic competitions with schools that used Native American mascots or imagery” (University of Wisconsin, 2007). The University of Iowa has a similar policy to that of Wisconsin. In June 2005, the Presidential Committee on Athletics deemed that the use of Native American mascots by athletic teams is “demeaning and offensive” (“hostile and abusive” in the NCAA’s words). Consequently, Iowa decided not to schedule matches against teams whose nicknames include Native American images. The Florida State Seminoles was on the list as an example of malicious use. (The University of Illinois is the only exception because it is a member of the Big Ten conference.) While the NCAA and Native American Civil Rights movement organizations praised Iowa as a

“model institution,” Iowa reaffirmed its policy by not inviting the University of North Dakota (Fighting Sioux) to participate in a 2012 track competition.

FSU in Its Mascot Controversies

"With the Seminole Tribe and Governor Bush on your side, how can you go wrong?"

(Florida State University Vice President Lee Hinkle, 2005)

“There’s no question in my mind that we never belonged on that list.”

(Dave Hart, Athletics director, FSU, 2005)

For Florida State University, its nickname is special because the nickname not only symbolizes the successful evolution of the football program but also embodies the whole institutional history from a small women’s college to a flagship state university. The nickname of the “Seminoles” was selected by the students in 1947 and was instantly supported by the football players. Other candidates were Crackers, Statesmen, Tarpons, and Fighting Warriors (Addonizio, 1998). Florida State President T.K. Wetherell immediately reacted with disapproval regarding the NCAA’s 2005 decision, arguing “that the NCAA would now label our close bond with the Seminole Tribe of Florida as culturally hostile and abusive is both outrageous and insulting” (Prisbell, 2005). About a week later, Wetherell also said in an interview with National Public Radio that he could not even imagine a nickname for FSU other than the Seminoles (Burbank, 2005).

In June 2005, two months before the NCAA decision, the Seminole tribe of Florida reaffirmed its endorsement of FSU’s use of the Seminole nickname and imageries by passing their own resolution. From the perspective of the NCAA, the Seminoles’ case was very complicated and unique because the Seminole tribes in other states (mostly in Oklahoma) had not agreed with the tribe in Florida. However, the tide turned in favor of FSU when the Seminole

Nation of Oklahoma expressed no objection to FSU's use of Seminoles as a nickname and mascot about a week after the NCAA announcement (Harjo, 2007, pp.19-20; Wieberg, 2005).

C. Richard King and Charles Fruehling Springwood have produced many scholarly works about Native American images in sports. King and Springwood (2001a) argued that FSU's mascot is "the best offense" (p. 129) in many ways. First, they pointed out the symbolic violence to the tribe because of FSU's misuse and stereotyping of Indianness. According to the authors, FSU's mascot is not far from other problematic Native American mascots because it emphatically reinforces the traditional archetypes of Indianness such as masculinity, fierceness, and bellicosity. These notions are embedded in many traditions of the FSU football team. Even though it was used figuratively, Bobby Bowden, a legendary FSU football head coach from the 1976 to the 2009 seasons used to write "Scalp' Em" with his autographs. Many people, including journalists, are still using this expression. Recently, Garnet Tipton (2012) of Examiner.com wrote an article entitled "Florida State Seminoles scalp the UCLA Bruins in College World Series." King and Springwood also pointed out the fact that fans have been cheering the football team with invented traditions such as the "war chant" and "tomahawk chops," a repetitive arm motion which pretends to throw an axe. Second, the researchers raised a question about the relationship between FSU and the Seminole Tribe of Florida. Furthermore, although they are integral parts of FSU's Chief Osceola, researchers have argued that the Seminoles, Chief Osceola in particular, neither rode a horse nor used a spear during the Seminole Wars. In fact, this Native people of Florida mainly used rifles, and it is easy to guess that horseback riding in the swamp was unlikely. For those reasons, historian Carter Brown Jr. stated that "the horse, the war paint, the spears – none of it is an accurate historical representation of Seminoles" (Evans, 2005). However, Andrew Frank, a professor who teaches Native American

history at Florida State University, said that “Seminoles were horse riders” while they mainly used rifles. Also, the university’s “Unconquered” statue and many other traditions, maintains FSU’s claim that the university accurately depicts this Seminole culture.

In the case of Florida State University, the official nickname for its sports teams is the Seminoles, but in terms of its mascot, FSU has one of the most famous pregame rituals in college football involving Chief Osceola and his Appaloosa horse Renegade. At every home football game, Osceola, a student personification of the historical leader during the Seminole Wars, rides his Appaloosa horse Renegade to midfield with a burning spear and plants it in the turf. This is regarded as one of the greatest pregame rituals in college football. In June – July 2011, ESPN’s *Sports Nation* selected 16 of the most popular college football traditions and put them in a bracket-style tournament in which fans decided the winner. Fourth-seeded FSU – Osceola and Renegade – was selected as the eventual best tradition after beating the University of Florida and Louisiana State University in the first and second rounds. FSU also outlasted The University of Notre Dame (semifinals) and The University of Michigan (finals), which have two of the richest histories in college football.

Use of the Native American image by universities and colleges can cause serious problems because people (especially children) unwittingly regard the Native American nicknames as good and educationally unproblematic. With that in mind, the National Collegiate Athletic Association banned the usage of Native-American nicknames in 2005. Two of the biggest targets were Florida State University and the University of Illinois. Although FSU received an endorsement from the Seminole tribe and later permission from the NCAA, Florida State realized that their lucrative mascot could be challenged in the future. So, school

administrators designed two ways to show FSU's "respect" for the Seminole tribe. One was the "Unconquered" campaign and the other was "Blackout" day.

Intermittent protests from human rights organizations and journalists proclaimed that FSU should stop using the "Seminoles" image for the school's mascot. Jon Saraceno (2005) of *USA Today* wrote about the Seminole mascot, "I don't call it educational." Susan Shown Harjo's (2007) account is more explicit. She indicated that FSU reduced Osceola, who had refused to accept the Seminole removal treaty, to no more than a mascot for a football game. But it was in the summer of 2005 that the National Collegiate Athletic Association's Executive Committee announced the decision to ban Native American mascots at individual schools. The Seminoles of Florida State was one of the most well-known nicknames along with the Fighting Illini of the University of Illinois. Shocked by the decision from the umbrella organization, FSU President T.K. Wetherell said in a written statement:

Florida State University is stunned at the complete lack of appreciation for cultural diversity shown by the National Collegiate Athletic Association's executive committee. That the NCAA would now label our close bond with the Seminole Tribe of Florida as culturally "hostile" and "abusive" is both outrageous and insulting. (Prisbell, 2005)

FSU then succeeded in obtaining approval from the Seminole tribe in Florida to use the nickname continuously. Jim Shore, general counsel for the Seminole Tribe of Florida, openly supported FSU's Seminole mascot in an Op-Ed column of the *New York Times*. According to Shore, the relationship between the Seminole Tribe and Florida State could not be better although the Seminole Tribe of Florida received no financial compensation in exchange for the university's use of the nickname and other symbols. Shore's boastful narration continued that Florida State "encourages members of the Seminole Tribe to apply for admission and spreads information about Seminole culture and history." He added that FSU "approached the Seminole Tribe to make sure their use of certain symbols was accurate and respectful" and that FSU "has

invited Seminole Tribe high school students to visit its Tallahassee campus” (Shore, 2005). Just one week after the NCAA reversed its initial decision regarding FSU’s mascot, Tina Osceola, a member of the Seminole tribe of Florida and executive director of the Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki museum at Okalee Village for Seminole history and culture, welcomed the NCAA’s decision to allow FSU to continue using the Seminoles nickname. She supported FSU’s use of the mascot, arguing that the NCAA had not asked the tribe’s opinion and input when it characterized FSU’s use of tribal symbols and images as “hostile” and “abusive.” She maintained that the NCAA’s disregard of tribal government was “far more insulting” than that of the mascot issue (Inskeep, 2005).

Although a majority of people backed the decision by the NCAA, some third-party journalists and opinion leaders argued that the NCAA’s sanction of FSU’s mascot had gone too far. Jay Mohr, a comedian and *Sports Illustrated* columnist, criticized the NCAA by saying that “the rich white men whose forefathers tried (and nearly succeeded) to commit genocide against the Seminole tribe of Florida now deem Florida State’s Seminole logo hostile and offensive” (Mohr, 2005). Former Congressman and U.S. attorney Bob Barr’s column, “Mascot war shows NCAA flunks logic,” is very pertinent not only to the NCAA but also to the proponents of the removal of Native American monikers in sports. Barr called the NCAA policy a “nonsense” because even the University of Iowa, which refuses to schedule athletic events with schools that have Native American nicknames, should be investigated by the NCAA as both its name (Iowa) and nickname (the Hawkeyes) constitute “Native American imagery” (Barr, 2005). On August 15, 2005, *The Washington Times* editorial titled *Nickname nonsense*, defended FSU’s use of its mascot because it was constructed from a group prominent in a particular region’s heritage just like the Boilermakers of Purdue and the Cornhuskers of Nebraska. The newspaper also asked the NCAA to be more consistent in its understanding of race, ethnicity, and national origin.

As FSU fans recognized, without the help of the Seminole leaders, their beloved mascots would have been eliminated. Some fans expressed their gratitude to the Seminole leaders. In letters to the editor of the *Seminole Tribune*, FSU fans reacted enthusiastically to the decision of the Seminole tribe that “your support of our school is a true blessing” (Leahy, 2005) “The decision to endorse and permit the use of the Seminole mascot by Florida State is a wonderful opportunity to share accurate information concerning your people with many” (Carney, 2005). “This is a welcome sign of sanity” (Giordano, 2005). President T. K. Wetherell also appreciated the Seminoles’ support.

Why did the Seminole leaders endorse FSU’s use of the Seminole mascot? Perhaps it was related to the tribe’s economic and political relationship with the state government which operates Florida State University. As King and Springwood (2001a) indicated, tourism is an essential part in today’s Seminole tribe in Florida since the early 20th century. In the late 1940s and 1950s, craft sales to tourists were a very important aspect of tribal economy because a vast majority of families were involved in making and selling crafts to compensate for their desperate economic conditions. In addition, tax-free tobacco sales was another way to make their livings. Formerly, the relation of tourism to the Seminole tribe, as Patsy West introduced in her book *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism*, ranged from “cultural tourism” to “ecotourism.” She explained the former as “the sharing and displaying of certain highly visible aspects of their touristic experience” (West, 1998, p. xv).

James Billie, a Vietnam War veteran, a chairman of the Seminole Tribe of Florida and a long-time advocate for FSU, runs Swamp Safari entertainment, which is a combination of airboat ride, alligator exhibit, and camping experience. Furthermore, casino business has been the most important source of revenue for the Seminoles since they opened the first high-stakes bingo hall

in Hollywood, Florida in 1979 (Cattelino, 2008). In 2006, *The New York Times* report estimated that the Seminoles generated about 90 percent of its income from gambling (De la Merced, 2006), which amounted to \$900 million (McCoy, 2006). Harjo (2007) succinctly illustrated why the Seminole Tribe of Florida arduously supports FSU's mascot: "We are fine with it. We like it. Keep on with it (and by the way, don't touch our gaming)" (p. 20).

In 1981, the tribe expanded the high-stakes bingo hall in Tampa, Florida. After the enactment of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988, there were many controversies and lawsuits about the Seminoles' operation of quasi Class III devices, or Las Vegas-style casinos. As the Seminoles were financially struggling while operating Class III devices in the 1990s, they still needed state permission. Also, the Seminoles began the massive Hollywood Seminole Hard Rock project, including a casino portion and 12-story hotel. After the NCAA mascot controversy in 2005, the Seminole tribe was the winning bidder to purchase Hard Rock Hotels & Casino resorts and five other casinos, including 68 venues not only in the U.S., Canada, and Puerto Rico but also in Europe and Australia (De la Merced, 2006; Krantz, 2006). As this \$965 million deal was a huge purchase for the Seminole tribe, it was necessary for them to be on amicable terms with the state government of Florida. Under these circumstances, it is hard to imagine the Seminole leaders not endorsing FSU's nickname.

The use of the "Seminole" nickname in relation to the Seminole tribe has incited controversy since the early 1990s. In February 1993, about a year before FSU won its first national championship in football, some members of the Seminole tribe insisted that they should share the profits from sales of the trademark, estimating that FSU annually earned about \$800,000 from its logo. Steven Bowers, the tribe's liaison with the state government, mentioned that "real Seminole ought to be able to sell arts and crafts on campus on game days" (Associated

Press, 1993). Bowers also said that FSU's profit from trademark concessions should be used to pay for scholarships for tribal members.

On October 19, 1995, George Vecsey of the *New York Times* mentioned FSU's nickname in his column, *No race of people should be a mascot*. At first, he criticized the usage of Native American nicknames among professional sports teams. After introducing some good examples of abolishing Native American nicknames by college sports teams such as Stanford and St. John's, Vecsey sarcastically cited Florida State, using very aggressive language. He argued that FSU always "trots out some real Seminoles" during the football games and the football players are "alleged student-athletes." Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte, the FSU president, responded passionately by arguing that (a) FSU was in a good relationship with the leaders of the Seminole tribe; (b) FSU received permission to use the nickname from James Billie, the president of Seminole tribe; and (c) the Seminole people thought that the FSU nickname had helped their presence in American society. D'Alemberte responded to Vecsey's argument as follows:

Your column acknowledges that we have always invited Seminoles, including the chiefs, to our games, but the way you phrase it (that FSU "always trots out some real Seminoles") is insulting to the university and tribal leaders. We do not "trot out" anyone. We invite Seminoles, and they often accept. If you are concerned with sensitivity, I would think this would be considered a thoughtful step on our part. The other slur in your column refers to our "alleged student athletes." I doubt that you took the time to look at the data on our student athletes before that flippant remark. I hope you will now take time to see what our athletes have done. You can look at their 71-percent graduation rate (for football players), one of the best in the country. (D'Alemberte, 1995, Oct 31)

In April 1999, a few months before the beginning of another FSU football national championship season, Jim King, a Republican State Senator from Jacksonville and an FSU alumnus, proposed an amendment to put FSU's Seminoles nickname and its mascot of Chief Osceola and Renegade (an Appaloosa horse) into law (Royse, 1999). While many Seminole leaders supported King's idea, this proposal faced criticism from a Native American rights group

and eventually failed to be enacted. Suzan Shown Harjo, president of The Morning Star Institute, which filed a lawsuit against the Washington Redskins, expressed her displeasure by arguing that the proposed legislation was arrogant and disrespectful.

The main reason the NCAA included FSU on the list of 18 schools of “hostile and abusive” nicknames was opposition from outside the state of Florida, the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma in particular. Unlike the Seminole tribe in Florida, the Seminole Nation had not expressed its support for using the Seminole nickname. However, a week after the NCAA announcement, Ken Chambers, principal chief of the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, said he had no objection to use of the Seminole nickname and mascot (Wieberg, 2005). After a few months of turmoil, the NCAA finally approved the usage of the nickname. But within the next few months, the Seminole Tribe of Florida announced that it no longer supported Florida State University's use of their name for FSU's athletic teams, which reversed years of support. On the surface, the reason for withdrawal was the Florida State football team's struggle during that period. Seminole Tribe Chief and Comptroller William Running turkey pointed out that with the football team's recent struggles – FSU finished at least number 5 from 1987 to 2000 in the final rankings but had not reached that point since then – young Seminoles were no longer proud to be associated with the university. It is not certain whether the Seminole tribe as a whole agreed with this assessment. However, because the NCAA's withdrawal of their censure of FSU and removal of the name “Seminoles” from their banned names list was based largely on the tribe's support, FSU deployed many efforts to maintain its nickname from that point in time. Those efforts will be illustrated in the later chapters. Furthermore, FSU is not the only university facing a controversy as a result of using Native American imagery. The Illini case is also illustrative.

University of Illinois in Its Mascot Controversies

In the following pages, I will review the controversies surrounding the Native American mascot (Chief Illiniwek) of the University of Illinois. I added this part for two reasons because the case of UI provides the FSU case with significant comparison and contrast. Among U.S. colleges and universities with Native American mascots and nicknames, the University of Illinois athletics department is the only comparable institution with FSU. Both FSU's Chief Osceola and UI's Chief Illiniwek are two of the most prominent Native American mascots in American sports, but there are some commonalities and differences between the two institutions. While most of the controversies about FSU's mascot have come from outside the institution (scholars, activists, and journalists), UI's mascot controversy started from inside the institution. Both mascots were temporarily banned by the NCAA in 2005, but only UI dropped the Chief Illiniwek's halftime dance tradition, while FSU still maintains Osceola's pregame tradition.

The Chief Illiniwek mascot and his half-time dance have been controversial for a long time, and the controversy has not ended. Even after the NCAA identified Chief Illiniwek as one of the "hostile and abusive" college mascots in 2005, and after the decision of the University of Illinois to stop the tradition of using Native American regalia and staging a half-time dance in 2007, students continued to petition to revive the tradition. A recent student survey about the UI mascot also showed that the majority of students still supported the use of Chief Illiniwek (Hettinger & Bourbon, 2013).

Regarding the impetus of the anti-Chief movement around the UI campus, Carol Spindel, who is the author of *Dancing at halftime* and anti-Native American mascot activist, identified three important watershed points. First, Dee Brown's bestseller *Bury my heart at Wounded Knee*, which was first published in 1970, was a wakeup call for many Americans. Brown, a UI librarian,

revealed that some battles between the U.S. Army and the Native tribes were in fact massacres by the U.S. Army. Millions of readers gained knowledge about the last frontier war of the Plains, providing sympathy with Native Americans. The second contribution to the anti-Chief movement was the back-to-nature movement in the 1970s. It was a social movement with the idea of a self-sufficient life in the nature, valuing moral and spiritual simplicity. As the movement valued the environment, Indians were idealized as role models for students who followed this movement. Some Native American people raised the mascot issue. Third, in response to early pressures, many colleges and universities (e.g., Dartmouth, Syracuse, Bradley, and Stanford) dropped their Native American nicknames during this period. There were vigorous protests at Stanford when its teams changed to the Cardinal from the previous nickname of Indians in 1972. Stanford also retired Prince Lightfoot, an Indian mascot who played a similar role to Chief Illiniwek at the games. It is noticeable that many alumni threatened not to financially support their alma mater if the nickname changed. However, sources indicated that there was no significant loss of financial contributions from alumni even after the nickname change. (Spindel p.130)

Perhaps the first organized protest against Chief Illiniwek on the UI campus was initiated in 1975 by the Citizens for the American Indian Movement (AIM). The organization pointed out two issues. First, it argued that the UI mascot degraded Indians and exhibited the ignorance of the white race. Second, AIM criticized Chief Illiniwek and his halftime dance performances because they deemed it was an inauthentic combination of many Native tribal customs. (Crowley, 2004). Norma Linton, a member of Citizens for AIM and UI visiting lecturer of anthropology, wrote in the university's yearbook *Illio* in 1975:

The Illiniwek exhibition is tantamount to someone putting on a parody of a Catholic Mass. The Indians within the Illinois area are of a different tribal culture. The idea of

symbols from several different tribes mashed together angers Indians. They do not want their individual tribal customs combined and distorted, but want their traditions to remain separate and unique. (Garippo, 2000, p. 13)

This authenticity problem was one of the key issues when scholars and the civil rights movement raised questions about the legitimacy of Native American sport mascots. American Indian activist Michael Haney illustrated an example of inauthentically used Native American cultures in the representation of Chief Illiniwek's dance. He argued that the drumbeat of the Illiniwek dance was bellicosely exaggerated in a Hollywood style, while the original one was natural like a heartbeat (Rosenstein, 1997). Also in 1975, Clyde Bellecourt, one of the founders of AIM, visited the UI campus, and participated in a debate about the Chief issue. As a reply to Bellecourt, one of the former Chiefs answered, "Other university mascots are just caricatures but Illiniwek portrays the Indians as they would want to be portrayed" (Spindel, 2000, p. 130).

In October 1989, Charlene Teters, a member of the Spokane Tribe, initiated the organization of a campus-wide anti-Chief Illiniwek movement. Teters first came to Urbana-Champaign in 1988 to attend graduate school in the University of Illinois' Department of Art along with two other tribal members. Upon arriving on the campus, Teters found an insensitive and hostile atmosphere for Native Americans. Each school year, the sororities held the Miss Illini Squaw Contest, in which many female students participated to become Miss Illini Squaw. According to Teters' memory, the student population at that time at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign was about 36,000, and they were predominantly white and mostly from upper middle-class families. In her interview with *Thought & Action* Review Panel member Rebecca Johns (2000), Teters remembered that the population of Black students in 1988 was 2,000, which was about 5% of the whole student body. According to Teters, the majority of

White students took racial insensitivities for granted when they ridiculed and harassed Native Americans on campus and supported an Indian mascot.

Some of Teters' accounts are stunning, and would not be tolerated by today's standards. One of her fellow Native American master's students, Marcus Amerman, wrote a letter to the *Daily Illini*, the student newspaper, after confronting repeated racial stereotypes around campus. After the letter was published, he was targeted by other students who did not accept a person who was questioning their beloved Indian mascot. Teters' description in this part is especially horrifying because even the university staff who recruited Teters and her friends ostensibly showed racism to her face. Teters recalled:

Marcus was getting hate calls. How did he dare challenge the use of this Indian mascot! When he left his room to go wash his clothes, or go eat, people would follow him down the hallway and slap themselves in the face and yell "woo-woo-woo."
So Marcus left the masters program and the university after two months. He just left in the middle of the night, packed everything and left. He didn't tell anybody, and as they broke the news to the two of us left, one of the men who recruited us said, "You know Marcus left last night?" And he made a joke of it. He said: "One little, two little, three little Indians."
We were stunned, and he laughed. We looked at each other and we didn't say anything. We were feeling very sad and vulnerable. And once again we were basically told, "Keep your mouths shut, get your degree, and then just get out." (Johns, 2000, p.124)

Moreover, Teters began to notice that Indian images were omnipresent around the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign campus. Chief Illiniwek was embedded everywhere such as on posters, soda cans, cars, billboards, or even toilet paper. Unfortunately, not all the images were glorious. For example, one of the campus bars was called "home of the Drinking Illini," and its neon sign caricature represented a falling down drunk Indian, who had a big nose and a crooked feather. This exaggerated image was a stereotypical representation of Native American people especially when it was combined with the drinking problems of Native people. Given all these facts, Teters' attendance at a basketball game was the tipping point in the long

anti-Chief movement. Teters went to the UI basketball game with her son and daughter, and watched a Chief Illiniwek dance there. Because she was stunned by the representation, she decided to take action. As a means of protest, she stood motionless outside the basketball arena with a picket sign reading, “Indians are human beings” but she received only jeers or indifference from passers-by. Some people around Teters jeered and booed at her, chanting “pick another school” and “Chief haters have to go” (Rosenstein, 1997).

Despite her efforts, things did not change. Rather, in November 1989, the Illinois House unanimously reaffirmed the use of Chief Illiniwek by passing the resolution supporting the Chief. During the process, the debate was escalated when U.S. Senator Paul Simon (D., Ill.) signed a petition calling for the elimination of the Indian chief as the university’s symbol during a convention of Native Americans on Navy Pier in Chicago because it was denigrating to Native American people. Simon’s action surprised many people including his own staff members as Simon, who had folded his 1988 presidential ambition, was preparing a re-election campaign the following year. Simon issued a statement saying he acknowledged the longtime reputation of Chief Illiniwek as a “revered figure” for Illinois students, but felt that it could be considered insulting to Indians. His remark did not soothe the anger of the Chief supporters, and Simon was heavily criticized by UI students and alumni. Simon was criticized by his political opponent Lynn Martin and Illinois Governor James Thompson. Martin called him “a typical 1930s liberal” (Davis, 1989) and State Senator Alan Dixon, an Illinois alumnus, said he was “filled with pride for my school” every time he saw Chief Illiniwek. Governor James Thompson declared that he, too, “stood proudly” beside the Chief (Lidz, 1990). During the home football game against Michigan, a small airplane flew over the stadium, bearing the banner “Keep the Chief, Dump Simon” (Davis, 1989). Nevertheless, Simon won a second term in 1990. After his retirement

from public service, Simon continued to ask for the abolition of the Chief. He wrote a column in *Chicago Sun-Times*:

The alumni and University of Illinois board of trustees have not reached the point of sensitivity that their colleagues at Dartmouth and Stanford and other schools have achieved ... sooner or later the University of Illinois will join other schools in abandoning this symbol, and the sooner the better (Simon, 2000).

UI Chancellor Morton Weir also declared that the Chief would stay at UI. However, there was some progress from the Native American activists' viewpoint. UI decided not to permit some Indian symbols, such as war paint on cheerleaders' and band members' faces and a painted letter "I" on Chief Illiniwek's face. In that vein, in December, 1989, UI ordered the Department of Agronomy to discontinue its use of a "Squanto" caricature (Garippo, 2000), while in 1990, UI trustees voted 7-1, with one abstention, to retain Chief Illiniwek as the symbol of the University of Illinois. It is interesting that the depiction of Squanto is almost identical to that of a bulbous-nosed caricature of the Stanford Indian during the mid-20th century. This shows that racial stereotypes prevailed in Native American mascots, while they are very generic in authenticity. After the ban of Squanto, many organizations of both pro and anti-Chief Illiniwek were formed. Students for the Chief was formed in March 1990, and a new community group called Citizens for Chief Illiniwek was launched to rally the campaign.

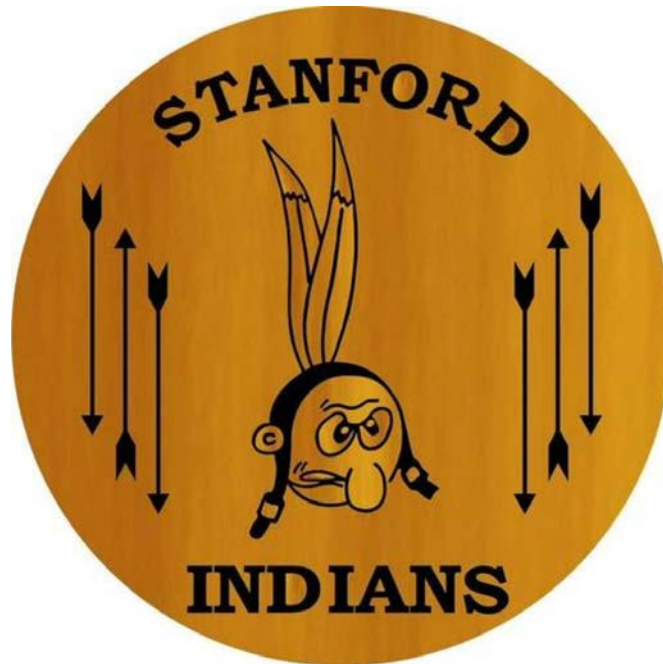


Figure 1. Stanford University athletic logo the “Chief” (1930~1972)



Figure 2. University of Illinois Agronomy Department “Squanto” (circa 1980)

Meanwhile, as the school became aware of the criticism about the Illiniwek mascot, the school's use of the Chief Illiniwek image gradually diminished. For example, on October 2, 1991, UI announced that the Chief would no longer appear in the Homecoming Parade or at pep rallies. In 1993, Chief Illiniwek symbols were banned from all Homecoming floats to prevent "misrepresentation." Therefore, halftime dances were the only opportunities for Illinois fans to watch Chief Illiniwek. It is interesting that a similar trend occurred at Florida State. FSU's use of its mascot, Chief Osceola also has decreased. Until the 2004-2005 season, a student performed as Chief Osceola not only at the school's football games, but also at the men's basketball games. The personification of Chief Osceola stood at half court, raising his spear (in this case without flame and without a horse) up high with his two hands. When the starting five players were introduced before the tip-off, each of the starters of the FSU basketball team walked to half court and touched the spear. This ritual was abolished during the 2005-2006 season. Currently, football home games and post-season bowl games are the only occasions when people can see Chief Osceola. During the Orange Bowl game in January 2006, however, Chief Osceola and his horse Renegade did not appear on the field because the opposing team's head coach (Penn State's Joe Paterno) adamantly opposed the idea of letting a horse run on the football field.

The University of Illinois community witnessed much more heated debates about Chief Illiniwek in the 1990s. In January 1993, civil rights activist Michael Haney filed a discrimination complaint against UI with the Illinois Department of Human Rights, saying he and other protesters were taunted and jeered for opposing the Chief at a football game. The complaint was dismissed in March 1994. On February 3, 1994, the University of Iowa, a neighboring Big Ten institution, announced its refusal to schedule future matchups with any teams whose mascots had Native American images. Although the Iowa athletics department gave

an exemption to Illinois Chief Illiniwek because the matchup was mandated for intra-conference games, the message was very clear to the University of Illinois. In the same year, Marquette University, another neighboring school in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, changed its athletic nickname from the Warriors to the Golden Eagles in an effort to drop insensitive Native American imageries. In 1994, the University of Illinois's Native American students, staff, and faculty filed a civil rights complaint with the U.S. Department of Education, alleging that the Chief created a hostile racial climate on campus. In response to the outcry, the university's Inclusiveness Committee recommended that the Chief should be eliminated. In December 1994, UI faculty members in the Clinical/Community Psychology Program and the Psychology Department wrote to the American Psychological Association that Chief Illiniwek violated the 1990 APA guidelines for providers of psychological services.

In 1995, both parties of supporters and protesters of Chief Illiniwek collided in the State legislature. At first, in April, the Chief Illiniwek bill, which made the Chief the official symbol of the university, passed the Illinois House by a vote of 80-26. However, in July, Governor Jim Edgar vetoed the bill, asking to amend the wording so that the decision rested with the university. The chess match continued when Tom Ewing and six other Illinois congressmen met with a representative from the Department of Education in Washington, D.C., urging them to dismiss the Chief Illiniwek complaint. Representative Rick Winkel, who introduced the Chief Illiniwek bill, failed to override Governor Edgar's veto of the bill. In December 1995, the Department of Education drew an eclectic ruling that Chief Illiniwek did not violate the civil rights of American Indians but urged the UI to take "proactive steps" to prevent a hostile climate.

In 1997, Jay Rosenstein's documentary film "In Whose Honor?" featuring Charlene Teters aired nationally on the Public Broadcasting System, and awoke many Americans, bringing

nationwide attention to the Native American mascot issue. This certainly accelerated anti-Chief sentiment. The film dealt not only with the history of Chief Illiniwek at the University of Illinois, but also with other representations of Native American images in amateur and professional sports teams. Rosenstein, a UI alum, recalled the motivation for producing his film. "The whole controversy of getting rid of the Chief was front page news, but the other side was never reported. When Charlene first spoke up, it was like she was from Mars. Now some people call her the Native American Rosa Parks" (Film description: In whose honor?, n.d.). In the film, Teters recalled her embarrassment when she and her children first saw the halftime dance. "I saw my daughter try to become invisible. My son tried to laugh." Later she continued. "It still makes me angry because I know they are hurting other people when they do that. And I knew that I couldn't be here and not address that issue" (Rosenstein, 1997). Throughout the film, Teters was very emotional and became tearful. Spindel described how Teters played the protagonist's role in a long journey of anti-chief movement and concluded that "it is hard to imagine a more sympathetic character for our times than Charlene" (Spindel, 2000, p. 160). Due mainly to the film, Teters became an icon of the anti-Chief movement, and won numerous awards including the Person of the Week Award from ABC World News Tonight in 1997, for her work of activism on behalf of Native Americans (Johns, 2000). This documentary film brought some noticeable changes: Shortly after the release of the film, Alumni Against Racist Mascots was formed. This meant not all UI graduates supported the Chief. As there were some anti-Chief sentiments against the UI Homecoming king and queen, the university ended its practice of crowning a homecoming king and queen the following year.

Throughout the controversy, the NCAA, college sport's major administrative organization, did not intervene regarding the UI's Native American mascot issue until 1998.

However, the NCAA's recommendation was not forceful. The NCAA allowed the UI to handle the issue of its Native American Indian mascot as part of the self-study that accompanied the NCAA's certification. On September 30, 1998, the NCAA's Minority Opportunities and Interests Committee called for an end to use of American Indian names and mascots for member institutions as UI's athletic program underwent its first certification review by the NCAA. The next year, when the NCAA's evaluation team visited the UI campus to review the certification process, they witnessed many public protests in support of withholding full certification of UI athletics until the Chief was retired. In August 2003, the NCAA Executive Committee recommended that schools using Native American imagery do a "self-evaluation" to determine if the use of such imagery was offensive.

In 1998, many on and off-campus individuals and organizations petitioned and sent letters to the administration of the university. In February 1998, Jaak Vandemeulebroucke, a member of the European Parliament, sent a letter to the UI President, the Chancellor, the Board of Trustees, and Governor Jim Edgar urging the retirement of Chief Illiniwek. He argued in his letter that "it is unacceptable that academic institutions, whose primary role is to educate the intelligentsia of the future, maintain such racist and ethnocentric attitudes" (Chief Illiniwek History, n.d). In the same year, professors from the UI Anthropology Department sent a letter to the Board of Trustees about the issue of the Chief. The professors opposed the presence of Chief Illiniwek as the school's symbol, arguing that "symbols are powerful icons that convey complex messages with lasting impact." They argued that the presence of the Chief (a) promoted inaccurate conceptions of the Native peoples of Illinois, (b) undermined teaching effectiveness, (c) created a negative climate with Native Americans, and (d) affected the recruitment of Native Americans into the department and the university. This campus environment led to the resolution

by the campus Student-Faculty Senate in March 1998, asking trustees to “immediately retire Chief Illiniwek and discontinue licensing Native American Indian symbols as representations of the University.” As the vote was lopsided (97-29), more than 800 faculty members’ petition for the Chief’s removal followed the resolution. Moreover, in February 2000, the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools, which issued credentials to the UI, expressed concern about UI’s mascot’s negative effects. Despite numerous requests for the Chief’s retirement, the UI trustees and state officials were generally in favor of maintaining the mascot. On February 16, 2000, UI trustees announced plans for the Chief issue and hired former Cook County Judge Louis B. Garippo. Both parties of pros and cons of Chief Illiniwek lobbied, but Garippo issued a report in October 2000 without any recommendations. In May, the Board of Trustees changed directions regarding the Chief issue when they asked Trustee Roger Plummer to explore other options for compromise. In March 2001, Plummer presented a report on the Chief to the trustees with the conclusion that no compromise was possible. In November 2003, Board of Trustees member Frances Carroll suggested the honorable retirement of the Chief while maintaining the athletic nickname of “Fighting Illini,” but the resolution was withdrawn.

In 2001, the anti-Chief campaign became more creative. A group of University of Illinois students and faculty opposed to Chief Illiniwek brought a suit against Michael Aiken, the chancellor of the University, in Illinois Federal District Court (Crowley, 2004). The *Crue v. Aiken* case illustrated how a Native American mascot in a major university’s athletic program can be interwoven in the situation with numerous stakeholders. In other words, this case showed how the Native American mascot issue in college sport is difficult to solve. All the stakeholders such as university officials, professors, athletic departments, prospective student-athletes, advisory and regulatory organizations like the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA),

and civil rights advocates were all involved in this case. The case began by one faculty member, who contacted prospective UI student athletes, and advised that they could be attending a school with a racist symbol. This raised the eyebrows of Chancellor Michael Aiken, who sent e-mails to UI employees, saying that any contacts with recruits must be approved first by the school's Division of Intercollegiate Athletics. Even though Aiken argued that this purpose was to protect the school from potential NCAA rules violations, a group of faculty and students sued UI and Aiken, alleging that the chancellor violated their First Amendment rights. As the District Court for the Central District of Illinois issued a temporary restraining order, Aiken sent an email to the university community stating that no authorization from him was necessary (Crowley, 2004). But he still urged the UI constituents to abide by the NCAA compliances. Finally, a federal judge agreed with the plaintiffs, and they were eventually awarded \$1,000 each. In response to *In whose honor* and the anti-Chief campaign, the pro-Chief lobby did their part. Local businessman Roger Huddleston founded the Honor the Chief Society and pledged to raise \$100,000 in support of the Chief.

The controversy over Chief Illiniwek continued. In January 2002, William Cook of Champaign was arrested while he was protesting the Chief at Assembly Hall during a UI basketball game. Chancellor Nancy Cantor, despite her unfavorable attitude toward the supporters of Chief Illiniwek, said she opposed Cook's arrest because it violated UI's policies on free speech. In April 2004, the anti-Chief movement culminated in protestors' occupying the Swanlund Administration Building for 32 hours. Chancellor Cantor promised that she would discuss the mascot issue with members of the North Central Association and members of the Black and Latino caucuses of the state Legislature. In addition, Cantor affirmed that the issue would be put on the trustees' agenda in the near future. During their campus visit in August 2004,

the North Central Association reported that the UI showed a failure of leadership regarding the Native American mascot issue. They also expressed concerns that the mascot controversy might affect the "educational effectiveness" of the university.

In August 2005, the NCAA announced its policy to ban 18 Native American athletic nicknames, including UI's Chief Illiniwek, from hosting postseason events because they were allegedly "hostile" and "abusive." Some nicknames such as the Seminoles (Florida State), the Utes (Utah), and the Chippewas (Central Michigan) were not on the list because of the approval of the namesake tribes, but the University of Illinois did not get permission from the Peoria tribe. The school reacted in November as it appealed the NCAA's decision. In response to the first appeal, the NCAA kept UI on the sanctioned list, even though it allowed UI to use the names "Illini" and "Fighting Illini." In the following appeal, UI argued that the NCAA violated UI's institutional autonomy and applied policy arbitrarily by exceeding its authority. The NCAA did not give an inch regarding the issue and reaffirmed in 2006 that the university would be subject to sanctions. As a result, the opening round of the NCAA men's tennis championship, which was scheduled to take place at the University of Illinois in May 2006, was rescheduled to Stanford University.

The controversies at both FSU and UI reveal a distinctive pattern of rallying against Native American mascots from the two schools. Although, to some extent, both mascots were criticized by scholars and activists, there were many protests from faculty and students at UI, while there was virtually no such action from FSU students or professors. This can be explained in several ways. First, the approval from namesake tribes played a key role. In the case of Florida State, FSU's uniquely close relationship with the Seminole leaders of Florida and the support from the tribe have been FSU's all-purpose shield when dealing with criticisms. Second, the role

of Charlene Teters was significant at the University of Illinois, since she was an iconic figure of the anti-Illiniwek movement who ignited the ensuing organized actions from students and professors at Urbana-Champaign. Additionally, other matters such as longevity can be a reason. As Chief Illiniwek's halftime dance was first initiated in 1926, it is far older than Chief Osceola's pregame ritual which was first introduced in 1978. The more it was exposed, the more chance Chief Illiniwek got criticized. I assume all these, along with the more progressive political atmosphere in the Midwest, contributed to a more organized protest from Illinois faculty and students.

Invention of Tradition

Since the 1980s, scholars have increased their focus on how culture and tradition are constructed (Adams, 1997). Edward Shils, an esteemed sociologist, defined tradition (1981) as "anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present" (p. 12). Simply put, tradition, as opposed to fashion, is "the transmitted thing" (p. 12) in Shils' words. In a similar manner, Linnekin (1983) wrote that "tradition is a conscious model of past life ways that people use in the construction of their identity" (p. 241). Erik Cohen's (1988) assumptions in his formulation of tourism are relevant in terms of making sense of traditions as commodities of culturally decorated products. He named "commoditization," "staged authority," and "authenticity" as three basic assumptions in modern tourism. According to Cohen, authenticity is not a "primitive given" but is negotiable, and new cultural developments may also need the patina of authenticity over time - a process designated as "emergent authenticity" (p. 371). Although it usually brings change to old traditions, the commoditization process may destroy the meaning of cultural products. In other words, authenticity is often compromised and socially constructed rather than an attribute of that which is called authentic (Peterson, 2005).

This study is heavily dependent on the work of British Marxist historian Eric J. Hobsbawm. Hobsbawm was an eminent historian who brought in both many accolades and much criticism. As he joined the Communist Party at the age of 14 and once described himself as an “unrepentant communist,” Hobsbawm was widely criticized for his defense of communist regimes. In a harsher condemnation, he was accused of being an advocator for the totalitarian Soviet communism and labeled a “useful idiot.” Nonetheless, his scholarly works and political activities were always given credit by mainstream society, even though he remained a lifelong Marxist and a member of the Communist Party. This made him an outstanding intellectual without causing cacophony with bourgeoisie society.

Hobsbawm was one of the most renowned and popular historians in the latter half of the 20th century regardless of his political viewpoints. His books, including a three-volume economic history of the rise of industrial capitalism in 19th century Europe (“The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848,” “The Age of Capital: 1848-1875,” and “The Age of Empire: 1874-1914”), are regarded by many as masterpieces. In 1994, he published a sequel of the series, “The Age of Extremes,” which deals with the 20th century. What penetrates this tetralogy is “nationalism,” especially the large influence of nationalism which took place after the French Revolution (1789). From this period throughout the 19th century, many European countries with the modern concept of “nation state” were born, and they needed to (re)invent many traditions to legitimize their counties.

Hobsbawm, in this manner, described traditions as “practices that, opposed to convention and ordinary routines, have ‘significant ritual or symbolic function’” (Hobsbawm, 2003a, p. 3). In addition, the word “tradition” suggests a practice that is historic, old, and characterized by

grandeur. Therefore, we tend to presuppose that a tradition has lasted for at least three generations. However, some researchers have conceptualized tradition differently. In their edited volume, *The Invention of Tradition* (2003 a), Hobsbawm and Ranger coined the term “invention of tradition” or “invented tradition.” Hobsbawm, along with other historians and anthropologists, provided case studies to support the argument that many traditions regarded as ancient and historic (e.g., Scottish plaid skirts and bagpipes and Welsh Gorsedd Circles) are in fact relatively recent and were literally invented (or made) over a short time period or during a certain event. In fact, many countries and municipal provinces have developed their own ceremonial “traditions” to promote tourism. In the introductory chapter of their book, Hobsbawm defined “invented tradition” as follows:

Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.... However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely fictitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition. (Hobsbawm, 2003a, p.1)

Hobsbawm pointed out that these kinds of “inventions” are very common. He stated that there have been omnipresent inventions of tradition, although he argued that invented traditions occurred more frequently in Europe at times of rapid industrialization and social transformation when old traditions were beginning to disappear. Babadzan (2000) pointed out that Hobsbawm tried to find the connectivity between the massive productions of new traditions after the Industrial Revolution in Europe from 1870 to 1914 during the modernization of society. Hobsbawm therefore maintained that many new traditions were invented during the 19th and 20th centuries, regardless of the development of the society (Hobsbawm, 2003a, p. 4). Hobsbawm

used an example of the invention of the ancient Welsh tradition of the Gorsedd Circles in the first half of the 19th century. He argued that, through this process, small-scale and less spectacular novelties became “invented traditions”. He emphasized not only the renewal of old traditions for new purposes, but also the reuse of ancient elements in new contexts. When they are revived, “extinct” traditions, in this manner, can become “reinvented traditions” (pp. 5–8). Due to its easy adaptation, Babadzan (2000) argued that “the ‘invention of tradition’ perspective has been the victim of its own success” because “everything is explained if an innovation-becoming-custom qualifies as ‘invented tradition’” (p.133).

Hobsbawm juxtaposed three types of invented traditions: (a) establishing or symbolizing social cohesion and collective identities, (b) establishing or legitimizing institutions and social hierarchies, and (c) socializing people into particular social contexts. According to Hobsbawm, the first type has been the most common, and it is sometimes presumed to imply the two other functions as well (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 9). What needs to be pointed out here is the actor of type (b). Ranger (2003) wrote that African precolonial history is the result of invented tradition to legitimize European countries’ colonial ruling just like the relationship between England and India. It is worth studying whether there are counter examples of inventing traditions of the colonized countries to legitimize their nationalism and independence.

Hobsbawm’s argument extended to the point that all invented traditions use references to the past not only for the cementation of group cohesion but also for the legitimation of action. Therefore, invented traditions are, in many cases, used for political purposes in the public sphere (p. 12). In the same vein, under nationalistic circumstances, some archaeological studies of the past might be exaggerated and advertised to promote ethnic superiority and identities. In the last

chapter of the book, Hobsbawm also investigated the development of traditions in early 20th century European countries. At that time, many events such as festivals and holidays were connected with nationalism under the circumstances of the labor movement and the rise of the middle classes. Such nationalist construction of traditions is a modern incident, which Hobsbawm described as a new “civic religion” promulgated by the state (pp. 269, 303).

Nam (2012) points out that “collective memory making” is the most effective way of inventing traditions. He argued that national history, which is a chronological reorganization of a certain way of narrating a nation’s past, inculcates people with the “continuity of history.” People who study national history believes the story as if all these past - including invented traditions – were facts. By this logic, both the Holy Roman Empire and Prussia became national history for the German people. Furthermore, countries built monuments, edifices, sculptures, and memorials to invoke the historic memories. Sometimes, making an archrival in history by emphasizing a hostile relationship with a certain country is effective in integrating a society. By doing so, countries with a group of diverse constituents morphed into one nation as Hobsbawm (2003 b) quoted d’Azeglio’s argument during the process of building Italy: “We have made Italy: now we must make Italians” (p.267).

Similar to Hobsbawm’s scholarship, Benedict Anderson’s book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983) provided a historical background for the evolution and reception of nationalism, arguing that it is a relatively new concept. He defined the nation as an “imagined political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (p. 7). Anderson characterized the nation in four different ways. First, he argued the nation is imagined because “members . . . will never know most of their fellow members . . . yet

in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p. 6). That is, the possession of citizenship in a nation allows and prompts the individual to imagine the boundaries of a nation, even though the boundaries may not really exist. Second, he also wrote the nation is limited because “even the largest of them . . . has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations” (p. 7). The fact that nationalists are able to imagine boundaries suggests that they recognize the existence of partition by culture, ethnicity, and social structure among mankind. They do not imagine the union of all under one massive, all-encompassing “nationalism.” Third, Anderson thought of the nation as sovereign because “the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm . . . nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so” (p. 7). The sovereign state, therefore, is symbolic of the freedom from traditional religious structure. It provides the sense of organization needed for an orderly society, without relying on the then weakening religious hierarchy. Finally, he believed the nation is a community because it is “always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (p. 7). Regardless of the dissent and inequalities within the nation, the imagined alliance among people of the same imagined nation is so strong as to drive men and women to heroic deaths in nationalistic sacrifice.

Both Hobsbawm’s and Anderson’s books expressed similar attempts to identify the making of national identity as a complex interaction of strategies. One scholar described it as a struggle between two main competing theories of invented tradition, the Hobsbawmian and the constructivist (Plant, 2008). The scholarship of Hobsbawm and Anderson brought considerable critical attention from constructivist researchers especially in relation to nationalism and its ethnicity issues. Charles Briggs (1996) illustrated the arguments of many anthropologists and folklorists that traditions are created in the past, thus reflecting contestations of interest more

than the cultural essence of a purportedly homogeneous and bounded “traditional” group (pp. 435-436). In her essay, “Theorizing Heritage,” Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995) wrote as follows: “In the sixties in the United States, tradition was still a given. It was not yet invented. Hobsbawm and Ranger had not yet declared the “invention of tradition” a subject worthy of serious study in its own right” (p. 367). Other scholars such as Marcel Sarot (2001) pointed out the limitations of “invented tradition” while arguing that the concept cannot be more than an eye-opener, and it can be relevant to only historical approaches. He argued, therefore, that “invented tradition” cannot function as a tool, or as a method or theoretical framework.

In the field of Sport Studies, there have been many scholarly investigations regarding the concept of “invented traditions” especially in connection with nationalism and, in some cases, religion. Most of these articles have focused on how nations, cities, or organizations have tried to create their own stories and ideologies and legitimize themselves by the means of the invented sporting traditions. Tony Collins (2011) stated that “meanings, interpretations and purposes are written and rewritten over that history as people seek to give a broader significance to the act of play” (p. 8). According to Collins, invented traditions are fictitious and sometimes entail anachronistic representation. Furthermore, Collins illustrated four common characteristics of invented sporting traditions. First, the role of the “founding father” is limited. Second, the evidence of support for the invented tradition is usually based on hearsay or personal affirmation. The third is that the traditions emerge at the pivotal period of sport. Fourth, supporters tend to rely more on unverifiable acts of faith than on historical record. Finally, Collins argued, the viewpoint of invented tradition tries to date back to the past when the inventors see the world.

It seems that these invented traditions occur almost everywhere in the world in many sporting events. In the sport of rugby, for example, studies have observed the role of sport shaping nationalism in England and Ireland (Tuck, 2003a; Tuck, 2003b; Tuck & Maguire, 1999). Similar studies have been conducted regarding sport and national identity in many countries such as Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, and Germany (Jackson, 2004; Magdalinski, 2000; Kruger, 1996; McDevitt, 1997). In addition, there have been numerous studies on baseball. Gerald Gems (2011) examined how baseball became invented as a national pastime and nationalistic spirit. (Although many Americans still believe that Abner Doubleday invented baseball, scholars have concluded that it is not true.) The U.S. is not the only country that utilizes baseball for nationalistic spirit. In Japan, its medieval tradition of samurai was frequently used to represent its national baseball team and the baseball culture itself (Collins, 2007; Kelly, 2009). In an extreme case, Khalaf (2000) provided unique ethnographic discourse of the revival of heritage displayed in the invented tradition of annual camel racing in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). He viewed that this event is to glorify thoroughbred camels, preserve the UAE heritage, and maintain national identity in the context that modernization and globalization threatens the country's identity.

In addition to the abovementioned theories, French philosopher and artist Guy-Ernest Debord's *Society of the Spectacles* (2005) can be a useful frame to analyze modern capitalism and consumption of media/cultural products. Considered as a Marxist/a Hegelian and the leader of the Situationist International, Debord valued the spectacle in the discourse of political and power relations. He argued that the spectacle is not a collection of deceptive or kitsch images but rather a "social relationship between people that is mediated by images" and that this relationship

“appears at once as society itself” (Debord, 2005, p. 2). He argued that the spectacular is usually concentrated in a single authoritarian power with violence and propaganda.

Debord (2005) suggested four types of spectacles. First, the concentrated spectacle is found where both production and consumption are constructed in a totalizing self-portrait of power. In Debord’s words, it “belongs essentially to bureaucratic capitalism” (p. 18). Best and Kellner (1997) defined the concentrated spectacle as a “vast institutional and technical apparatus of contemporary capitalism... all the means and methods power employs, outside of direct force... while obscuring the nature and effects of capitalism’s power and deprivations” (p. 84). Second, the diffuse spectacle is one of the products of fragmentation and specialization in the global economy. In this case, as many multinational corporations do, it is almost impossible to know who made what product and under what labor conditions. Even if it is traceable, it is still meaningless. Debord says it “accompanies the abundance of commodities, the undisturbed development of modern capitalism” as it reaches into every nook and cranny (p. 18). Third, the integrated spectacle combines aspects of the first and second (concentrated and diffuse) forms in the global capitalism, where resistance is of no use (Best & Kellner, 1997, p. 118). The concentrated mask of corporate theater diffuses onto a global stage. The fourth one in this list is megaspectacle. Recently, it is very common to see this kind of spectacle, especially in connection with the development of mass media. Media easily make a car chase, a war, or any special happenings into spectacle. With the development of Internet technology, an interactive form of spectacle emerges where spectators can watch and replay anytime online.

When the NCAA announced the ban of 18 Native American mascots in 2005, Illinois had one of the two biggest athletic programs along with FSU. Therefore, the two schools had the

most significant impact. However, the two coped with the issue very differently; while FSU did not show any intention to change, Illinois decided to stop the tradition of Chief Illiniwek's halftime dance. What made the difference between these two institutions? Although both mascots have served the respective institutions to establish or symbolize social cohesion and collective identities, the University of Illinois has utilized its invented tradition of Chief Illiniwek more for socializing people into particular social contexts, whereas Florida State University has employed its mascot for establishing or legitimizing institutional and social hierarchies.

The four postcolonial theories that make sense of Chief Illiniwek, according to David Prochaska (2001), are "invented tradition," "imagined community," "imperialist nostalgia," and "playing Indian." Although he described these theories to explain the role of Illinois's Chief Illiniwek, they are also applicable to FSU's Chief Osceola and Renegade. First, he wrote "Chief Illiniwek (and his dance) is a tradition invented during halftime at an Illinois football game in 1926" (p. 165). In the same manner, Chief Osceola (and his planting a flaming spear) is a tradition that was invented at a Florida State football game in 1978. Second, with regard to "imagined community," Anderson (1983) emphasized the role of symbols in nationalism (e.g., national flags, emblems, and anthems) because "people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody" (p. 132). What Prochaska concluded about the Illinois situation was that an imagined community is realized when Chief Illiniwek and the crowd sing the alma mater together after the Chief's standing with raised arms (like a touchdown sign of a football referee) after his dance. Florida State's fight song and war chant with the tomahawk chop play roles similar to Illinois' *alma mater*. Since its beginning in 1984, the tomahawk chop, a repeated downward motion of a hand, was a symbol of FSU football, and later was used by the Atlanta Braves in the 1990s. In both cases, the symbol played a role of solidarity among fans of the two

teams. Third, Prochaska described “imperialist nostalgia,” which is “an unconscious or idealized reaction” that happens when “people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed” (Prochaska, 2001, p.165; Rosaldo, 1989, p.108). He provided an example of what happened in the Philippines. Anthropologists and missionaries did not believe that they were major factors in the changes made by the indigenous people, even though the effect was considerable. Similarly, Prochaska indicated that people who believe Chief Illiniwek is an honored symbol are displaying imperialist nostalgia. Unlike Chief Illiniwek, Chief Osceola existed historically, but it is also an irony that Chief Osceola was captured by White Americans during the second Seminole War and died in prison, even though the FSU community argues that they “honor” the Chief and the Seminole tribe. Fourth, Prochaska wrote that Illiniwek is an example of “playing Indian,” a term used in Philip J. Deloria (1998)’s book. Deloria argued that many White American baby boomers have creatively used Indianness, and it has been misrepresented and interwoven at the expense and dispossession of the Native American people:

Heirs of the white middle class of the 1950s, the communalists worked hard to counteract their parents’ America, perceived in terms of consumptive excess, alienated individualism, immoral authority, and capitalism As an antidote, they promoted community, and at least some of them thought it might be found in an Indianness imagined as social harmony. (p. 155)

It should come as no surprise that the young men and women of the 1960s and 1970s—bent on destroying an orthodoxy tightly intertwined with the notion of truth and yet desperate for truth itself—followed their cultural ancestors in playing Indian to find reassuring identities in a world seemingly out of control. (pp. 157-158)

Deloria pointed out that many “American” traditions such as The Boston Tea Party, the Order of Red Men, Camp Fire Girls, Boy Scouts, and Eagle Scouts are some examples of the American tendency to appropriate Indian dress and act out Indian roles. It does not come as a surprise that Webber Borchers, the second Chief Illiniwek in the history of the University of Illinois, was not

only an Eagle Scout during his high school days, but also played in Indian costumes. Baby boomers inherited and developed (or exacerbated) the tradition of “playing Indian” while their father’s generation enjoyed William F. Cody’s myth of frontier and his Buffalo Bill show.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Research Procedure

Although I had always considered writing about Native American mascots in college sports, I decided on the topic of my dissertation around 2012. On top of my personal experiences at Florida State, the conceptual framework of “invented tradition” was added as a foundation of the dissertation. Yet, there have been some directional changes in this dissertation. At first, I designed the study only about Florida State University. During the summer break of 2012, I began gathering newspaper clips and scholarly journal articles about Native American mascots and Florida State University. During my discussions with professors, I added the University of Illinois as a possible counter case or complementary topic, with equal weight with FSU. After that, however, I had to finish my coursework and go through comprehensive exams, and that forced me to stay away from my dissertation for a while. I was able to get back to business of writing the dissertation in fall 2014 when my proposal was approved. The research questions were finally set up after the proposal. On the day of my dissertation proposal, the committee suggested that I focus on a single case study of FSU. UI would be used as a counterpoint and would be featured in the literature review and other chapters. Thus, FSU constituted the core of this study for data collection and the application of the invented traditions while I conducted a significant amount of data collection about UI.

Qualitative Methods

Many researchers (Boodhoo & Purmessur, 2009; Carpenter & Suto, 2008; Creswell, 1998; Rossman & Rallis, 2003; and Silverman, 1997) have suggested some characteristics of

qualitative research. In summary, it tends to happen in a natural setting, and it is interpretive, holistic, and exploratory in nature observing human behavior. This is opposite to the nature of quantitative research, which is conclusive and tries to extend projectable results to a larger population. Also, qualitative research usually goes deeper into issues to explore thick description and nuances related to the problem. When it comes to the tools, qualitative research makes use of multiple methods such as observation, in-depth interviews, and ethnographic participation. Given the fact that quantitative research methods dominated social sciences for a long time, Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.56) illustrated how a researcher justifies his/her use of a qualitative research method. At first, they argued that the research questions should be best addressed in a natural setting in an exploratory manner. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), the strengths of qualitative methodology appear when research delves into complexities and processes, seeks “informal and unstructured linkages and processes in organizations, and cannot be done experimentally for practical or ethical reasons” (p. 57.) Similarly, Drew et al. (2008) stated that the main feature of qualitative research is to make it generalizable to theory rather than generalizable to population.

For this dissertation, a qualitative method of inquiry was chosen because it allowed a comprehensive and customized exploration of the diverse issues relevant to Native American mascots and rituals in institutional settings. The qualitative nature of the study also allowed me to probe and collect unique perspectives, anecdotes, and feelings related to the mascot issues from the interviewees, considering both formal and informal policies and actions.

Case Study

Although some scholars have actively advocated the use of case studies (Yin, 1991), it seems that case studies are regarded as a relatively new and unproven way of reporting

qualitative research. Case studies have often been criticized as a weak research method. Critics have argued that case studies lack scientific attributes such as precision, objectivity, and rigor. For example, Matthew Miles (1979) opposed the idea of using case study and overall qualitative research on organizations. He stated that within-case analysis was problematic because it was “essentially intuitive, primitive, and unmanageable” (p.597). He argued that cross-case analysis was “even less well formulated” (p. 599) than within-case analysis. Miles also suggested the possibility of potential objection of respondents as a drawback of case studies. In some scholars’ typologies of qualitative research in the late 1980s, case studies did not exist. For instance, Jacob (1988) did not include case studies as one of six genres. Similarly, Atkinson and Hammersley (1988) omitted case studies while they named symbolic interactionism, anthropology, sociolinguistics, ethnomethodology, democratic evaluation, Neo-Marxist ethnography, and feminism. Recently, John Gerring (2007) acknowledged the difficulty of defining case studies by describing them as a “definitional morass” (p. 17).

Case studies began to gain ground in the early 1990s. Robert Yin (1991) wrote in his book that “the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events” (p. 14). Similarly, Robson (1993) emphasized some points in his definition of case study: empirical investigation, contemporary phenomenon, real-life contexts, and using multiple sources of evidence. Regarding the rationale of an approach, Yin (1991) illustrated how a researcher should choose a relevant research strategy based on the form of the research question. According to Yin, it is better to use a case study when (a) the focus of the study is to answer “how” and “why” questions, (b) there is no control over behavioral events, and (c) the researcher deals with contemporary events. The main difference between history and case study lies here. In other words, history as a research strategy has a very similar path to case

study. It generally answers the research questions of how and why, and it does not require control over behavioral events. The case study tends to deal with contemporary events as opposed to the “past” in history, and it utilizes more evidence that historians usually do not include: direct observations and systematic interviews. In Denzin and Lincoln’s (1994) typologies, case studies were listed, and Creswell (1998) named case studies as one of the five traditions of qualitative inquiry. Currently, case studies are being used extensively in many academic disciplines including education, psychology, and sociology.

Case study design and methods were utilized in this dissertation to explore FSU’s institutional evolution, the impact of Native American athletic mascots, and traditions. This research comprises a single case study of a state university (FSU), while another case (the University of Illinois) is featured as a counter case. As Merriam (1998) stated that case study is an ideal design for practical problems, this study will provide intensive and in-depth inquiry of real-life situations of two cases. By doing so, it will obtain the information on two institutions as well as provide deep, descriptive and exploratory understanding of each case (Meyer, 2001).

Case studies have been used frequently to study invented traditions. In Hobsbawm and Ranger’s (2003) book, numerous case studies were illustrated. Prys Morgan’s essay dealt with the effort to make traditions to romanticize Welsh past. David Cannadine introduced the newly built rituals of British monarchy in the 19th and 20th centuries. Furthermore, Bernard Cohn and Terrence Ranger each provided cases in colonial India and Africa.

The Researcher

The role of the researcher is very different in quantitative and qualitative studies. In quantitative studies, where objectivity and reliability matter most, the researcher’s role is limited

or even non-existent especially in experimental settings. Removing subjectivity and biases is one of the virtues in quantitative studies. In qualitative studies, however, the researcher's role is more significant, and it is an essential part of the research. That is, the researcher is considered an instrument during the data collection process, and it is important to understand the central role of the researcher as instrument in qualitative studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, Xu & Storr, 2012).

Robert Stake (1995) explained that case researchers can play various roles: teacher, advocate, evaluator, biographer, and interpreter. Also, Punch (1998) argued that the qualitative researcher should explain whether the researcher's role is emic, an insider who is a full participant in an activity or program, or etic, an outside perspective as a more objective investigator. Furthermore, Morris et al. (1999, p.783) classified the distinctive characters of the two. While an emic entails observations recorded in a rich qualitative form that is usually free from the researchers' constructs, an etic focuses on external and measurable features that can be compared and assessed by parallel procedures on different occasions. According to Punch (1998), the demarcation between the two may not be clear. Charmaz (2006) pointed out the irony that, even though ethnographers try to gain a view from inside, their outcomes may be outsider's report. Sometimes a researcher starts as an outsider and then becomes a member of the group, and vice versa. In my case, I was obviously an etic when I first observed the football culture at FSU. Unlike many American students who have been exposed to a football culture since their early years, it is not common for an international student from Asia to become an American football fan. When I was at FSU, most of the international students from Asian countries were graduate students, and they usually did not appreciate the beauty of the game. In addition, graduate students generally think of football as a kind of distraction in their academic career. My case was quite different from others. As I attended an undergraduate college without varsity

sports teams, football – in this case powerhouse football at FSU – was very appealing to me. However, I did not become a football fan instantly. As I lived very close to the Doak Campbell Stadium, my game day routine was to go out and observe people party, drink, and wear garnet and gold (FSU's school colors). I spent a few hours walking around the stadium, observing people until the kickoff time. Although it was quite unofficial and unorganized, I took field notes from an outsider's perspective. At first, I did not understand why people began drinking from the morning, all dressed up with school gear and Seminole monikers, and most of all, filled the stadium to 85,000 capacity. Yet, as I was getting acquainted, I identified myself as a Seminole football fan. I took classes with football players, read information and history about the program, and finally became an FSU alumnus. Now, Seminole football is not just a meaningful pastime but a part of my life. Therefore, now I can say that I have an insider perspective of FSU football and its mascot issue. Still, one thing to note is the fact that my dual identity as a Seminole football fan and an international student lies during the observation and interpretation of the data.

Data Collection

Yin (1991) pointed out the six sources of evidence in case studies: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation, and physical artifacts. As the multiple sources of evidence bolster the strength of case studies, this study utilized the first three sets of evidence. Through this methodological triangulation, the researcher sought to use several methods in different combinations in order to gain the detailed picture of the phenomenon.

Description and Identification of Participants

Due to the nature of the study, the participants of this research were purposefully selected by the researcher. Cresswell and Plano-Clark (2011) defined purposive sampling as “the inquirer purposefully selects individuals and sites that can provide necessary information” (p. 173). In order to get meaningful information from the participants, they should be familiar with the situation of Native American mascot issues at Florida State University. This purposive sampling was also utilized because it can best answer my research questions. Purposive sampling, also known as non-probability or judgment sampling, is widely used in qualitative studies because qualitative inquiry “typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, even single cases, selected purposefully” (Patton, 2002, p. 230). Deciding on the number of interviewees was not easy. Theoretically, the interviewer should stop finding new interviewees when he reaches a “saturation point” or when each new conversation no longer adds more information and starts describing the same matter over and over again. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). However, in reality, the researcher had no choice but to consider time and financial constraints.

Documents and Archival Records

Although the interview is the most common source of data in qualitative studies, (Thomas & Nelson, 2001) review of documents and archival records played a huge role in this dissertation. As this dissertation deals with institutional history and context surrounding a specific setting, reviewing documents can be a useful method. The review of documents has the virtues of unobtrusive nature and the rich portrayal of the values and beliefs of participants in the setting (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.116). This means that it can facilitate study without bothering or affecting participants’ behaviors. During my visit to the University of Illinois library archives, some important sources such as Chief Illiniwek Dialogue Responses and Board of

Trustees Files were found. Jay Rosenstein, a director of *In who's honor?* Papers were also available as well as the image of the Agronomy Department Squanto. I visited the FSU library's Special Collections & Archives which is located on the first floor of the main library during my visit to Tallahassee for an interview. Documents such as the Doak Campbell Papers 1935-1972 and Don Veller Collections 1948-2003 were found and utilized here.

Documentation included institutional administrative documents (e.g., President's reports) and the articles in university newspapers (*Florida Flambeau*) and local newspapers (*Tallahassee Democrat*, *Orlando Sentinel*, *St. Petersburg Times* etc.) and magazines. In order to search newspaper and magazine articles, I used the university library website and other academic search engines such as ProQuest, Google Scholar, and Refseek with the key words "Seminoles," Florida State" "Chief Osceola," and "Native American mascots in sport" both individually and as a combination of words. Most of the results are from the late 1980s to the present. After jettisoning irrelevant articles, a total of 133 items were selected to utilize. These articles were saved and reorganized as pdf and Microsoft Word documents because, during the search, I often encountered broken links and deleted web pages. While today's researchers are blessed with technological developments, broken links and deleted pages are nuisances of web-based research. Each document was titled starting with the date and keywords. One of the positive aspects of using newspaper articles is there were many direct quotes from university administrators both in academics and in athletics. As many of them were not available during my data collection process, these articles and quotes played roles to complement interview quotes.

In-Depth Interviews

I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with participants in various groups. These included professors, an administrator, students, and an alumnus/fan to provide enough

data to allow the research questions or aims to be thoroughly addressed (Mason, 2002). First, in spring 2013, I contacted University of Illinois lecturer Carol Spindel via email. Even though I was willing to travel to Urbana-Champaign, the interview was possible in the summer of 2013 in Iowa City, where she was teaching at the Iowa Writers' Workshop. She is the author of *Dancing at Halftime* which described the Native American mascot controversies in sport especially at the University of Illinois. Spindel has been opposed to the use of Native American mascots in sport, and provided me with her perspectives as a scholar and an activist.

In March 2015, I interviewed another person, Dr. Blake Whitten, who is a lecturer in the University of Iowa Statistics Department, at Iowa City. As Thomas and Nelson (2001) wrote, "rapport is everything" (p. 335), and my relationship with the interviewee was very important in this case to make it possible because we have been friends for years due to FSU football. Dr. Whitten got his Ph.D. degree at FSU, and is a huge Seminole football fan. Both he and I are rare Seminole fans in the Midwest; he has invited me to his house numerous times to watch the games together.

I traveled to Tallahassee and interviewed Dr. Andrew Frank of the Department of History at FSU in March 2015. As his main research field is Native American tribes of Southern America, he provided historical background of the Seminole culture in terms of invented traditions and FSU's relationship with the tribe. Even though each interview was modified to customize it to the interviewee, there were some common questions. (See Appendix B)

Observation

Ethnographic participant-observation is one of the key methods in qualitative research and case studies in particular. Punch (1998) dichotomized the roles of the researcher in

observation as emic and etic. The former is a full participant in activity or phenomenon as an insider while the latter refers to a researcher as an objective and outsider observer. He also noted that the role variation – emic to etic or vice versa – often happens. This is true in my case. As Greenbank (2003) put it, the qualitative researcher needs to describe relevant aspects of the self, including biases, expectations, assumptions, and experiences. I am an FSU alum and a Seminole football fan myself who is a member of this “culture-sharing group” (Creswell, 1998, p. 58). Some may question my bias as the researcher because of my background. However, unlike many other American alumni and fans, I also have the identity of a sojourner and an outsider as an international student. This enabled me to have traits of both an emic and an etic observer of Native American mascot culture at Florida State University.

Although I did not have the intention to write a dissertation about this topic until 2012, I carefully observed the football culture of the town while I lived in Tallahassee. After I left the city, I kept following the football team, gathering information about the program. As Robert Stake (1995) put it, there is no particular moment of beginning data gathering. He wrote “It [data gathering] begins before there is commitment to do the study: backgrounding, acquaintance with other cases, first impressions” (p. 49). Also, Charmaz (2006) pointed out that “a journey begins before the travelers depart” (p. 1). According to these arguments, a considerable amount of data is impressionistic and can be picked up by the researcher as he or she first becomes acquainted with the case. In this manner, observation played an important role in this study, even though it was not formally conducted.

Data Analysis

Based on Lichtman’s (2012) grounded theory approach, I followed the three-part steps of open, axial, and selective coding of documents and interview scripts. Open coding refers to the

process of labelling and categorizing phenomena after a thorough review of the data. Due to the nature of grounded theory, the researcher should not rely on existing theory, and should remain open to exploring theoretical possibilities from the data (Charmaz, 2006). This coding process was followed by axial coding and selective coding. Axial coding is an effort to identify connections among the open codes, while selective coding identifies the core variable that encompasses the entire data. I reorganized the selected news articles by cutting and pasting mostly direct quotes from students, administrators, fans, and state politicians regarding the mascot and nickname issues.

The researcher transcribed each interview verbatim. First, a Microsoft Word document was created for each interview. I spoke into the microphone while I was listening to the recorded interviews from the voice recorder. Dragon Naturally Speaking (version 13) was utilized throughout the transcription process. It is a speech recognition software package which helped me to go through the most painstaking process of data gathering. Although Dragon Naturally Speaking advertises it can double the input speed over typing with good diction, there were some issues in accuracy that made me retype often. I think that was because of a few reasons. First, I used the built-in microphone in my laptop which had mediocre quality. Second, in order to use this microphone, I had to push my face right up against the machine to speak, and it soon made me fatigued and ineffective. Finally, in its “speech options,” I selected “United States” as my region and “standard” as my accent. As a second language English speaker, I am not sure how this affected my transcription process. Nonetheless, the overall result of the software was satisfactory, and I was getting used to it as time passed.

After the completion of the transcription, the line-by-line coding process began. This analysis is important to build concepts and categories, and usually takes place in the early stage

of coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). No computer software was utilized, while “highlighting” and “cut and paste” tools of Microsoft Word were used to code and categorize. In addition to interview transcripts, I did axial coding from all the direct quotes of newspaper articles selected with the combinations of keywords “Florida State,” “Seminoles,” “Seminole tribe,” and “Osceola” after developing an emergent list of twenty-five codes. Axial coding is important because it reorganizes the data together in new ways, making connections between a category and its sub-categories (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Furthermore, it seeks to ensure that each code is well elaborated instead of attempting to make the links between codes (Liamputtong, 2009 a). My review of the invented traditions and Native American mascot literature led me to anticipate common themes among my participants (Merriam, 1998). Reliance on predicted categories can facilitate data retrieval and analysis, while it enabled the researcher to encounter the new and unexpected themes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, Marshall & Rossman 1999). Along with open coding, *in vivo* codes were also added to the list of codes. In vivo coding is “the practice of assigning a label to a section of data, such as an interview transcript, using a word or short phrase taken from that section of the data” (King, 2008, p. 473). One of the main *in vivo* codes that stood out in this dissertation was the phrase “proud symbol” and “unique tradition.” Given the nature of my research questions, the codes were analyzed using the information in Chapter II which examined the role of athletics in American colleges, Native American mascot issues in American sport, and the theoretical framework of this study – invented traditions.

Trustworthiness

Ensuring trustworthiness in a qualitative study is always a concern. In order to address this, Guba (1981) suggested four criteria of trustworthiness: truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality. First, truth value or credibility refers to the matter of how much you

can trust the veracity of your conclusion to a certain inquiry in the circumstances of the study. This is equivalent to internal validity in experimental studies. In qualitative studies, it is the researcher's duty to report his/her perspectives. Second, applicability is interested in adapting a perspective in a certain inquiry to other people or other situations. This is equivalent to external validity or generalizability in experimental studies. Third, consistency is asking whether the result of the study can be consistent if it is conducted in a similar situation. However, in this case, it is not appropriate to compare consistency to reliability in quantitative studies because qualitative studies exist on the beliefs that there are various entities in the world. Finally, neutrality or confirmability in qualitative studies can be increased by long periods of contact and observation. Unfortunately, this time-consuming process is one of the drawbacks of qualitative studies and what makes them difficult.

Guba's (1981) criteria were especially useful because they were designed for a naturalistic inquiry paradigm that often takes the form of case studies. As the focus of case study is not to generate statistical results but to create hypotheses and theories, it is hard to pursue reliability and validity which are very crucial in quantitative research. According to Krefting (1991), there are some strategies to increase trustworthiness in qualitative research. Among them are time sampling strategy and reflexivity. I witnessed how the Native American mascot played a huge role in a university community when I attended Florida State University. Since then, I have spent significant time with informants to build a prolonged engagement regarding this issue. My personal background as an investigator of Native American mascot issues also helped increase the trustworthiness of this study.

There are some other ways to ensure trustworthiness. Merriam (2002) outlined several strategies that every qualitative researchers should employ to help ensure the soundness and

trustworthiness of a study. Among the data verification strategies, I leveraged member checking, searching for disconfirming evidence, triangulation, and thick description, each of which allowed me to investigate particularity over generalizability in my study.

Member-checking, according to Bogdan and Bilken (2003), is a critical component of building and confirming the veracity of qualitative research. Simply put, member-checking is a continuous communicating process between the researcher and the research participants throughout the study. Asking follow-up questions after the interview was not an easy task. It was as hard as the efforts to obtain initial interview request. However, some interviewees were kind enough to read my transcriptions and interpretations and provided their feedback and opinions. They made my coding better by pointing out my mistakes.

Triangulation, originally from geometry, is the term which utilizes various perspectives to get full understanding of a phenomenon. Liamputtong (2009 b) defined triangulation as “the use of multiple methods, researchers, data sources, or theories in a research project” (p. 341). Simply put, triangulation usually engages data collection in multiple ways, but it also deals with research methodology (interviews, participant-observation, and document analysis), researcher (collaboration with other researchers), and theory (analyzing one phenomenon through various theories). It is highly likely that when the use of multiple sources of data draw the same conclusions, there can be greater confidence in the validity than the conclusion drawn by one data source. By offering thick description of Native American mascot narrative in the following chapter, I help readers to determine the extent to which my findings might be appropriate and can be transferable to other settings. Ultimately, given the subjective nature of qualitative design, thick description allows readers to develop their own interpretations based on my study results.

Ethical issues, Rapport, Reciprocity

I submitted an application to the University of Iowa Institutional Review Board in March 2015 to request approval of this dissertation. After the review, IRB deemed (IRB ID # 201503833) that my dissertation was not human subject research because the study was about a mascot, a cultural phenomenon. Therefore, it did not require review by the IRB. (See Appendix C.)

As Marshall and Rossman (1999) emphasized the importance of negotiating entry and politics and persistence in negotiating, one of the difficulties during my interview request process was how to get in touch with possible interviewees. It was extremely hard to get any kind of reply at first request, and some never replied to my multiple requests. Some high ranking administrators did not even open their email addresses to the public. This is understandable because, if they did, they would get thousands of emails daily. I had to use a message board, which is almost always futile. As Babbie (1986, p. 245) noted, it is always important to “be able to establish a certain rapport” with research participants. Rapport is also very critical when a researcher tries to gain entry and obtain permission from gatekeepers not only during interviews but also during fieldwork. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) also emphasized that gaining the trust of the participants is essential to the success of the interviews. They also added that trust, even if it is gained, can be fragile therefore should be handled carefully.

In my case, it took a few months for me to build rapport with interviewees. I have known one of the interviewees for a few years as we have both lived in the same city. Furthermore, he knew about the topic of my dissertation. Thus, the process was relatively easy and smooth. The interview took place in his office at the University of Iowa campus. Others had different paths. As they lived in other states, I mostly used emails to communicate with them. First, I introduced

myself and my dissertation topic, and requested an interview to get information and insights. Once I obtained their agreement, scheduling was the next hurdle to deal with before the actual interview.

Many scholars have pointed out the importance of reciprocity especially in qualitative research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, Creswell, 1998) because it is important to recognize the value of participants' time and effort appropriately. Reciprocity is literally "the give and take of social interactions" (Harrison et al., 2001, p.323), and it is important to get good data and to gain access to a particular setting. During my meeting with an IRB consultant, I asked whether I could offer each interviewee a monetary reward. I also asked how much I could offer as a sign of gratitude. The consultant said to me that there are no certain rules about the amount, but casual compensation is acceptable unless it affects the results of the study. Following this guidance, I sent a gift card to each interviewee's work address via United States Postal Service following the interview. Additionally, I tried to find ways in which I could compensate my participants in a non-monetary fashion as well. Each of my interviewees answered my questions with sincerity and expressed willingness to help my data collection process and overall dissertation.

CHAPTER IV

NATIVE AMERICAN MASCOT AS ORGANIZATION BUILDERS AT FSU

In this chapter, I will answer my first research question: What organizational roles have the Seminoles' nickname and Chief Osceola mascot played at Florida State University and what can these roles tell us about the organizational trajectories of the university, exploring how Native-American themed nickname, mascot, and rituals are utilized as organization builders at FSU. This chapter consists mainly of four parts. In the first part, I will provide a brief history of 19th century wartime Seminole leader Osceola and his resurrection as a football tradition at FSU. Briefly reviewing his life, death, and legacy will help explain why Osceola became an icon of American culture and a symbol of FSU's athletic programs. Second, the process of FSU's adopting the "Seminoles" nickname during the course of institutional evolution from a state women's college to a coeducational state university will be explained. FSU became a coeducational institution to accommodate the veterans from World War II who took advantage of the G.I. Bill. FSU reinitiated its football program, and FSU's athletic nickname was selected by students' vote in 1947. Third, I will shed light on FSU's rapid institutional development from a regional state university to a Research-I University as well as a football powerhouse status with membership in the Atlantic Coast Conference. From the 1950s to the 1970s, FSU introduced numerous Native-American themed mascots (Chief Fullabull, Sammy Seminole, Savage Sam, and Osceola). Finally, in the fourth part, I will delve further into FSU's efforts to maintain the nickname and mascot especially after the brief ban by the NCAA in 2005. FSU's efforts, including initiating a Seminole history class, sculptures, widespread use of Native American themes in academic settings, and TV commercials with Chief Osceola and Renegade are discussed.

Osceola

Ancestry and Childhood

Osceola was part White and part Indian (Remini, 2001, p.274; Mahon, 2001, p. 697), who was born to a British trader, William Powell, and a Creek Indian woman named Polly. Perdue (2005) indicated that Southeastern Native American tribes had had robust political and cultural sovereignty and had maintained their cultures without being assimilated by European culture. Perdue also pointed out that during that time, the commitment to interracial marriages was very weak and divorces were common because Native people expected foreigners to abide by tribal rules.

After his parents' divorce, Osceola migrated to Florida with his mother. At the age of 14, Osceola became a leader of Seminole warriors and led a fierce attack upon the white settlers. Osceola hated white people and denied his biological link to his father, arguing "No foreign blood runs in my veins; I am a pure-blood Muscogee" (Coe, 1939, p. 309). As Covington (1993, p.76) indicated, because he was an ethnic polyglot, Osceola was willing to cooperate with the Black Seminoles, and drew his immediate followers from the Mikasukis and the Maroons. Therefore, when U.S. forces encountered his band, it consisted of an overwhelmingly large number of blacks. According to Patricia Wickman's (2006) account, "Osceola was all of these" (pp. xix-xxvi, 48-53), which signifies Osceola's association with the Maroons and black Seminoles, and his defending their interests.

Background of the Second Seminole War (1836)

President Andrew Jackson's removal policy against Native American groups in the Southeastern part of the United States culminated in the Treaty of Payne's Landing in 1832. Despite the treaty, Seminole chiefs did not agree to the move. Osceola, a hard-line young leader,

was upset, as he felt the U.S. humiliated Seminoles. Osceola finally stepped up, brandishing a knife, to show his anger about emigration policy. Thom Hatch's description of Osceola's defiant action provides further detail of the incident:

At the same time, Indian agent Wiley Thompson, the government's chief representative, summoned Seminole leaders, including Osceola, to Fort King to sign a contract reaffirming their acceptance of the Payne's Landing treaty. To Osceola's consternation, 16 chiefs, ignoring their pledge to him to fight, signed the contract, agreeing to deliver their people to Tampa Bay for removal. Outraged, Osceola rose to his feet and strode forward, thrusting his knife into the treaty paper. He loudly vowed, "This is the only treaty I will make with the whites!" (Hatch, 2012, p. 36).

The veracity of the incident is still controversial due to its lack of historical evidence. Wickman (2006) dismissed the evidence and concluded that people exaggerated the story of Osceola. However, the National Archives has attached a note to the Treaty of Fort Gibson attesting that a crease in the document was made by Osceola's knife. At the very least, the episode captures Osceola's animosity toward White Americans, and this symbolizes his resolute attitude. Osceola made his intentions clear in a statement:

The white man shall not make me black. I will make the white man red with blood; and then blacken him in the sun and rain.. .and the buzzard [shall] live upon his flesh. (Soolater, 2012, p.66).

Osceola's capture

With contentions on the rise, Osceola was captured by federal troops in the spring of 1835. In prison, Osceola raged, roared, and cried violently, tearing his hair. Remini (2001) illustrated that he seemed to be "a madman" (p. 274). Then, all of a sudden, things changed dramatically: Osceola became calm and submissive to the jailers. He even wrote a statement that he would certify the validity of the Treaty of Payne's Landing. Everybody believed that Osceola

had been demoralized. Osceola was released thanks to his shrewdly designed acting, but he held a much larger grudge and determination of revenge against White Americans.

It took less than a year from Osceola's release from prison to the outbreak of the Second Seminole War. In 1835, as the Cherokees were finally relocated to Oklahoma, the Seminoles became the only remaining tribe among the so-called "Five Civilized Tribes." Osceola was well aware of the removal process of other tribes, and he did not trust Andrew Jackson's attitude and policy. Furthermore, because all indications suggested that the Jackson administration would implement forced removal of the Seminoles in early 1836, Samuel Watson's (2011) analysis that all these circumstances facilitated Osceola and his Seminole warriors to initiate military provocations in 1835 was very reasonable.

In September, Osceola was captured by General Hernandez when Osceola came to the camp near St. Augustine, under a flag of truce. Osceola died in prison on January 30, 1838. Twenty years after the capture of Osceola, General Jesup reminisced about how he had accomplished that victory in the Florida War. Jesup said Osceola "was captured by treachery and fraud" (Jesup, 1858). Despite his triumph at the war, Jesup was heavily criticized due to his deceptive capture of Osceola. After his dramatic fights and death, Osceola's name was remembered and honored. Many people were impressed by Osceola's death, and it was ironic that a person who fought against the U.S. forces became an icon of national American values due to his brave but tragic death (Grounds, 2001). Americans praised Osceola's character in connection with their modern values. For example, some regarded him as an embodiment of a "self-made man" (Grounds, 2001, p. 303), which was the ideal in a modern American society.

Osceola's legacy in modern U.S. society

After his death, Osceola's name became famous nationwide. His dramatic life and unconquered spirit were described as something great by many Americans. In Grounds' (2001) terms, Osceola "became interwoven into the meaning of America" and "understood as a martyred leader" (p. 304). Therefore, cities, counties, hotels, steamboats, and many newborn babies were named after him. Osceola's name could be found in over twenty states in the U.S. and Canada. Interestingly, Florida was somewhat slower than other U.S. states when it finally honored Native American military leader's name in one of its counties (1887). It can also be inferred that Osceola was pretty well known to American public because of the fact that W.E.B. Du Bois briefly introduced this Seminole leader in his classic, *The Souls of Black Folk* which was first published in 1903. It is no wonder Du Bois, a renowned civil rights activist throughout his life, stressed Osceola's collaboration with Black slaves, calling him "the Indian-Negro Chieftain" (Du Bois, 2005, p. 120).

The name "Seminole" was not actually used as a county name until 1913. Grounds concluded that it was because people living in Florida were reluctant to romanticize or honor those who fought against them, while Americans in other regions were rather free from that animosity. In 1947, "the Seminoles" was chosen by the student body as an athletic nickname for the newly formed Florida State University, and Osceola and Renegade were introduced as part of football pregame ritual in 1978. At first, Osceola was not a chief's name in FSU's football tradition (Ensley, 1997).

Osceola's name has been introduced occasionally in contemporary popular culture. In 1992, American country singer John Anderson released a studio album called *Seminole Wind*. On August 15, the title song, *Seminole Wind*, peaked at number 2 on the U. S. Billboard Hot

Country Singles & Tracks chart. Also, more recently, in the song *Osceola's Crying*, the ghost of Osceola laments over the Gulf oil spill.

FSU's institutional evolution and adopting the "Seminoles" nickname

The origin of FSU

Despite the rapid growth of other Southern football teams, Florida State University (FSU) was not successful in establishing a winning football tradition due to the historical evolution of the institution: for the most part in the first half of the 20th century, it was a women's college. FSU's institutional history epitomizes the evolution of higher learning in America. It shows virtually every topic in the history of American higher education: the history of coeducation; vocational education; history of minority-serving institutions; immense influx of veteran student population after World War II; and the modern state university system. Even the name changes of FSU can explain a lot about the history of higher education.

Although the school maintains that the history of FSU dates back to "as early as 1823 when the Territorial Legislature began to plan a higher education system" (About Florida State, 2011), it is safe to say that the year of 1851 (between the second and third Seminole Wars) was the origin of the current Florida State University. However, that origin might be controversial. Now, FSU's logo represents 1851 as its beginning. However, in *Seminole History* (1987) by Martee Wills and Joan Perry Morris, the same logo bears a different year, 1857, when the West Florida Seminary was finally settled in Tallahassee. This may be related to FSU's rivalry with the University of Florida (UF).

Florida had been a Spanish colony since Juan Ponce de Leon's discovery of the peninsular he named Florida in 1513. (Allman, 2013, Perdue & Green, 2001). Yet, Florida was relinquished by Spain and became a U.S. territory in the early 19th century. In 1845, when

Florida was about to be admitted as a state in the Union, the U.S. Congress named two towns in Florida for seminaries: the one on the west side of the Suwannee River was Tallahassee.

Therefore West Florida Seminary, which was founded in 1851, was the first predecessor of FSU.

While in 1853, the East Florida Seminary (now University of Florida) was established in Ocala, the West Florida Seminary was founded in 1851. However, as it began operating in 1857 in the current Tallahassee location, the university web site proudly indicates that “it was located on the hill where the Westcott Building now stands, which has been the site of an institution of higher education longer than any other site in Florida” (About Florida State, 2011). This is true because East Florida Seminary did not move to the current venue of Gainesville until 1866.



Figure 3. The official seals of Florida State University and University of Florida

A name change in 1863 made West Florida Seminary into the Florida Military and Collegiate Institute. The first name change was to reflect the addition of a military section that trained cadets during the Civil War. In 1862, one year before the establishment of the Florida Military and Collegiate Institute, there was the passage of the first Morrill Land-Grant Acts, which allowed for the creation of land-grant colleges. According to the law, one of the purposes of the land-grant colleges was to promote military tactics. When President Lincoln signed the bill, the Civil War was in progress.

In 1897, the institution experienced yet another name change as it evolved into a liberal arts college, and therefore in 1901 it became Florida State College (FSC). Rick Kabat (1991) wrote as part of a newspaper article, "All the higher branches are taught in the Florida State College, and the instructors are gentlemen and ladies of the highest integrity and morality" (p. 22). FSC was a coeducational institution with an enrollment of 252 men and women. (Kabat, 1991). This FSC era witnessed a short-lived period of football glory. From 1902 to 1904, FSC won seven games, lost six times, and tied once. In 1904, FSC won its state football championship, beating both Florida and Stetson. After the demise of FSC's football success in 1905, some players and coaches left the FSC football program. Coach Jack A. "Pee Wee" Forsythe Jr. became the first director of athletics and head coach of the newly merged University of the State of Florida football team (current the University of Florida Gators) in 1906. Forsythe coached and played for the UF team until 1908, accumulating 14 wins. He is regarded as UF's first football coach (English, 2006). Frederick "Fritz" Williams Buchholz, who was a fullback on the FSC team transferred to UF and became the first Rhodes Scholar in Florida. Buchholz later spent his life as an educator and a politician, serving in the Florida legislature.

The Florida State College for Women

In 1905 the Buckman Act (House Bill No. 361) forced the reorganization of Florida's educational system by the Legislature. The Buckman Act was named for Henry Holland Buckman, who was an attorney and a legislator in the Florida Legislature, and called for the concentration of the state's resources in order to enhance competitiveness. Some people call it the racist act because it segregated the higher education institutions. The Act was a sign of the times because it mandated the segregated operation of higher education by gender and race. The year

1905 marked only the 10th year after the historic *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896, which upheld racial segregation in public venues under the doctrine of "separate but equal." For African American males, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes (FAMC, now Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, or Florida A & M) was established in Tallahassee. For white females, Florida State College became Florida Female College (now Florida State University). The University of the State of Florida (now the University of Florida) in Gainesville was designated for white male students, and the Institute for the Blind, Deaf and Dumb (now Florida School for the Deaf & the Blind) in St. Augustine served the disabled population. It is interesting to note that, during the process, no institution was designated for African American women. In addition, the Buckman Act transferred authority over the State University System from the Board of Education to the Board of Control (now the Board of Governors) (Kerber, 1979, p. 327).

The Florida State College became a women's school called the Florida Female College. In 1909, the name changed to the Florida State College for Women. Although the enrollment had been declining over time, the enrollment of female students in seminaries and women's colleges throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was significant. Lynn Gordon (1990) in her book, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* wrote that "the percentage of students nationwide attending women's colleges peaked in 1879-80 (28.3 percent), then declined to 19.1 percent in 1899-1900 and to 8.1 percent in 1919-1920" (p. 26). Women's colleges were especially prevalent in the East and South, and the Buckman Act can be seen as an effort to keep pace with regional trends. In these circumstances, in the 1930s, the Florida State College for Women became the third largest women's college in the nation (Florida State University, 2011). John Thelin (2004) describes the Southern phenomena of state women's colleges as follows:

The prototype of the “all women’s college” was not the exclusive province of the private or independent sector. Several states, especially in the South, established public women’s colleges. The roster included North Carolina College for Women in Greensboro, Florida Women’s College in Tallahassee, Mississippi College for Women, Texas Women’s University, and Longwood College and Mary Washington College in Virginia. The extension of opportunity was once again incomplete, each of these institutions being racially restricted to white women. (Thelin, 2004, p. 228)

When the state institutions were consolidated in 1905, the male student body of Florida State College moved from Tallahassee to Gainesville. It was natural for the student body to adopt the fraternity system and organize a varsity football team. Some of the traditions of Florida State football, such as the choosing of the school colors, date back to this time.

Florida State's school colors of garnet and gold date back to the Florida State College championship football teams of 1904 and 1905. In those championship seasons, FSC donned purple and gold uniforms. When Florida State College became Florida State Female College in 1905, the football team was forced to attend the University of Florida. The following year the FFC student body selected crimson as the official school color of 1905. The administration in 1905 took crimson and combined it with the recognizable purple of the championship football teams to achieve the color garnet. The now-famous garnet and gold colors were first used on an FSU uniform in a 14-6 loss to Stetson on October 18, 1947. (Traditions: Garnet and Gold, 2013).

G.I. Bill and FSU football

Towards the end of World War II, the U.S. was welcoming back veterans from the European and Pacific theaters and was recovering economically from the depression of the 1930s and war mobilization. One of the efforts to reorient veterans to American society was to enact laws to provide them with support for higher education. On June 22, 1944, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944, (or the G.I. Bill of Rights), which offered a college scholarship, among other benefits, to all those who had served in the military.

The G.I Bill affected college football in many ways such as providing a large supply of athletes, coaches, and military training programs. Historian Kurt Edward Kemper (2009) suggested two specific policy decisions that brought about an unprecedented college football boom – from 220 schools in 1945 to 650 in 1946 (Kemper, 2009, p. 13; p. 202; Sperber, 1998, p. 170; Watterson, 2002) after World War II. The first reason that Kemper suggested was the NCAA’s decision not to enforce traditional transfer rules and penalties to the returning veterans who had to stop their college studies due to the war. Thanks to this rule change, veterans resumed their football careers without losing any year of eligibility. The second decision that greatly affected college football, according to Kemper, was the G. I. Bill. The law transcended the recruiting landscapes of big-time college football, facilitating “the postwar recruiting orgy” (p. 14). Some great veteran players were lured by college teams’ financial enticements as well as the G. I. Bill money. Given the fact that the government paid the full tuition and living expenses of the veterans, in some cases, schools used their recruiting budgets to attract nonveteran student athletes. Nick Triantafellu, a Navy veteran who went to Stetson University thanks to the G.I. Bill, was a member of the Hatters football team. In 1947, Stetson visited Tallahassee and newly organized Florida State University football team. His interview suggested a condescending attitude regarding women’s colleges, calling FSU “a girls school.” He recalled: “We thought it was a big deal, but then everybody kept telling us we just beat a girls school” (Kernan, 2012).

There is no doubt that the G. I. Bill had a significant impact on the formation of the initial FSU football team. At least half of the members of the 1947 FSU football team benefited from the G. I. Bill (McGrotha, 1987). However, the resources were not always good enough to satisfy the needs of the veteran players. Ed Williamson, the first head coach of FSU football, recalled that “those checks were sometimes late, and there were players who actually went hungry” (p.

15). This made some players eat pecans from pecan trees on campus and drink powdered milk to feed their hunger. A large number of FSU football members transferred from other schools. For example, Jack Tully, the team captain in 1947 for whom the FSU gymnasium was named, attended Miami, and Wes Carter held a scholarship at Georgia. Others were former students of the University of Florida. Ironically, it was former UF students who ignited the rivalry between FSU and UF as Tully remembered that “those that transferred from Florida didn’t care much for ’em. From my little time at Miami, I didn’t like ’em. And those feelings just got worse” (p. 15).

The Early Years of FSU and Its Football

Because many young men were deployed to war fronts, World War II had created a huge gender imbalance in higher education. Consequently, the University of Florida had many empty buildings and classrooms, while FSCW was experiencing over-crowded conditions. As this had to be remedied, in 1945, the State's Board of Control discussed the issue, but adjourned without resolving it. However, the end of World War II accelerated the change and eventually reversed the pattern. In 1946, the University of Florida President, John Tigert, informed the Board of Control that because of space limitations, the University of Florida would have to decline the enrollment of over 2500 qualified applicants. FSCW President, Doak Campbell, offered a solution to the situation. He told the Board of Control that FSCW would take 500 of those applicants on a temporary basis. Florida Governor Millard Caldwell, who liked that idea, sought and was immediately granted extra funding for the endeavor. The Board of Control approved the temporary enrollment of males at FSCW and delayed the start of the fall semester until October, allowing time for proper accommodations for the male students to be readied. This was the

beginning of the Tallahassee Branch of the University of Florida (TBUF). In Tallahassee, the large influx of World War II veterans mandated institutional changes to accommodate them. Despite the admission of veterans, in the early years of FSU, male students were in the minority. In 1946, the Tallahassee Branch of the University of Florida (TBUF) was established, accepting male students. The next year, the Florida State College for Women officially became coeducational upon the Governor's signing an act of the Legislature, thus marking the beginning of the modern day Florida State University. At TBUF, the participation of male athletes caused some problems because TBUF was technically part of the University of Florida, and TBUF's entrance into intercollegiate athletics could mean that two teams were representing one school. Although it was brief, some students participated in intercollegiate competitions in basketball, golf, tennis, and swimming (Wills & Morris, 1987), a meaningful second step in FSU male athletics from a long hiatus since 1905. The birth of the FSU's athletic program was never easy because the University of Florida attempted to take full control of Florida State athletics. In early 1947 UF, President John J. Tigert sent a letter to his FSU counterpart stating that UF was going to regulate TBUF's athletics. What Tigert wrote was basically a declaration of war to FSU, and director of TBUF Milton Carothers and coach Williamson responded adamantly, saying "Tell 'em to go to hell – you run your program, and we'll run ours" (McGrotha, 1987, p.12).

Just after its reinstatement season in 1947, FSU led the establishment of the Dixie Conference, pursuing pure amateurism without athletic scholarships with Southern small schools such as Howard College (now Samford University), Stetson University, the University of Tampa, Lambuth College, Mercer University, Oglethorpe University, Millsaps College, and Mississippi College. There were two reasons for this movement. First, FSU, which went 0-5 in its first football season, had few resources to utilize and did not award athletic scholarships to its student

athletes. Second, at that time, as the NCAA had tightened up the standards on the amount of money that could be paid to collegiate athletes, many college athletic programs had difficulty dealing with the problems associated with scholarships (Watterson, 2002, p. 210). Thus, there was a need to form an athletic conference for the schools with fewer resources. FSU left the Dixie Conference in December 1950, after winning the first three conference football titles. Because of the growing popularity of its football program, it began offering scholarships.

Although FSU was once again a coeducational institution, the majority of FSU's student population in the 1940s and the 50s was still female. In 1946, the ratio of FSCW women to TBUF men was about three to one (Wills & Morris, 1987). Actor Burt Reynolds who attended FSU under the name of Buddy Reynolds in the 1950s recalled the following:

I first came to Florida State for a weekend during my senior year in high school. When I saw the red bricks, the ivy and moss of the trees – it was exactly what I thought a university should be. I also liked the statistic which stuck in my mind more than any other: four gals for every guy! Those odds sounded pretty good to me! It was a happy, innocent, glorious time – the mid-1950s. That time – there will never be another like it.

Reynolds, once a promising halfback on the 1953-1954 football team, also recalled FSU football's early history:

Florida State was making a major foray into major college football. FSU had been playing football with a lot of smaller schools, but in those years we jumped to the big time – the University of Georgia, and Auburn. We were playing some big schools and we didn't get killed. We won eight and lost two or three and went to the bowl that season and it was great to be on the team. (Wills & Morris, 1987, p. 7)

Although it was not great, as Reynolds mentioned, Florida State football in the 1940s and 50s made steady steps to glory. After the head coach Tom Nugent took over the team in 1953, he led the Seminoles to the national landscape in 1958 when the Seminoles beat Tennessee 10-0, marking the first victory of FSU against a Southeastern Conference team. Lee Corso, an FSU

alumnus and a college football analyst for ESPN, recalled that “I think that 10-0 win over Tennessee in Knoxville in 1958 was the biggest game in Florida State football.” “That was the first win over a Southeastern Conference team, the first over a program people recognized as a major power. After that we had legitimacy in the South.” (Long, 2006, pp. 70-71). Also in 1958, FSU football first appeared on national television in the Bluegrass Bowl in Lexington, Kentucky. That bowl appearance was an indication of the remarkable growth of the FSU football program.

The year 1958 was also significant in FSU football history because the annual intrastate rivalry match with the University of Florida Gators was inaugurated that year. However, the initial agreement between FSU and UF was far from fair: The first six games were played in Gainesville. The rivalry dated back to 1947 when FSU became coeducational again and reestablished a football program. While FSU players and students eagerly wanted to have a series against the Gators, the University of Florida administration, as shown in the letter of President Tigert, was reluctant to treat FSU as an intercollegiate sports rival for fear of sharing limited state budget resources for higher education. In 1955, a bill was proposed in the Florida Legislature that would have mandated that the two schools compete against each other in sports including football. As the bill was voted down, Florida Governor LeRoy Collin, who thought at first college football was not a legislative issue, finally intervened. He personally requested that UF president J. Wayne Reitz schedule an annual football match between FSU and UF, and the two athletic directors eventually completed a contract. Since then, the two teams have met every year during the Thanksgiving weekend. For the past three decades, the series is regarded as one of the most intense rivalries in college football, drawing national attention.

Adopting the “Seminoles” nickname and FSU Fight Song

When the team was first organized in 1947, FSU had to start from the very beginning. The first match of the season did not take place until October, when Florida State hosted Stetson University. FSU football started from virtually nothing: In the summer of 1947, there were no scholarships, no coaches, no equipment, no trainers, and no stadium. The team did not even have a name. FSU got its “Seminoles” name after the first contest against Stetson on October 18. The name was decided by student votes. One week after the first game against Stetson, a list of suggestions had been narrowed to six final candidates: Golden Falcons, Statesmen, Crackers, Senators, Indians, and Seminole. Other names that were suggested included Sandpipers, Fleas, Golden Diggers, Tallywhackers, Pinheads, Rebels, and Fighting Warriors. According to the report of *The Florida Flambeau*, “Seminole” won by 110 votes over “Statesmen” (McGrotha, 1987).

The voting process to choose a team name demonstrated the early cultural conflict at FSU between male and female student groups. One interesting challenger was “Tarpons” which had originated from the Tarpon Club, a synchronized swimming team founded in 1937. Some male students did not want a female swimming club’s name to represent their new school, and they campaigned to keep the Tarpons from winning the vote (Guiliano, 2015; McGrotha, 1987). Furthermore, it seems obvious that FSU football players and coaches preferred “the Seminole.” Coach Ed Williamson made significant remarks as if he could have seen what would happen 30 years later. “I think the name (Seminole) caught on primarily because of the things that go with it.” “There were so many things – fancy dress, the war dances” (McGrotha, 1987, p.19). Based on this, the chances are high that Williamson considered Illinois as FSU’s role model. Bill Bentz,

a 1947 football team member, even admitted that he manipulated the vote result in favor of Seminoles.

I watched every damn ballot that went through, and a whole lot of 'em that didn't have 'Seminole' on them, I threw away. I was a big mouth in those days – still am. At the time, doctoring ballots seemed the thing to do. When you played football there then, you were actually bigger than you were, you know, and you could get by with a lot. (p.19)

Meanwhile, despite the controversy, it seemed that FSU students in general liked the selection of the Seminoles as their name due in large part to its uniqueness. The name remains unique even now. While 44 college teams bear the name “the Tigers” and 38 have “the Bulldogs,” no other college or professional sports team currently holds the same name. After the selection in 1947, *The Flambeau*, the school newspaper, wrote about it as follows:

The selection certainly gives FSU a distinct title. There are no college teams that bear the name.... New nicknames are ... apt to appear ill-fitting, but they take on polish with constant usage – and are mellowed, aged and honored with time. The name Seminoles will be just as good a name as Florida State University makes it in the years to come.... Okay, Seminoles, take over from here! (McGrotha, 1987, p.19).

As Florida State football grew in its popularity, many traditions were added and facilities were constructed. On October 7, 1950, FSU opened its new football stadium on campus with a seating capacity of 15,000. The facility was named in honor of Doak S. Campbell, who was the president of Florida State College for Women and Florida State University from 1941 to 1957. The year 1950 also marked the debut of the FSU fight song when Doug Alley, a student and English major, wrote a poem in *the Florida Flambeau*. Professor of Music Thomas G. "Tommie" Wright read it in the newspaper and added a melody to make a song. Wright recalled:

We didn't have our own fight song. They were using words to *On Wisconsin* and the *Notre Dame Victory march*. They were! And I thought, we oughta have our own fight song. Well, about that time, there was a young master's student in English. His name was Doug Alley. And he wrote some words on *Flambeau*, our school paper, that said: You

got to fight, fight, fight for FSU. You got to scalp 'em Seminoles! As I thought, gosh, those words are good, I think I'm going to write some music to that. So, I went to my studio that afternoon and came up with the tune, and gave it to the band director. He had it arranged and put it on the field the following Saturday. The students liked it, and the following week, they adopted it as the official FSU fight song. I added a yell in the middle to lengthen it out a little bit. The students added "woo." (Tracy Dot Com, 2011)

Once his song became the official fight song, Wright granted the intellectual property rights of the song to the university in exchange for two season tickets every year (Manahan, 2012).

Native American Mascots at FSU

While there have been numerous Native American mascots, Sammy Seminole was the first personification of the FSU football team mascot. Sammy Seminole, who debuted at the Homecoming event in 1958, was originally a representation of a cartoon image that characterized the general population's perceptions of the Native American people at that time. The character was a dark-skinned young man with a bare chest, holding a tomahawk in one hand and wearing a feather in his hair. A number of white students from the FSU gymnastics and circus program played the role of Sammy. They led the football team and entertained the crowd on the field with their skillful gymnastic movements and acrobatic back flips. Because the role required special skill sets, the FSU gymnastic and circus program supervised the character of Sammy Seminole. The practice ended in 1968 due to budgetary issues (King & Springwood, 2001b).

In the late 1960s, there was a brief co-existence of two mascot characters at FSU: Sammy Seminole was joined by Chief Fullabull. The latter served as the mascot for the basketball games, but the representation of Chief Fullabull was even more problematic than that of Sammy Seminole. As there is little documentation about the details of Chief Fullabull remaining (King & Springwood, 2001b), it is hard to know how offensive it was. But many suggest that the

character was even more carnivalesque and more stereotyped than Sammy Seminole. FSU university communications (n.d.) website describes Chief Fullabull as “the buffoonish character specializes in skits such as ceremonially ‘massacring’ effigies of opposing teams’ mascots.” Even by the standards of the 1960s, the description of drunken Indian character was not tolerable by many people, Native American groups in particular. Therefore, in 1970, Chief Fullabull was eventually retired by the school as the leaders of the Seminole Tribe of Florida requested.



Figure 4. Florida State University cheerleader and Sammy Seminole in 1960

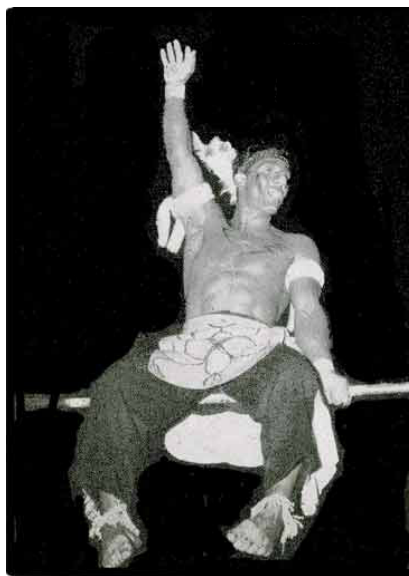


Figure 5. Sammy Seminole at the 1958 Homecoming

King and Springwood (2001 b, p. 82) described the evolution in FSU's athletic mascots from the 1950s to the 70s, when numerous characters emerged and disappeared until the current mascot of Chief Osceola was finally established in 1978. First, there were some efforts to revive Chief Fullabull after the character was deemed insensitive by most people around campus. After the criticism, in the late 60s, the name of Chief Fullabull was changed into Chief Wampum-Stompum. Later, Yahola, which seemed to be one of the variations of Osceola, was adopted to mollify the opponents of offensive mascot names.

While the two mascots (Sammy Seminole and Chief Fullabull) were being used in FSU's football and basketball games, another mascot whose name was Savage Sam was created in 1965. It seems that the name Savage Sam was used even after the practice of Chief Osceola and Renegade was initiated in 1978. Judging from a picture of an article by Jane Baird (1979), it is very hard to distinguish Savage Sam from the current Osceola.

Osceola and Renegade, FSU's current pregame ritual at football games have been essential in the Doak Campbell Stadium for almost 40 years. The ritual is regarded as one of the most unique and impressive traditions in college football. Along with the successful performances on the football field, this tradition gave FSU national attention not only in athletics but also in overall institutional status. Every FSU home football game, Chief Osceola, a student personification of the 19th century wartime leader of the Seminole tribe, wears the Native regalia which includes coat, pants, shoes, war paint, necklace, and headdress designed by the Seminole Tribe of Florida. Osceola rides a horse, holding the flaming spear on his right hand. Then he plants his spear in the midfield.

The official debut of Chief Osceola and Renegade took place on September 16, 1978, against the Oklahoma State Cowboys. Before the ritual began, there was an effort to introduce Osceola and Renegade as a new FSU tradition. In 1962, then FSU student Bill Durham, who was serving on FSU's Homecoming Committee, proposed the new tradition in which a student would dress as a Seminole Indian and ride a horse while performing during the Homecoming football game. The idea failed to come to fruition, but finally was realized in 1978 with the help of Ann Bowden, the spouse of Head Football Coach Bobby Bowden.

Jim Kidder, FSU's first Chief Osceola who rode Renegade from 1978 to 1979, recalled the debut of the tradition as follows:

I was so scared that game that I don't even remember it. We hadn't practiced with the horse going out on the field in front of 50,000 screaming fans, football players and bands. We really didn't know what was going to happen. I was scared to death. (Thomas, 2008)

Kidder explained that the costumes he was to wear that day were made by the Seminole tribe, but they were not ready. Kidder said:

We had to put a costume together. It was a lady's bathrobe. First, we started out with a pair of brown Danskin pantyhose, and I had some moccasin bedroom slippers that I had to tie onto my feet with a red cloth because they were too big. We ended up doing away with the Danskin pantyhose, and I just wore brown corduroys for a while. (Thomas, 2008)

Although the university and fans take much pride in its authenticity, Kidder's recall exemplifies how one of the most spectacular traditions in college football began as a humble impromptu. However humble it might be, FSU constituents instantly embraced this as a tradition especially for their relatively young institution and young football team. The Student Council president Randy Drew said in 1979 that "we are young as a university and moving hard to establish ourselves." He continued, "We are in the process of building tradition" (Baird, 1979).

So far, there have been 15 Osceolas (except for Alumni riders in 1998) and five different Renegades for this tradition. In order to portray Chief Osceola, students should maintain moral character and a grade-point average of 3.0 (King & Springwood, 2001b). A student who was selected must study the history of the Seminole Tribe of Florida regardless of his major and undergo years of apprenticeship to master necessary equestrian skills to control Renegade. Usually students practice a couple of times a week throughout the year, portraying Osceola during six or seven home football games and FSU's Homecoming parade. At times, Chief Osceola and Renegade travel with the team during a Bowl game season.

One of the unique characteristics of Chief Osceola is that he never smiles or talks. This is one of the very distinctive aspects compared to other mascots in sports. Usually mascots in any sports are kid-friendly, cheering, and sometimes making excessive facial expressions and doing exaggeratedly silly things to entertain spectators. However, this is not the case with FSU's Chief Osceola. (FSU's new mascot Cimarron plays roles with children.) Chief Osceola mostly remains silent and solemn in public places. Osceola remains the same when the fans ask to have their pictures taken with him. This is a very good strategy for FSU to eschew Native American mascot controversies especially when it is compared to other cartoonish Native-American themed mascots such as Chief Wahoo of the Major League Baseball's Cleveland Indians. Drake Anderson, an FSU student who portrayed the Chief during the 2011 season, said to Fsunews.com about the solemnness of Chief Osceola: "When I'm portraying Osceola, I don't smile; I don't talk. I'm portraying a fierce war leader, so it's part of the program. When the paint starts going on, that's when it really gets serious" (Cowles, 2011). Andy Taylor, who portrayed Chief Osceola during 1995 and 1996 said "When you get out on the field, you stop being a student. You stop being Andy Taylor or Josh or whoever, and you become Chief Osceola." (Landman,

2005). It seems that Durham is confident about the future of the tradition despite controversies and the temporary NCAA sanction in 2005. He said, "When a great university chooses to parallel itself and to keep a wonderful, wonderful people from being forgotten, I think that's a good thing, an important thing" (Landman, 2005).

After inventing and overseeing the whole process and performances of Chief Osceola tradition, Bill Durham retired in 2002. Durham passed his role on to his son Allen, a former Osceola portrayer. Since its inception, Chief Osceola and Renegade have become more refined and regulated, and there have been some modifications in the details of the regalia. Regarding the criticism of Chief Osceola, Bill Durham emphasized that he had no intention to demean Native American culture: "I can appreciate and understand how some Indians may feel, but I don't think anyone here does it with any malice... You have to understand we're very proud of keeping the knowledge alive that the Seminole were the first citizens of Florida" (Joseph, 1991).

After this invented tradition acquired popularity, other quasi-Native American traditions at FSU ensued shortly. According to King and Springwood (2001 b), FSU's "War Chant" and the "Tomahawk Chop" began around 1984. These two traditions, along with Chief Osceola and Renegade, were so popular that some professional teams in the U.S. adopted them. For example, the Atlanta Braves of Major League Baseball and the Kansas City Chiefs of the National Football League, both of which have Native-American themed nicknames, began to use the Tomahawk chop as early as 1990.

The Kansas City Chiefs first used FSU's War Chant in November 1990, when the Northwest Missouri State band, directed by 1969 Florida State graduate Al Sergel, performed the chant. Chiefs promotions director Phil Thomas said: "It's a direct descendant of Florida State," and "The band started doing the tomahawk chop, and the players and (coach) Marty

Schottenheimer loved it” (Barnes, 1991). The Atlanta Braves began the tradition when former FSU’s three-sport star Deion “Primetime” Sanders began playing for the Braves. Braves President John Schuerholz and Hall-of-Fame broadcaster Pete Van Wieren confirmed this. Van Wieren said:

The chop actually started in spring training in 1991, when Deion Sanders was in his first year with the Braves. Whenever he would come to the plate in spring training, there were always some Florida State fans in the crowd, and they would do the Seminole chant, Seminole chop was something Deion was used to on the football field. And when the Braves got back to Atlanta to open the season, the same kind of thing began to happen at the ballpark here” (MLB.com, 2012).

Miles McRea, director of promotion and entertainment for the Braves, also admitted that its War Chant originated from FSU by saying “It [War Chant] steamrolled from there [FSU].” “I have no doubt the Indian war chant and the arm movement did originate at Florida State. The tomahawk-chop terminology is definitely Braves, but the war chant was begun at Florida State.” (Barnes, 1991). Both teams still maintain the tradition.

Interestingly, the War Chant and Tomahawk Chop can be found outside the U.S. too. The fans of Galatasaray Spor Kulübü (S.K.), a Turkish professional soccer club based in Istanbul, have a very similar ritual to the FSU War Chant. Turkish fans, however, use scarves instead of forearms with almost identical melodies. The fans of a professional baseball team in Taiwan are also doing the Tomahawk Chop with the same tune as the FSU War Chant. Unlike the American teams, there was no obvious evidence that these teams took the rituals from FSU. Some say students who studied in the U.S. started using the chant in their homelands, but finding out the origins of these rituals are outside of the scope of this dissertation.

The First Bobby Bowden Era (1976-1986): Barnstormers

After the early years of Don Veller (1948~1952) and Tom Nugent (1953~1958), FSU football continued to prosper. In 1964, FSU won nine games while losing only one game. Also, FSU finally beat UF at home for the first time during that season. However, the 1970s were gloomy for FSU football. After the departure of Coach Bill Peterson, who led the team to four bowl games during his 11-year tenure (1960~1970), FSU failed to maintain its winning trajectory. The decline reached its darkest nadir in the early 1970s: From 1973 to 1975, FSU won only four games and lost 29 times. Due to poor on-field performance and the University's overall financial struggle after the Vietnam War, the school seriously considered dropping its football program (Bowden & Schlabach, 2010; Long, 2006). Instead of shutting down, FSU hired a new head coach Bobby Bowden from West Virginia University who had previously coached for the Seminoles as Bill Peterson's assistant.

Bobby Bowden's legacy with Florida State football might be compared to that of Knute Rockne with Notre Dame football. More recently, Joe Paterno and Penn State (before the Sandusky scandal) and Bill Snyder and Kansas State are good analogies. Currently, with less job security and more frequent coaching changes, it is hard for coaches to work for the same institution for a few decades. Many sports writers have written about and analyzed Bobby Bowden's coaching success at Florida State. However, they usually overlooked the institutional changes at FSU during the Bobby Bowden era: Bobby Bowden transcended the school itself as well as the football team. Bowden's 34-year tenure at FSU can be broken down into three periods. During the first period, from 1976 to 1986, the FSU football team can be described as the barnstormers. During the second period, from 1987 to 2000, it established a dynasty. Finally, the period from 2001 to 2009, can be titled the decline and retirement.

During the first period of the Bowden era, the FSU football program could be characterized as a “barnstorming” team. FSU, at that time, was an emerging young program but did not receive national recognition due mainly to its lack of strength of schedule. For FSU in the 1970s and 80s, the only way to prove the team’s capability was to travel to the national powers and win the games. Perhaps the remarks of Jim Lampley, who was a play-by-play announcer for ABC sports during the broadcast of FSU’s 1979 game versus the LSU Tigers, best described what FSU football had faced. During the introduction of the game, he declared:

This is a significant game not only because it matches two of the top 25 teams in the country but because of Florida State and their position. They are ranked 7, but four years ago when Bobby Bowden first came to Tallahassee to take over the Florida State football program they had won four of their preceding 33 games. There are some disbeliefs; there are some people who don’t believe that they are one of the ten best football teams in the country. They have a chance to prove it today. By beating a team with such a great tradition here in Baton Rouge as LSU, they can really take a big step forward.

After the game, Lampley said:

Yes America, the 7th ranked Seminoles are for real. So they have passed the toughest test so far this year. They have come here to LSU. They must do it every year for the next four years. They have beaten LSU 24-19. Bobby Bowden gets a ride off the field, and disappointed fans of Fighting Tigers of LSU go out the other side. (Seminole Moments, 2012).

In addition, from the financial perspective, road games were very lucrative to the visitors because national powers were always in search of “winnable” opponents at home, and they were willing to give sizeable paycheck to the visitors. FSU’s athletic director Clay Stapleton in the early 1970s scheduled many away games in the struggle to survive as the leader of a second-tier athletic program with limited resources. This was possible because of FSU’s independent status. Although FSU became a member of the Metro Conference in other sports in 1976, its football program maintained its independence. In his autobiography with Mark Schlabach, Bobby

Bowden (2010) predicted that he was not going to stay in Tallahassee for very long because of the upcoming challenging road games. He recalled:

After I saw my team's future schedules, I knew I had to get out of Tallahassee pretty fast. During the 1981 season, the Seminoles would be playing five consecutive road games: at Nebraska, Ohio State, Notre Dame, Pittsburgh, and Louisiana State. You want to talk about Murderer's Row? I knew I had to win enough games in the first few seasons at Florida State to land a better coaching job before the 1981 season rolled around. (Bowden & Schlabach, 2010, p. 104).

However, Bowden's team not only survived in Murderer's Row (they called it "October fest") but also excelled in the later 70s and early 80s. During this period, the Seminoles gained national attention and recognition, beating national powers such as Florida, LSU, Nebraska, and Ohio State in their home stadiums. For the first time in history, FSU was ranked in the top 10 in both the Associated Press Poll and the Coaches Poll in 1979 and 1980.

The Second Bobby Bowden Era (1987-2000): Dynasty

The dynasty period (1987 to 2000) of FSU football brought numerous benefits to both FSU athletics and the school itself. FSU played five bowl games to decide the national championship and won two of them in 1993 and 1999. During the dynasty period, FSU football was ranked nationally at number 5 or higher and won at least 10 games for 14 consecutive years. Between 1987 and 2000, FSU football won 152 games while losing only 19 games with one tie. FSU won 109 games during the 1990s, which is still the most victories by any team during a decade. The Seminole's winning percentage of 89.5 in the 1990s is the second best record behind Oklahoma's 89.5% during the 1950s. In 1999, the FSU football team became the first in the history of the Associated Press poll to go wire-to-wire (from preseason to the end) as the No. 1 team in the nation. Thanks to its huge success in football, FSU became a hot commodity in

college sports. In the late 1980s, FSU football – a giant killer – had already become a giant itself. In addition, it had been independent for 40 years, which would be a cash cow that every major athletic conference dreamed of.

Due to FSU's location, the Southeastern Conference (SEC) and the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC) were two possible candidates for FSU's membership. By the end of the 1980s, college sports conference realignment was under way. In December 1989, the Big Ten pursued Penn State, making it the 11th member of the conference. In the summer of 1990, the SEC added two new members (Arkansas and South Carolina). Since its inception in 1932, the SEC had relatively stable membership affiliation. After three of its charter members (Suwanee, Georgia Tech, and Tulane) left the conference individually, the SEC had remained a 10-team conference for a quarter-century. Doak Campbell, FSU's president from 1941 to 1957, recalled in his book *A university in transition* that "the Southeastern Conference had its full quota of members and was not willing to make room for any more" (Campbell, 1964, p. 110). From a football standpoint, the SEC would be a logical choice for FSU. Bobby Bowden was born and raised in Birmingham, Alabama, where the headquarters of the SEC is located. Furthermore, he played in Alabama under Coach Paul Bryant for one year. Since the 1950s, FSU had always wanted to join the SEC, but the SEC snubbed the Seminoles numerous times. Bowden recalled, "We had tried to get in the SEC for 30 years and had been turned down all the time. Then all of a sudden they came to us wanting to get in there" (Thomas, 2001). Despite the drastic change of circumstances, the SEC still had a superior attitude towards FSU. In that vein, Seminole Boosters, Inc., President Andy Miller worried in 2001 that FSU might not get the respect it deserved among national powers such as Alabama, Georgia, and Florida (Thomas, 2001).

FSU's knock on the Atlantic Coast Conference door made more sense because it would bring more financial benefits to FSU as well as enhancing its academic reputation. Like the SEC, the ACC membership was quite stationary, with a few exceptions. Since its inception in 1953, the ACC made only one membership change, replacing charter member South Carolina with Georgia Tech in 1978. In fact, the ACC and the SEC unintentionally traded the two schools: Georgia Tech was an SEC school until 1964, while South Carolina was a member of the ACC from 1953 to 1971. The ACC's financial stability was guaranteed by the revenue-sharing plan of its lucrative men's basketball television contract. However, the ACC had a fundamental weakness as a traditionally basketball-oriented conference. It needed a school that could significantly boost its football strength, and FSU was the right fit. With the addition of FSU, Miami and Virginia Tech from the Big East joined the ACC in 2004, making the conference more competitive.

Meanwhile, FSU had an ambition to develop its basketball program by playing in the toughest conference. From a geographic perspective, Florida State would be a good addition to the ACC because it could enlarge the ACC territory in the heart of the SEC. Former athletics director at the University of North Carolina and current commissioner of the ACC, John Swofford describing the relationship between FSU and the ACC, said that "I think it has turned out what it should be, and that's a good marriage" (Thomas, 2001).

In 1990, the ACC was made up of one of the most selective private universities below the Mason-Dixon Line and some of the nation's most academically prestigious public universities. It seems that the ACC still values its academic reputation. Based on the *US News & World Report* college ranking in 2012, Commissioner Swofford proclaimed that "the Atlantic Coast

Conference is proud to have a collection of schools that are highly regarded as leaders in academic excellence” (theACC.com, 2012). In terms of academics, joining this group of institutions was obviously more advantageous for FSU than joining the SEC. Being a member institution of the ACC, FSU could flag its banner with schools such as the University of Virginia and the University of North Carolina, which was a huge breakthrough as of the early 1990s. For that reason, many FSU faculty members preferred the ACC to the SEC. However, there were some concerns regarding FSU’s “academic integrity” among the ACC schools. In the first stage of the membership vote, Duke and Maryland voted against FSU membership whereas Clemson, Georgia Tech, and Virginia were strong supporters of FSU. After joining the ACC, FSU football accumulated wins and championships easily. From 1992 to 2000, FSU dominated the ACC football, winning 9 consecutive conference titles. Sports writer John Feinstein wrote that “in those days it was said that the ACC consisted of Florida State, the seven dwarfs and Duke — which aspired to be a dwarf” (Feinstein, 2013). During the span, FSU went 70-2 in conference games. FSU’s first conference loss was at Virginia in 1995. Florida State had won all 29 previous ACC games (Longman, 1995).

Another big off-field victory for the FSU football was a mega sponsorship deal with Nike. FSU first signed a contract with Nike in 1995, two years after its first football championship. (It is no coincidence that Bobby Bowden became the first college football coach with a million dollar salary in 1995.) With FSU’s continuing success on the football field, the deal was renewed in May 1999, and some people called it “the richest package between an apparel company and a school” (Friedman, 1999). The pact was worth more than \$20 million in product and financial compensation to all 20 FSU varsity sports teams until 2005. It included compensation to football coach Bobby Bowden and men's basketball coach Steve Robinson. Coaches of other sports such

as Sue Semrau (women's basketball), and soccer, softball, and volleyball head coaches were also compensated by Nike. Compared to other deals of major public universities during the same period, FSU's deal was more profitable. Ohio State, a Big Ten powerhouse, had a \$9.25 million 5-year deal with Nike from 1995 to 2000. With North Carolina, an ACC school, Nike had an \$11.1 million contract from 1997 to 2002. In 1998, the University of Arizona and Nike signed a \$7 million, 5-year deal. The University of Florida had a \$9 million contract over 5 years, but it was only for football and men's and women's basketball (Friedman, 1999). Some might have thought that Nike paid too much for FSU's partnership, but 6 months after the contract renewal, FSU did not disappoint Nike by winning a second football national championship.

FSU's relationship with Nike continued. As a way to "honor" the Seminole spirit, the FSU football team designated one home football game per season as a "Blackout day" on which all FSU players and fans wore black shirts instead of the team's traditional colors of garnet and gold. Spectators were encouraged to wear specially designed Nike black shirts to "honor" the tribe, but there was no explanation why the color should be black. It is unlikely that it was intended to honor Black slaves who fought with the Seminoles. This Blackout began in 2006 when FSU hosted the Boston College Eagles and continued until 2008. Meanwhile, head football coach Bobby Bowden unwittingly confessed that the "Blackout day" was designed not for the Seminole tribe but for Nike's promotional strategy to sell replicas of the jerseys, whose individual retail price was \$74.95. *Orlando Sentinel* Staff Writer Andrew Carter reported:

University officials like to say the Seminoles will wear black to offer tribute to the Seminole Tribe. But when asked about the jerseys earlier this week, Bowden's first thought offered perhaps the most honest explanation why FSU will dress in black. "Really," he said, "we're doing it for Nike." (Carter, 2008)



Figure 6. FSU's Blackout jersey in 2006 with an "unconquered" slogan

Additionally, in November 2012, the FSU basketball team wore special turquoise jerseys to honor Native American Heritage Month along with other college teams with ties to the Native American community (Nevada, Oregon State, and New Mexico). It is no coincidence, however, like the "Blackout" campaign that all these turquoise jerseys were provided by Nike.

FSU, a former women's college that was experiencing football success, aspired to make stories, and joining the ACC was a part of it because the conference generally boasted about its high academic reputation. Therefore, according to the ACC, the conference seems to be very sensitive to academic rankings. Every fall, when the "Best Colleges" rankings is released by *US News & World Report*, the ACC announces that its member institutions are ranked highly. In 2013, ACC Commissioner John Swofford said, "Our member institutions continue to excel academically which is a credit to their leadership and long-standing commitments to excellence" (the ACC.com, 2013). This bragging right seems to be legitimate because the ACC is the only Power 5 conference (with the Big 10, Big 12, Pacific 12, and Southeastern) to place over half of its member institutions among the Top 50 academically. Also, the conference boasts that the ACC is one of only two Power 5 conferences with all its members in the Top 101. Although the statement is very commendable, there are some loopholes. First, the reason why they utilized the

number 101, instead of 100, is interesting but self-explanatory. One of the institutions (North Carolina State University) was ranked 101 while FSU was 91. Another loophole in this statement was the conference did not include the University of Louisville. In November 2012, the presidents of the ACC schools already voted to add Louisville to the conference beginning in the 2014 season. However, in this statement, Louisville (which ranked 140) was deliberately omitted, and there was no further explanation regarding the ACC's future member.

In addition to its goal of joining the ACC, FSU's aspiration to become an academically prestigious institution continued. In 1974, Clark Kerr of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching created the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, which provided a benchmark for classifying all American higher educational institutions. Although it was partially reclassified and renamed in its later versions to refrain from having too much competitiveness among institutions, the top category, "Research University 1 (RU1)," included schools that emphasized research, had awarded at least 50 doctoral degrees, and had received \$40 million in federal funding for research per year. Many universities aspired to this status because it would bring academic prestige to their institutions. Therefore, it was common for universities to pursue RU1 status, and they set it as one of their objectives in strategic planning (Morphew & Baker, 2004). Sperber (2000) pointed out that while previously well-established research universities (mostly the Association of American Universities' members) dominated the group at first, many large state universities jumped onto the "Upward Drift" bandwagon. He revealed that almost all the new members of RU1 in the 1980s and 90s were NCAA Division I members. According to the research of Stephen Aldersley (1995), FSU was among the additions to the RU1 category in 1994 that had previously been RU-II institutions: these included many state universities such as Arizona State, Iowa State, SUNY at

Buffalo, Temple, Kansas, UMass, Nebraska, Utah State, Wayne State, and West Virginia. (p. 53)

Michael Oriad, in his book *Bowled Over* (2009), discussed the NCAA Division I institutions' academic profiles, considering many factors such as *U.S. News* rankings, the Association of American Universities (AAU) membership, endowment, and the SAT scores (25th and 75th percentiles) of incoming freshmen. According to the classification, FSU was in Tier 1 which has elite football with elite academics. In 1997, FSU recorded higher average freshmen SAT scores than some of the AAU member schools such as Oregon, Missouri, Arizona, Kansas, Iowa State, Nebraska, Colorado, and Michigan State.

Along with its RU1 status, FSU enjoyed an unprecedented increase in enrollment during the football dynasty period. When it became coeducational in 1947, the enrollment was 4,015, and it increased to 7,203 in 1957 and to 9,019 in 1960. At the dawn of the dynasty era, in 1986, its enrollment was 23,138 (Wills & Morris, 1987). During the dynasty era, however, enrollment increased from 23,991 in 1987 to 34,477 in 2000. This increased rate of enrollment was conspicuous compared to limited growth during Bowden's pre dynasty era (1976~1986) from 21,604 to 23,138 (Office of Institutional Research, p. 61). This trend continued in the 2000s, and resulted in 40,838 students enrolling in the fall of 2010 (Florida State University, 2014).

This increase can be explained in several ways. First, the state of Florida's dramatic population growth in the 1970s and 80s coincided with the development of FSU football and FSU's institutional growth. The commercialization of air conditioning and a newly developed interstate highway system enabled many people to move to Florida. Florida's population was seventh among 50 American states in 1980 but jumped to fourth in 1990 (Brown, 1992). In fact, Tallahassee's population in 1950 was 27,237, but it increased to 150,397 in 2000. (U.S. Bureau

of the Census; Mormino, 2005, p. 20). This “Sun Belt” boom in Florida had certain demographic characteristics: While many older people migrated to South Florida, relatively younger people settled in North Florida, where FSU was located (Mormino, 2005). This population growth and demographic change made all three (FSU, UF, and Miami) Division-I college football teams in the Sunshine State national powerhouses. (University of South Florida, University of Central Florida, Florida International University, and Florida Atlantic University have been added to the NCAA’s highest competition level of college football since early 1990s.) At that time, college football recruiting was still a local thing, and student athletes generally chose in-state schools to stay close to home (Oriad, 2009; Rooney, 1987). A 1991 *Tallahassee Democrat* survey revealed that 86 of FSU’s 112-men football roster spots were filled by Floridians (76.8%) while the University of Florida found 89 out of 106 from in-state (86.9%). Another school, the private University of Miami, had a relatively lower ratio of 61% (58 out of 95) of Florida recruits (Brown, 1992). As all these three teams were perennial national championship contenders, the state championship meant a lot for recruiting, bragging rights, and state pride.

As noted in Chapter II, a college team’s athletic success, men’s football and men’s basketball in particular, can contribute many benefits to an institution. In his book *Beer and Circus*, Murray Sperber (2000) devoted one chapter to discussing the Flutie factor, a possible institutional gain from a varsity sports team. He concluded that although many college administrators yearn for the phenomenon like Boston College, success in athletics usually leads to an increase in party scenes and a decrease in the quality of undergraduate education. Sperber asserted that FSU had achieved an almost permanent Flutie factor due to repeated success in its football program.

With fertile southern high school football fields to harvest, the Seminoles are always near or at the top of the national polls, as well as the “party school” lists (it held its high ranking in the Princeton Review’s “Party school” list throughout the 1990s). But FSU also rates very low in quality of undergraduate education. In addition, as a university with research ambitions, Florida State officials have poured millions into its research and graduate programs. This school is the current national champion in college football, and a prime example of an institution that provides its students with beer-and-circus and not much undergraduate education. If a beer-and-circus poll existed, FSU would be the national champ. (p. 68)

FSU officials do not agree that its football program drove the entire enrollment increase. Dr.

Richard Burnette, who is FSU’s Director of Institutional Research, said that he has fielded many speculations about the causal relationship of FSU’s football success and its institutional growth such as the enrollment increase. He said that the Flutie factor is much more salient when most people have never heard of the school (such as the situation with Butler University’s and Virginia Commonwealth University’s basketball success in 2010). He also pointed out that the Flutie factor does not always have a positive impact. When the national champion University of Nevada Las Vegas’s basketball players were involved in a gambling scandal in the 1990s, national attention hurt the institution. (FSU football had similar notoriety in 1999 when its star wide receiver, Peter Warrick, was suspended for two games because of a shoplifting charge. Some media and fans called the Seminoles “the Criminoles.”) Dr. Burnette also mentioned that successful athletic performance did not bring more academically talented students to campus. For example, he pointed out that the number of applicants increased during both of FSU’s National Championship years (1993 and 1999), but the percentage of students who actually enrolled decreased. The average SAT scores soared after the championship years, but the trend did not continue (R. Burnette, personal communication, June 24, 2013).

As Dr. Burnette suggested, there might be many complex reasons for FSU’s overall institutional growth and development. FSU’s drastic enrollment increase, RU-1 status, and

membership in the ACC all happened during FSU football's dynasty period. This brought a "permanent Flutie effect" to the university, making FSU a "hot school" to attend among teenagers around the country. FSU might have achieved these goals without the football program, but the process may have been much more difficult.

The Third Bobby Bowden Era (2001-2009): Decline and Retirement

The third period of the Bowden era (2001-2009) can be named "decline and retirement." After the glorious 14-year dynasty era, FSU did not return to the top of college football. (FSU, with its new head coach Jimbo Fisher from 2010, won the BCS national championship in 2013 and advanced to the inaugural College Football Playoff in 2014.) In conjunction with relatively mediocre performances on the field, the mass academic scandal of 2007 by 23 football players precipitated the end of Bowden's long coaching career. The NCAA's penalty forfeited Bobby Bowden's 14 wins as a result of the official sanction, which was a significant blow to a coach who competed with Penn State's Joe Paterno for the most victories in Division-I college football. (In 2012, Bowden temporarily regained his title of the winningest coach with 377 wins because, Paterno's 112 victories during 1998-2011 were vacated by the NCAA as a result of the Jerry Sandusky scandal. The NCAA reinstated Paterno's victories in January 2015.) Under considerable pressure, on December 1, 2009, Bowden announced his retirement from his 44-year head coaching career. The decline and retirement era was also a period of major growth on the FSU campus. A new College of Medicine was established in Tallahassee and regional medical campuses were opened in 2004 in many cities such as Tallahassee, Orlando, Pensacola, Sarasota, Daytona Beach, and Fort Pierce. With more than 40,000 enrolled students in the 2010-2011

school year, FSU has become one of the largest flagship state universities in America with an emphasis on graduate research.

FSU's efforts to maintain its Seminole mascot and traditions

Seminole History Class

FSU's efforts to maintain its Seminole nickname and traditions after the NCAA sanction in 2005 began with offering Seminole history as a regular course in 2006. Although there had been conversations among professors about the need for the course, this did not happen until President T. K. Wetherell asked history department chairman Neil Jumonville to develop the course (Colavecchio-Vansickler, 2006). FSU history faculty consulted with three tribal representatives about the organization of the course, and the Seminoles suggested that the class include discussion of other Southeastern tribes that predated theirs (Kaczor, 2006). Andrew Frank, a professor of FSU's history department, told me that, currently, this course is offered every semester, and the course is open to everybody as a non-major class. It is very popular among FSU students as the class has had as many as 180 students.

Sculptures and Billboards

FSU has built many sculptures around the campus especially since the beginning of the 21st century. First, the "Unconquered" statue of Chief Osceola astride a rearing horse, spear in hand, was unveiled on October 10, 2003. The statue, which is located on the north side of the entrance of Doak S. Campbell Stadium, stands about three-stories in height. Since its completion, this statue has become the symbol of the university. Also, it has become a tradition that the spear on the statue is lit the night before every home football game and is left burning until the next morning. In 2004, FSU unveiled another statue of longtime football head coach Bobby Bowden

in front of Moore Athletic Center. As this sculpture spree continued, in October 2006, FSU unveiled “the Seminole family” statues in front of the football stadium during Homecoming weekend 2006. Designed and created by Bradley Cooley and Bradley Cooley Jr. of Lamont, Florida, the statues represent an ordinary Seminole family of the 1830s. As the writer indicated that the relationship between Seminole tribal culture and Florida State athletics had been solidified since the NCAA sanction of 2005, *The New York Times* report described the statues as follows:

A few new statues of a Seminole family in 19th-century clothing stand outside the football stadium at Florida State University. The father holds a long gun, the son a bow and arrow, and the mother an infant in her arms as she looks warily to her right. (Lapointe, 2006).



Figure 7. “The Seminole family” statues at FSU

Above all, FSU’s most comprehensive effort was the “Unconquered” campaign. Besides its beloved bronze sculpture, FSU designed the campaign to emphasize the university’s efforts since 2005 to keep a close relationship with the Seminole Indians and to honor the tribe’s spirit. FSU installed many “Unconquered” advertisements along Interstate highways and on TV to show its respect for the undefeated spirit of the Seminoles. FSU began to place large amounts of TV commercials emphasizing unconquered themes. What these commercials symbolize is that the Native American mascot and traditions at FSU are so integral that they not only represent the athletic programs but also encompass the whole university.



Figure 8. Billboards along Interstates 10 and 75

Cimarron and TV Commercials

FSU remade an effort to revive its Osceola-Renegade mascot combination. In April 2012, FSU Athletics Promotions and Marketing introduced its Cimarron logo, which is a characterization of Renegade. This mascot was designed by Scollon Productions Inc., which has been produced and managed costume characters for many corporations (e.g., Coca Cola, MGM Studios, Cartoon Network) and professional/college sports teams. (e.g., Atlanta Braves, Detroit Lions, University of Florida, and University of Kansas). FSU expected that Cimarron “will make appearances at many FSU athletic events and functions,” “will make public appearances,” and “will be available for functions at area schools and service projects, especially those involving children” (Thomas, 2012). Jason Dennard, FSU Assistant Athletic Director of Marketing and Promotions, described the institution’s effort to “honor” Seminole tradition with its new mascot. He said:

Osceola and Renegade are revered and honored symbols of Florida State athletics, as has been recognized by their recent selection as the best tradition in all of college football...

We treat our symbol with great honor and respect, and they appear only at football games, Homecoming and Fan Day. Cimarron has been revived to give a promotional presence at other designated events. It also allows us to participate in some opportunities that were not appropriate for the distinguished symbol of Osceola and Renegade (Thomas, 2012).



Figure 9. Cimarron, a new mascot of Florida State University Athletics

Furthermore, from 2012 to 2014, Florida State University utilized the Osceola-Renegade tradition in its institutional message in TV commercials, which is titled “Spirit of Florida State.” In a 30-second, black and white commercial that was produced by FSU students in the College of Motion Picture Arts and other programs, the Office of University Communications tried to connect various virtues with the characters of Osceola. The female student narrator reads the messages while a slow variation of FSU war chant is on its background, emphatically stressing “a spirit of respect, competition, and academic greatness” (Florida State, 2012 a). Regarding the commercial, Dr. Jeanette DeDiemer, an Assistant Vice President’s remark vividly shows how the university sees its mascots. She said: “This is a story of creativity and inspiration. It’s a story about Florida State University, who we are as an institution and what we value.” Then she added “We wanted to take our iconic images that everyone is familiar with, and combine them with academic greatness” (Florida State, 2012b). John Wikstrom, a student in the FSU film school, who co-directed and co-produced the commercial, perhaps spoke more straight to the point. He argued: “Osceola and Renegade are not mascots. They are a symbol, and they are a good symbol because they embody university’s values of respect, competition, and preeminence” (Florida State, 2012 b).

Native American themes in non-athletic and academic settings

Native-American names and iconographies are omnipresent at FSU not only in athletics but also in administrative and academic settings. The Seminole Express, FSU's campus bus service, has routes named Renegade, Tomahawk, and Osceola. The Trading Post, a campus convenience store in Oglesby Student Union, bears a spear on a cover.



Figure 10. The logos of FSU campus bus service and a convenience store

A special Florida license plate for FSU fans featured FSU's Native American logo. Also, the phrase "Florida State University" was replaced by "national champions" in a new edition. FSU professor Andrew Frank said that "FSU is peculiar. Our self-perception is more closely tied to athletics than academics"; in this newer version of plate, it is more about football than the university itself. Early 2014, Nike introduced a new Seminole head logo, which drew many criticisms from FSU fans. This logo was also featured in a new version of a state license plate. Nevertheless, Frank pointed out that no one would notice if there was change in FSU's academic logo.



Figure 11. Former football player and Trustee Derrick Brooks with FSU license plates

The war paint campaign of FSU's College of Business is another example of using Native-American themes in an academic setting. Professors and former students with war paint on their faces were featured in the campaigns, arguing, "If you want to advance your business career, you will have to earn our stripes." One of the former students in this campaign was former FSU quarterback and current National Football League player Christian Ponder. Wearing a suit, a tie, and war paint, he is holding a football. Professor Frank said that [the College of Business] "undersells the MBA program" by placing these ads.



Figure 12. Former football player Christian Ponder in a commercial of College of Business

FSU Panama City campus' commercial perhaps best illustrates how FSU's Native American athletic images can be utilized in an academic setting. This ad suggests that you can be a "Seminole" while you do not have to be away from home. The image shows that Osceola's

spear was planted on the Panama City beach instead of Doak Campbell Stadium. This case reaffirms that the ritual of Osceola and Renegade function not only as an athletic symbol but as a symbol of the entire university.



Figure 13. FSU Panama City campus ad

The Seminoles' nickname and Chief Osceola mascot at FSU played a major role not only in athletics but also in overall institutional identity and development. Perhaps Donna McHue, an assistant vice president for university relations in 2011, expressed best how the university administrators feel about the nickname and mascot. She explained that "we wouldn't be what we are if we had to call ourselves something else" (Cowles, 2011). T. K. Wetherell, FSU President from 2003 to 2009, also said in 2005 that "it [the Seminole nickname]'s part of our tradition. It's part of the symbol of Florida State. And it transcends 250,000 alums. It transcends generations who have come to Florida State" (Burbank, 2005). It is certain that the nickname and mascot have given students identity and pride. Lisa Alberghina, an FSU alumnus, said "I've always liked the planting of the spear," "Sure, it gets everyone all riled up for the game, but it's more than that – it's an element of heritage Florida State has that other universities don't have." (Baxley, 2012). Considering all these, FSU's nickname and mascot played more important roles than those of other institutions. For example, when it is compared to the Chief Illiniwek mascot and his halftime dance at the University of Illinois, the invention of FSU's mascot and traditions

coincided with the period when the institution witnessed rapid athletic and academic growth especially after World War II. However, in the case of Illinois, when the tradition was invented in 1928, the institution already boasted a world-class research university status and had a powerhouse football team with a 68,000-seat stadium. Therefore, the role of the mascot and tradition in Illinois is not significant in terms of institutional growth while the mascot and tradition played a huge role in identity building among students, alumni, and fans.

CHAPTER V

FSU'S NATIVE AMERICAN NICKNAME AND MASCOT IN THE CONCEPT OF "INVENTED TRADITION"

Perhaps the most spectacular tradition in all of college football occurs in Doak Campbell Stadium when a student portraying the famous Seminole Indian leader, Osceola, charges down the field riding an Appaloosa horse named Renegade and plants a flaming spear at midfield to begin every home game. (Seminoles.com n.d.)

Chapter II discussed the "invention of tradition" as a conceptual framework of this dissertation. It is a concept first coined in the book by E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger in 1983. While the term "tradition" is usually accompanied by such adjectives as old, historic, or grandeur, the editors argued that many traditions are often very new in origin and sometimes invented. I am using this framework because I believe it best describes the whole process of making, developing, and maintaining Native American nicknames, mascots, and rituals at FSU, especially the tradition of Chief Osceola and Renegade. This framework has been used universally, especially in the fields of anthropology, sociology, and history. As for its general usage, there are not many critics of Hobsbawm's concept. However, Babadzan (2000) warned about the general usage of it, arguing that "the invention of tradition perspective has been the victim of its own success" (p. 133) because people tend to easily call 'invented tradition' if there is a custom caused by an innovation. Besides, this framework has some weaknesses when becoming an overarching theory. "Invention of tradition" was made to explain mostly historical incidents of the period from the late 19th century to the early 20th century in Europe. Therefore it is very Eurocentric by nature. Although the authors tried to include some foreign cases (India and Africa) in their book, the cases were introduced only to understand the circumstances in relationship with European people and empires. Even Hobsbawm admitted in his preface of the

Korean translation of *The Invention of Tradition* that he regretted the fact that the cases of East Asia were virtually excluded. However, Hobsbawm emphasized that this concept is deeply related to the various current issues and encouraged readers to conduct similar research under this “invented tradition” frame, as readers of Europe and the U. S. did.

In this chapter, I will explore how the use of FSU’s Native American-themed nickname, mascot, and rituals correspond to the conceptual framework of “invented tradition” Additionally, I will explore the utility of this framework in understanding the role of these traditions at FSU. Questions such as where “invented tradition” fits and does not fit in FSU’s case and how these invented traditions gave a relatively young FSU help with organization building will be reviewed. Most of all, I will focus on how FSU’s traditions such as nickname, mascot, and pre-game ritual of planting a flaming spear by Chief Osceola and Renegade play roles in the school’s development because the traditions are what symbolize and identify not only the athletic programs but also the entire university. In order to do this, Eric Hobsbawm’s three types of invented traditions and Tony Collins’s five characteristics of invented sporting traditions will be utilized as a lens for analysis.

Invented Tradition: Eric Hobsbawm

One of the important points of “invented traditions” is the argument that many practices which we believe to be old and traditional are in fact quite recent inventions, and they are often deliberately constructed to serve particular political and ideological purposes (Hobsbawm, 2003 a). In most cases, the purpose of inventing traditions is to bestow legitimacy and authority on a certain country or institution by trying to elongate their contemporary history to the past era. As the term “invention of tradition” originated in England, Hobsbawm’s book included no such cases in the United States. However, these kinds of efforts are very common in America too.

Many traditions such as Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer and diamond engagement rings were initiated in the 20th century. In this manner, FSU's mascot of Chief Osceola and the pregame tradition of his planting a flaming spear on the football field is a prototypical invented tradition. Although it operated a football program early in the 20th century for a few years, FSU's modern football program started just after World War II due to the fact that FSU was a women's college during most of the first half of the 20th century.

In Hobsbawm's (2003 a) classification, there are three overlapping types of invented traditions: (a) establishing or symbolizing social cohesion and collective identities, (b) establishing or legitimizing institutions and social hierarchies, and (c) socializing people into particular social contexts. Hobsbawm argued that type (a) is the most dominant and overarching concept. It is widely regarded that type (b) and (c) are dependent to type (a) and occur as a result of the invented community. While I put type (c) within the category of type (a) as Hobsbawm suggested, the following is the explanation of how the invented tradition of the Seminole mascot and Osceola-Renegade ritual played roles in building social cohesion and collective identities among FSU fans and alumni.

Social Cohesion and Collective Identities

The Seminoles nickname and Osceola tradition have been a catalyst that binds FSU fans and alumni together, providing unique cohesion and identities. For example, the FSU alumni association's "Where do you wave yours?" campaign encompasses the exclusive "spirit" flag of the alumni association. This flag, featuring the silhouette graphic of Osceola and Renegade, is a part of a package when somebody joins the FSU Alumni Association.



Figure 14. The “Spirit” flag of FSU alumni association

The FSU Alumni association encourages its members to post photos of the flag on social media with the hashtag of #FSUFlagEnvy. FSU alumni not only in the U.S., but also around the world, show their love of alma mater by doing so.



Figure 15. Photos of FSU alumni with the Spirit flags

Members also get its card which features a flaming spear planted in the midfield. The card’s design was chosen by the members’ vote. Among many icons and symbols of FSU, it seems

rational to choose Osceola and Renegade because the tradition best represents the whole institution.



Figure 16. The membership card of FSU alumni association

Meanwhile, the social cohesion and collective identities sometimes function in a bizarre way among some FSU fans. As Bruhn (2009) suggested, multiple definitions on social cohesion (or cohesiveness) make it hard to conceptualize the term. In psychology, it is defined that social cohesion “relates to the members of a group who share emotional and behavioral characteristics with one another and with the group as a whole” (Bruhn, 2009, p. 31). In 2013, when FSU football’s success was dampened by players’ off-field issues, especially alleged rape case by quarterback Jameis Winston, national media produced reports and columns condemning Winston and FSU’s administrators. For example, Christine Brennan of *USA Today* wrote columns about Winston, arguing “The school’s leaders are unabashedly using [Winston], hoping he stays one step ahead of the law long enough to win them more games” (Brennan, 2014). *The New York Times* also published multiple investigative reports about the issue. (Bogdanich, 2015) In response to these reports, some FSU fans’ tweets on Twitter #FSUTwitter have been in defense of FSU and its football players. The fans often went overboard to argue with the reporters. As it was depicted in the movie *The Hunted Ground*, sometimes the fans blamed and denounced the accuser in a rape case while describing her disgracefully.

Establishing or Legitimizing Institutions and Social Hierarchies

FSU's tradition of Chief Osceola and Renegade is a recent resurrection of a 19th century wartime leader of the Seminole tribe in Florida. One of the main purposes of invented traditions is, in many cases, to give a country or an organization legitimacy and history. By establishing the tradition of Chief Osceola and Renegade, FSU could provide many people with the historical illusion that the institution and Chief Osceola coexisted. FSU's invention of the Chief Osceola tradition is an effort to achieve the goal of becoming a powerhouse football program and as a flagship state university.

Invented Tradition: Tony Collins

In his book chapter about the history of Australian rules football, Tony Collins (2011) began by introducing Hobsbawm's phrases:

The peculiarity of "invented" traditions is that the continuity with (a historic past) is largely factitious... they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition. (Collins, 2011, p. 11)

This analysis is true for the FSU case because some of Osceola's representations are factitious. FSU history professor Andrew Frank believes that there have been many misrepresentations and anachronisms since Durham's first Osceola. Sports writer Dave Zirin argued that Osceola being FSU's mascot is like making "a white person in black face, dressed like [Nelson] Mandela, running out to midfield to psyche up the crowd" before a South African soccer game (Zirin, 2014).

Then Collins (2011) insisted that there are certain characteristics in invented sporting traditions. First, the role of the "founding father" is limited rather than extensive. Second, the

weight of evidence to support the tradition is based largely on one person's affirmation. Third, the traditions tend to emerge at a pivotal period in each sport's history. Fourth, supporters of invented traditions tend to believe an unverifiable act of faith rather than historical record. Finally, the invented tradition projects back into the past a picture of how the investors would like to see the world. Among these five characteristics, some are applicable to FSU's Chief Osceola and Renegade, while others are not applicable to FSU's tradition.

The Role of the "Founding Father"

Generally, the process of inventing tradition relies on one central figure as Hobsbawm used an example of Baden-Powell's role in establishing the Boy Scouts. Like many other invented sporting traditions (e.g., Pierre de Coubertin of the modern Olympic Games, Abner Doubleday in baseball and Dr. James Naismith in basketball), the Osceola-Renegade tradition has the founding father of Bill Durham. Although it would not have been possible without the help of the Bowdens, the tradition is a brainchild of Durham. While Collins (2011) argued that the role of the "founding father" is generally minor, Durham's footprint is still nearly everywhere in this tradition.

Bill Durham, an FSU student in 1962, first conceived the idea of a horseback-riding Seminole mascot when he was in the school's homecoming court. (King & Springwood, 2001b). After his initial attempt to make the Osceola and Renegade tradition a reality in 1962 failed, Bill Durham's dream finally came true with the help of new head football coach Bobby Bowden and his wife Ann, who helped acquire the necessary permits to allow a horse onto the football field. Durham recalled: "I guess it was 1977 and he [head coach Bobby Bowden] started talking about

starting a tradition.” (Joseph, 1991). The official debut of Chief Osceola and Renegade took place on September 16, 1978, against the Oklahoma State Cowboys.

Durham worked hard with Howard Tommie, then chief of the Seminole Tribe of Florida. It is said that Durham and Tommie wanted to make the clothing and makeup as authentic as possible. Durham said that “he [Seminole Chief Howard Tommie] was very enthusiastic.” Durham also explained how he tried to maintain the authenticity of the depiction: “The ladies on the Seminole reservation made our first costume. We still try to keep everything very authentic” (Joseph, 1991). It seems that Durham was confident about the tradition’s authenticity and integrity. He said "Everything we do, it's exactly the same," "And everything we do, we try to do with dignity. That's what I promised Tommie" (Landman, 2005). In fact, Durham turned down many commercial offers to bring Osceola and Renegade to places like car dealerships and store openings to help draw customers because he believed that Chief Osceola and Renegade were a symbol and not a mascot.

It is also a family business for Durham because he passed on this tradition to his son Allen. Currently, Allen Durham, an administrator of the Renegade Team, oversees the whole process of this tradition. He himself was Chief Osceola from 1992 to 1994. Approaching its 40th year of inception, FSU history professor Andrew Frank said that the Osceola-Renegade tradition has become “the face of Florida State” and it is the image when somebody thinks of Florida State. Although the pregame routine and planting of the spear remain unchanged, there have been numerous minor modifications in Osceola’s costumes and war paint. However, people really do not pay much attention to the changes. Frank said as follows:

I think there is a perception that the tomahawk chop is forever, and they think that Osceola and a horse is forever. But they are not very concerned with what he wears because they change what he wears and no one seems to care. As long as there’s a spear

on fire, as long as a horse goes up in the air, as long as we call him Osceola, everything is fine.

We may need to give more credit to Durham because he could have made a larger personal fortune if he had wished to take advantage of the tradition commercially. Perhaps Collins' first argument is right; 100 years from now when the tradition continues, people will hardly remember the presence of Bill Durham. However, as of now, it is hard to accept this view.

The Role of Hearsay or Personal Affirmation

This is a very unique perspective. Collins (2011) illustrated some cases in which the invented sporting traditions tend to be rediscovered and legitimized by one unlikely person. For example, William Ellis's first attempt to run with the ball in 1823 (which is regarded as the accidental invention of rugby) did not become known to the public until Matthew Bloxam wrote about Ellis in 1876. In the same manner, the Doubleday story of inventing baseball was reinforced by a letter of Abner Graves, who had been a 5-year-old boy in 1839. Even though many scholars do not think the whole story is true, the letter eventually led to the construction of the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York, where Graves lived. On the contrary, there is no eyewitness to prove the origin or authenticity of the FSU tradition. In fact, there is a huge difference between the FSU tradition and aforementioned traditions. Unlike the Ellis and Doubleday stories, Chief Osceola was introduced in 1978. As everything is under scrutiny for high-profile football programs like FSU, it is almost impossible for any significant invented tradition to be unnoticed by anybody for decades especially in this day and age of multiple media outlets. Also, now it is highly unlikely that somebody will suddenly appear and tell a secret story about a tradition. Therefore this second characteristic by Collins may be appropriate to explain the traditions of the 19th century, not contemporary ones.

Traditions Emerge at Pivotal Moments

Hobsbawm (2003 a, pp. 4-5) argued that invention of traditions was everywhere during history, but it is most prevalent on two occasions: first “when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which old traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable”, or second, “when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated.” In short, Hobsbawm reported that the traditions are invented when there are rapid and fundamental social changes. As Hobsbawm wrote that “such changes have been particularly significant in the last 200 years” (p. 5), we have witnessed unprecedented transformations (e.g., Industrial Revolution, the emergence of nation states, etc.) in modern societies.

In the same manner, Collins argued that one of the characteristics of invented sporting traditions is that they emerge when each sport faces challenges and watershed moments. He took as an example that the Doubleday myth was created in the mid-1900s when baseball faced multiple challenges such as labor disputes, the emergence of the American League, and the first World Series in 1903.

It goes without saying that the creation of the Seminole nickname in 1947 is important because it was the first year of the newly established Florida State University and restarted FSU football. The creation of Osceola and Renegade in 1978 was also significant for FSU football as that was the third year of head coach Bobby Bowden’s 34-year tenure at FSU. In the mid-1970s, FSU football hit its rock-bottom, and the university seriously considered dropping the football program. Ron Simmons, a 1977 FSU recruit and a college football Hall of Fame inductee,

recalled that by the time he was in high school all the teams tried to schedule the Seminoles for their homecoming day game because it was a “guaranteed win.” Simmons also mentioned that people in his town said he was crazy when a highly coveted prospect like Simmons chose to attend a former “girls’ school” (Kelly & Williams, 2015). By then, few people would envision the current success of FSU football not to mention the current institutional growth.

During the 1960s, FSU tried to expand its resources and capacity to keep up with fast-growing Florida’s population, but the efforts fell short. In FSU’s 1963 promotional video, *Toward a greater university*, then FSU freshman James Douglas Morrison (later known as Jim Morrison of the Doors) was featured as a rejected applicant to FSU, and he asked President Gordon Blackwell about this result. The president acknowledged that the lack of spaces and professors prevented admitting many qualified students like Morrison, and said that the institution was planning its future to accommodate more students.

FSU experienced an unprecedentedly tumultuous decade just before the beginning of the Bobby Bowden era (1976). This decade was overlapped by the tenure of President James Stanley Marshall. During this period, American society changed dramatically because of such issues as new race relations and the birth of the New Left movement. Many campuses became the epicenters of student demonstrations against various issues such as the Vietnam War, women’s rights, and civil rights. Many college students expressed their displeasure with the existing order and their desire for a new change. During the first half of 1969, there were 292 protests at 232 institutions, with about a quarter involving violence (Marshall, 2006). UC-Berkeley, University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin, Columbia, and San Francisco State were some of the campuses that led the national attention. Although student protests were a national phenomenon,

Southern colleges and universities were relatively quieter than their Northern counterparts as some historians consider the Deep South as a backwater of New Left activity (Parr, 2000).

FSU students held major demonstrations about various social and political matters. The first major student protest was on the evening of March 4, 1969, when there was an incident known as the “Night of the Bayonets” on the FSU campus. On that day, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a radical student organization, was about to meet in the University Union. FSU administrators deemed that the SDS was not a registered student organization, and a temporary injunction was obtained by the school’s legal advisors, trying to prevent the SDS from meeting in the Union. The meeting was quelled by Leon County sheriff’s deputies carrying M-1 rifles. Most students disbanded as the injunction was read, but the remaining 58 defiant students were arrested at bayonet point for violating the injunction. Fortunately, this did not develop into a violent collision, but FSU would have been the “Berkeley of the South” or even the “Kent State of the South” (Parr, 2000). Not everybody agreed with these references. David Lee McMullen who went to FSU wrote that he never heard of these, arguing that FSU was “never a hotbed of radicalism and was a fairly average Southern university” (McMullen, 2006) which had to deal with social turmoil like others. About a month after the Night of Bayonets, fire in the Westcott building, which included the university’s administrative offices, partially burned the venue. There was a speculation that this might have been an arson by student protestors, but there was no proof.

With the spread of the national free speech movement, there was a substantial collision between the university president and student newspaper about censorship in this period at FSU. In 1972, as the Florida State Attorney General ruled that a university president has no power of

prior restraint over the material published in a student newspaper, FSU cut all the university funding to the *Florida Flambeau*, and the student newspaper moved off campus.

Streaking is one of the most unique and interesting aspects of FSU student culture during this period. Former president Marshall (2006) wrote that streaking is what represents FSU along with Bobby Bowden and the Seminole football, and FSU gets “the credit for initiating the practice” (p. 117). The craze is believed to have started at FSU in the 1960s and it reached a climax in March 1974 on campus. The mass streaking incidents at FSU in March 1974 were probably motivated by the University of Georgia’s largest group streaking of 1,543 students that happened a few days earlier. *Florida Flambeau*’s "Streaker Edition" on March 11, 1974, reported that “a small band of divested adventurers flashed through the tree-lined way” and “a Domino’s pizza truck made its way into the grass and began giving free pizzas to streakers while a nude coed danced on top of the truck” (Kirwan & Lee, 1974). Tens of naked students even rushed to president’s residence near the campus. Although the police officers protected the house, it seems that President Marshall did not think of this trend as dangerous or unacceptable. He wrote “It was just happening, that’s all” (Marshall, 2006, p. 119). He was satisfied with the fact that streaking, at least, did not cause tense confrontation with possible violent outcomes.

After all these upheavals and unrests, a refurbished football program with the advent of Bobby Bowden provided FSU with a new start and an outlet for student enthusiasm. This eventually transformed the “Berkeley of the South” into a “Football U” and an “ultimate party school.” Toma (2003) argued that football underscores the collegiate ideal, creating a "national brand" that gives distinctiveness compared to other campuses. To explain that how FSU’s football team can shape a unique identity and set images to the public, Toma wrote:

This is exactly what Penn State or Stanford or Florida State does via their football team. They send a distinctive and appealing message that changes little over time. All are associated with success, but Penn State's football brand is linked with being conservative and with hard work (thus the plain uniform), Stanford's with an elite academic background, and Florida State with boldness, confidence, and flash. (p. 196)

As Toma pointed out, if FSU has built the image of boldness, confidence, and flash, that was probably after the beginning of the Bobby Bowden era, and the images were made due in part to the characteristics of Osceola and Renegade. As Hobsbawm (2003 a) illustrated, some examples of the personification of the nation in caricatured symbol or image, such as Marianne (France), Germania (Germany), John Bull (England), Uncle Sam (USA), and the German Michel (Germany), inventing the tradition of Osceola and Renegade in this critical period helped build an institutional identity with its football program.

FSU witnessed a huge increase in enrollment those days with the ambition of obtaining a more prestigious academic status. Hiring star professors to Tallahassee was one of the efforts to achieve this goal. In 1971, FSU hired a Nobel Prize Laureate and an authority on quantum physics, Paul Dirac, from the University of Cambridge. That surprised many people as FSU's physics department was ranked merely eighty-third in the U.S. The head of the department declared that "to have Dirac here would be like the English faculty recruiting Shakespeare" (Farmelo, 2009, p. 3).

During the late 1970s, FSU football was on the verge of becoming a national product, and finally broke the top 10 barrier in the Associated Press poll for the first time in 1979. The football team's progress transcended student culture at FSU too. It is not clear how FSU's student protest culture during the 1960s and 70s gradually diminished. However, following a powerhouse football team with partying and drinking became a compelling extracurricular

activity for FSU students as Murray Sperber (2000) called FSU “a championship beer-and-circus school” in the 1990s (p. 189). Additionally, as the media atmosphere changed drastically (24-hour cable sports channel ESPN started its business in 1979), the Osceola-Renegade tradition was exposed to national TV audiences and became the symbol of both its football program and the entire university.

Unverifiable Act of Faith

According to Collins, people who support the invented traditions are prone to judging them not by historical record or evidence but by an unverifiable act of faith. In other words, supporters who sanctify the tradition usually do not accept the challenges about the traditions and do not provide reasonable proof of the story. This attitude makes a tradition into a myth. In fact, “faith” is a word that fits in the realm of divinity. The Rugby Union responded to the doubters of the Ellis story by saying “What these materialists are unable to understand is that not only are we unable to prove it, but also that this fact does not bother us at all” (Titley & McWhirter, 1970, p. 9, quoted in Collins, 2011, p. 12). In the same manner, a caption on the Doubleday exhibit in Cooperstown reads; “in the hearts of those who love baseball, he is remembered as the lad in the pasture where the game was invented. Only cynics need to know more” (Gould, 2003, p. 199, quoted in Collins, 2011, p. 12). This can be applied to Osceola as he was a mysterious figure, many of the records about him may not be historically authentic and people really do not care about the authenticity of Osceola’s depiction at FSU.

Romanticizing the Past or Imperialist Nostalgia

Finally, Collins suggested that invented traditions play a role projecting back into the past. That is, people who invented the tradition generally try to draw their own pictures that represent

the past world of their choice. Although Collins did not provide a detailed explanation of this concept, I call this romanticizing the past, which is an affinity to miss what has disappeared and an attempt to bring back the past to contemporary days. Similarly, Renato Rosaldo (1989) called this “imperialist nostalgia.”

It is a mood that attempts to make imperial and racial domination innocent and inevitable. According to Rosaldo, “people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed” (p. 108). Thus, here lies a paradox of imperialist nostalgia because a person kills somebody and then mourns the victim, or someone deliberately alters a life form and then regrets that things have not remained as they were. Imperialist nostalgia also uses a term “innocent yearning” in order to capture peoples' imagination and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination. Rosaldo maintained that imperial nostalgia occurs on the basis of a unique mission of the so-called “white man’s burden,” which means civilized nations have an obligation to elevate savage ones. Anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup (1995) argued that this imperialist nostalgia has been conspicuous since the beginnings of modern anthropology. Farnell (2004) argued that Native American images were beginning to emerge in the sports arena in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, representing a new space of racial relations. This is the period when the potential threat of Native American military resistance had virtually disappeared. From this time on, according to Farnell, “American Indians was effectively superceded and displaced by the ‘Indian’ as a polysemous sign vehicle for the construction of Euro-American identity” (p. 35).

One example of romanticizing the past or imperialist nostalgia is the 1992 award-winning French film *Indochine*. (This movie won the best foreign language film award in both Academy and Golden Globe Awards.) It is the story of the last 25 years (1930-1954) of French rule in the Indochina region. This movie attempts a reconstruction of the colonial past based on racial

stereotyping, romanticizing, and rationalizing of French colonization of Indochina. For the French people, this is nostalgia for the colonial past. In the movie, their lives were full of parties, dancing, pleasure, and luxury in exotic “the other France.” The French are portrayed as protectors of Indochinese cultures and traditions. They teach French language, customs, and tastes in the French educational system. It seems that, in the movie, Vietnamese people are beneficiaries of freedom and equality from the French. One big problem is, however, military struggles such as the independence wars of Indochina regions were either significantly truncated or minimally described in this movie.

Collins pointed out that the Doubleday tradition reminds people of American exceptionalism and the good old days when America emerged as a global superpower in the early 20th century. There are many traditions in college football that fall into this category. Oklahoma’s Sooner Schooner celebrates the state’s heritage of moving westward, while Running Ralphie of Colorado, which is a bison running a hoop on the football field, romanticizes the cowboy culture of the West. The former University of Mississippi’s mascot Rebel Reb needs further investigation because it was closely related to the Southern, White, masculine, and Confederate culture.

Trevor-Roper’s (2003) chapter on the revival of Scottish Highland culture also shed lights on this romanticizing of the past. According to Trevor-Roper, the nationwide popularity of the Highland kilt in Scotland began in the mid-18th century. One of the main reasons for this sudden boom was the “romantic movement, the cult of the noble savage whom civilization threatened to destroy” (p. 25). Despite the fact that the Highlanders were despised and feared as dangerous rebels until 1745, after the Jacobite military movement ended in 1746, they were no longer a threat and “they combined the romance of a primitive people with the charm of an

endangered species” (p. 25). This was what happened 100 years later in America too. In a similar vein, Prys Morgan (2003) called the Welsh cultural life of the 18th and early 19th centuries “a paradox” because this period not only witnessed “the decay or demise of an ancient way of life” but also “an unprecedented outburst of interest in things Welsh and highly self-conscious activity to preserve and develop them” (p. 43). Morgan pointed out the irony that the decay and revival were curiously intermixed, and it is also the case that those who lamented the decay were often the ones who brought about the revival.

If we put this frame into the FSU case, the history of Osceola and the Seminole Wars is a story of genocide for many Native Americans. The Seminoles were once regarded as an obstacle to American expansion and fierce rebels to the U.S. army, but once the Seminole Wars ended, all the past memories were romanticized by the U.S., including the wartime Seminole leader Osceola. Meanwhile, it was also a record of expanding the territory of the USA to Florida and the victory for White Americans. Thus, the tradition can be an effort to romanticize 19th century nostalgia for many White Americans. It is also a huge paradox that Osceola was fought against, tricked, and finally beheaded by white American people, but later was honored, named after, and portrayed by the same people.

Racial hierarchies in the narratives of FSU’s Seminole nickname and mascot are also noticeable. The making of the Seminole nickname and mascot at FSU were designed and executed by a mostly White student body. Other racial groups were virtually excluded. The Seminole tribe of Florida was not actively involved in the process until the 1980s, when they acquiesced to FSU’s usage of Seminole images. Students who portray Osceola have always been White, while football rosters have been filled by predominantly African American student-athletes. Therefore, all these including FSU’s Osceola-Renegade should be understood in the

context of contemporary American social, racial, and gender dynamics because traditions and mascots in U.S. sports are almost always representing and celebrating American values of whiteness, masculinity, and heterosexuality. FSU's Seminole nickname represented a convergence of identity politics for Florida State students: young, male, athletic, independent, and self-sufficient (Guiliano, 2015, p. 86). The masculine aspect of identity was especially important for the nickname of the newly established FSU and its football program because it needed to be separated from the identity of a former women's college.

Discussion

This dissertation dealt with the roles of the FSU mascot and traditions as organization builders. Athletic nicknames and mascots are very important for most colleges and universities because they are symbols not just for athletics but for the overall institution. Therefore, athletic nicknames and mascots are deeply ingrained and hard to change. Comparing to the Chief Illiniwek of the University of Illinois, one can raise a question: Unlike Illinois, why were there very few organized protests regarding the Native American mascot issue inside FSU? First, the lack of protesters can be attributed to the unique relationship between FSU and the Seminole tribe of Florida. In particular, the Seminole tribe's leadership has solidly supported the use of the Seminole mascot at FSU. Furthermore, FSU has argued that it maintains authenticity describing the costume and paraphernalia of Chief Osceola with the help and approval of the Seminole tribe. This is a very legitimate justification for FSU in answer to critics, and the University of Illinois did not have this kind of luxury. Rather, UI failed to obtain endorsement from the Peoria Tribe and the Oglala Sioux Tribe. Second, FSU's tradition is relatively newer than that of UI. Because the use of Chief Osceola with Renegade began in 1978, this means there has been less exposure to criticism and controversies. Third, the more progressive and liberal political atmosphere of the

Midwest compared with the South could be a factor. Although there were many anti-Chief organizations formed by students and professors on the UI campus, it was hard to find similar organizations on the FSU campus.

Since the 1980s, scholars and journalists have criticized the use of Native-American themed nicknames and mascots in sports. Although many scholars have examined the Native American mascot issue, most of them have focused on how the nicknames are offensive and abusive in terms of racial stereotyping and symbolic violence regarding the Native American peoples. (Black, 2002; Johnson, 2011; Kim-Prieto et al., 2010). Some scholars used legal approaches which are very significant in this issue (Blankenship, 2001; Botnick, 2008; Claussen, 1996; George, 2006; Guggenheim, 1999; Staurowsky, 2004). In 2005, the NCAA's announcement of a postseason ban of 18 institutions reignited the controversy about using Native American mascots in college sports. Many colleges and universities dropped or changed their Native American-themed mascots.

I argue that the Seminole mascot issue is unique and complicated because the issue is closely related to the politics and economics of the Seminole tribe. Unlike other institutions with Native-American themed athletic mascots, FSU obtained the support from the Seminole tribe of Florida and indifference from the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma. Seminole Chief James E. Billie remarked in 1991, "We are proud to be Seminoles, and we are proud of the Florida State University Seminoles. We are all winners" (Lick, 1993). It seems that FSU's ties to the Seminole tribe, especially with its leadership group, is very solid. It is interesting, however, that the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, another namesake group, has no specific stance about this issue; as Dustin Gray, communications director of Seminole Nation, said "Our stance is, we don't really have a stance. We stay out of it" (Tramel, 2011). Some experts explain that the reason for this

indifference stems from the fact that people of Seminole nation are a majority on their reservation, and it is different for people who live as a tiny minority in big cities such as Cleveland and Washington, D.C.

FSU's evolution from a small women's college to a large state university with a successful football program and unique Native American symbols provided a remarkable benchmark to many institutions that aspire to become another FSU. However, I argue that FSU's success may not be transferrable to many other schools. Many state universities, especially lesser-known regional and historically black state universities in the Football Championship Subdivision, invest large amounts of money in their athletic programs in pursuit of becoming another FSU, but in reality, most of them are struggling in dire financial situations, and their athletic departments are heavily subsidized by student fees and state appropriations. Even though the schools get temporary national attention when they upset bigger schools, the more they spend on football, the more money they lose. During the time when FSU emerged as a football powerhouse in the 1970s and 80s, there was still plenty of room for upward mobility both in American college football and higher education, but nowadays, the circumstances are much tougher than those of 40 years ago. Some may make it through as FSU and other schools did, but I am confident that the number will be limited.

It is not certain whether FSU will maintain its mascot and tradition for a long time in the future. In 1999, Fred Standley, a professor and a member of the FSU athletic board warned about the Native American mascot controversy that "we are going to lose this issue" (Schmadtke, 1999). As former FSU president T. K. Wetherell once said, "If you [Seminole tribe] don't want Florida State to be the Seminoles, we ain't Seminoles anymore" he added, "[Tribal leaders] are not only good businessmen, they are great politicians" (Lapointe, 2006); The endorsement from

the Seminole tribe is the key to maintaining FSU's mascot. However, the political and economic climate can change. Perhaps a new tribal leader who does not feel good about the relationship with FSU might emerge and cancel the tribe's support. It will be interesting to see if FSU can defend its mascot and tradition in a more liberal setting.

Hobsbawm (2003 a) cited Fredrick Marshall's idea as follows:

The National Flag, the National Anthem and the National Emblem are the three symbols through which an independent country proclaims its identity and sovereignty, and as such they command instantaneous respect and loyalty. In themselves they reflect the entire background, thought and culture of a nation. (p. 11)

Many colleges and universities in the U.S. are identified by their athletic nicknames and mascots of college sports teams instead of academic logos and symbols. Especially, FSU's nickname and mascot situation is very unique and means much more than at many other schools. In Chapter I, I wrote that athletic nicknames and mascots play huge roles in American higher education. However, it is hard to find a case like FSU whose nickname started with the university itself in 1947. FSU's modern history has always been with the Seminole mascot and boosted by the Osceola tradition. Now it seems that these invented traditions are becoming real traditions at FSU.

FSU's mascot, nickname, and traditions should be understood in the context of various factors such as location, place, political atmosphere, and symbiotic relationship with the namesake tribe. FSU was lucky because when the institution was growing, so was the state of Florida and its public university system. Rapid growth of Florida's population also enabled FSU to build a solid football program from one of the most fertile recruiting grounds in the nation. FSU took "Seminoles" as its nickname on the soil where the tribe fought and still live. A symbiotic relationship with the Seminole tribe of Florida was crucial. On the contrary, the

University of North Dakota tried to keep its “Fighting Sioux” for long, but had to change it into Fighting Hawks by the poll of 2015. UND’s failure to obtain support from the tribe cost its nickname.

University leaders might wonder how they can establish or develop school symbols or ideas to effectively represent their institutions. The administrators should take many things into consideration. For example, using Native American mascots in the 1960s made sense in many ways, but nowadays, as we can see in the case of the Washington Redskins, one should expect much criticisms and negative publicity with their use.

Perhaps the case of the University of Notre Dame shows the ideal example with regards to community relations. In March 2013, Notre Dame’s mascot, the Leprechaun, along with the school’s marching band and cheer leaders visited the Regina Catholic Education Center in Iowa City, IA. as a part of the university’s nationwide outreach program. Students had a rare taste of college life as the Regina president and CEO Lee Ibsen said “We have quite a few students who follow Notre Dame, and it gives them an opportunity to see what life is like in college at a Catholic university” (Misiag, 2013). This is an example of how Notre Dame leverages its position as a powerhouse football program and a nation’s leading Catholic university with its athletic mascot. Obviously the utilization of school symbol may well be different by the type of the institutions (e.g., public vs. private, for-profit vs. non-profit, four-year vs. two-year etc.). While Notre Dame’s mascot travels across the nation’s catholic schools, it is rational for the mascots of state universities travel mostly to the in-state cities because they acquire most of their applicants and resources from there. Administrators who want to recruit more international students might need to consider how the athletic programs and symbols can promote their institutions to whom have lesser prior knowledge about American higher education.

It took 3 to 4 years for me to write this dissertation. During that period, many things have happened. Most of all, FSU football has regained its supremacy. The team won the last BCS national championship in the 2013 season and reached the initial College Football Playoffs in the 2014 season. Nike introduced FSU's new athletic logo, and drew much criticism from the fans. Unfortunately, huge success on the football field was accompanied by off-field issues. Star quarterback Jameis Winston, who won the Heisman trophy in 2013, was investigated for allegedly raping a female student. There were other incidents by student-athletes including driving under the influence, domestic violence, theft, and battery. Not only players but also head coach Jimbo Fisher and the university administration got ripped by the media. *The New York Times* reported that FSU football players are getting "special treatment" from the justice system because "to say the players are important to Tallahassee would be an understatement" (McIntire & Bogdanich, 2014).

As discussed in the earlier chapters, FSU's institutional growth and development are due in large part to its successful football program. Its unique Native-American nickname, mascot, and traditions played roles along the way. However, even after FSU achieved high academic standards and RU-1 status, too much emphasis continued to be focused on its football program. Even though its membership is very exclusive, FSU is not a member of the Association of American Universities (AAU) which is an organization of renowned research universities in the United States and Canada. In September 2015, Republican presidential hopeful Marco Rubio said in an interview with a sports radio station, "Look, I don't have anything against Florida State. I think there has to be a school where people who can't get into Florida can go to college" (Portman, 2015). Although Rubio later said he was not serious, this remark might suggest FSU's

inferior position to the University of Florida. FSU professor Andrew Frank analyzed FSU's problem during an interview with me, saying FSU's culture is too dependent upon football.

Our alumni association is not as powerful as our booster association. A member of boosters wanna write a check while alumni wanna graduate. That's a different level, a different type of investment. I went to Brandeis as an undergraduate, and I invested in that institution without a football team, without major athletics because that's where I got my degree, and I want the value of my degree and the experiences that I had in four years as meaningful. I want it to keep it meaningful. FSU is struggling with that. Most alumni events are built around athletics. I fairly remember Michigan, an equally strong if not stronger athletic program. As a large athletic program, as a bigger institution, their football stadium is even bigger than the one that's here. Their professors sometimes go around the country and give talks in Miami and people show up one to see the professor, two to meet other alum of an area, and Florida State is still figuring that out. So in that way, the mascot plays a much bigger role than lots of other institutions. It's connected into football. That's still a good chunk of public perception. As you know, our music department, one of the best in the country or world, theater department, they haven't yet found the means of marketing that as the face of FSU in the same way that the face of FSU is still football. One constant for a while is Bobby Bowden. Right? He is the face of Florida State. Now it's really Osceola because the quarterback changes every two to three years. If you want to be the face of an institution, you'd better be the coach there for a long time. I don't think most people nationwide know what Jimbo Fisher looks like. But they know what Osceola looks like. It becomes iconic.

Since the 1970s, FSU football has brought national attention and a large amount of revenue to the university. But the elephant is now too big to be held in a room. In July 2015, after multiple football players' legal troubles, FSU professor Mark Zeigler initiated an online rally, encouraging FSU alumni and supporters to tweet "messages about your great FSU experiences" (Henry, 2015). His messages were accompanied with the hashtag #Somuchmorethanfootball. Former head football coach Bobby Bowden said, "Some people felt like he [T.K. Wetherell] paid too much attention to athletics, but it never bothered me to know that our boss was interested in what we were doing" (Ensley, 2009). As the quote and hashtag suggest, football has dwarfed many great things at FSU. It is time for the institution to figure this out.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF DOCUMENTS AND ARCHIVAL DATA

Florida State University:

- The Heritage Museum at Dodd Hall displays photographs, documents, and artifacts mostly about the history of FSU, including its predecessor institution FSCW. President's reports, published from 1950 to 1960 bi-yearly provide many statistics about early years of FSU.
- FSU libraries Special Collections & Archives has Florida State University History Collections which include Heritage Protocol & University Archives
- In the Doak Campbell papers, 1935-1972, (Located at Special Collections). I took former president's speech scripts in various occasions during his tenure at FSCW and FSU (1941-1957).
- Don Veller collection, 1948-2003 (Located at Heritage Protocol Archival Materials). This is a former football and golf coach's collection, which reflects the early history of FSU sports.
- FSU football programs 1950-1959/60.
- In the Heritage Protocol & University Archives web page in the digital collections, every issue of school newspaper, *Florida Flambeau*, from 1915 to 1959 is available on-line.

State Library & Archives of Florida:

- In Thomas Sidney Jesup Diary Collection, the diary of General Jesup who captured Osceola during the Second Seminole War is available. This diary covers the heart of the Second Seminole War from 1836 to 1837.
- In the Photographic Collection, there are about dozen different kinds of pictures/portraits of Osceola.
- Numerous pictures of Chief Osceola with Renegade are available. Evolution of Chief Osceola and Renegade from 1978 to 1996 is interesting. Current Appaloosa horse Renegade was not introduced until 1996.
- Former mascot Sammy the Seminole picture (1960) is available here.
- Gridiron Culture in the Sunshine State include images of 1899 West Florida Seminary team, Florida State College team (1901-1905), Florida State College team (1902), and Florida State College team (1903).

University of Illinois:

- The UIHistories Project in the Archives Research Center at the University of Illinois Archives include Chief Illiniwek Dialogue Responses and Jay Rosenstein Papers
- Under the category of digital library “Students” section, much early history of the university is available. This section also contains books such as Athletics at the University Photo Book (1921).
- The Stadium Campaign in the Special Features contains the books about the construction of the Memorial Stadium and its dedication process.

Audio/Visual sources:

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APPENDIX B

COMMON INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Questions

1. How do you describe the function of athletics at the Florida State University?
2. How has FSU evolved as a research-oriented university?
3. What role does Chief Osceola play in this function?
4. How does Chief Osceola play this role?
5. Does the role that Chief Osceola plays differ by constituent group? That is, does Chief Osceola play a different role for students, alumni, fans, faculty, etc.?
6. How can these uses of Chief Osceola correspond to the conceptual framework of “invented tradition”?
7. What is the utility of the “invented tradition” framework in understanding the role of Chief Osceola at FSU?

APPENDIX C

APPLICATION LETTER AND DETERMINATION MEMO FROM

THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

HSRD I. Determination Info (A)

HSRD I.1. *Project to be reviewed by:*

IRB-02

HSRD I.2. *Project Title:*

ONCE A SEMINOLE: INVENTING TRADITIONS OF NATIVE
AMERICAN MASCOT AS ORGANIZATIONAL BUILDERS AT
FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

HSRD I.3. *Short Title (optional):*

HSRD I.4.a *Provide a short summary of the purpose or aims of the study.*

- ***Provide a brief description of the study purpose, the research question to be answered, or the aims of the study using lay terminology.***

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the roles of the Native American nickname and the mascot (the Seminoles and Chief Osceola) at the Florida State University as organization builders.

Research Questions

Based on this purpose, the following research questions were raised:

What organizational roles have the Seminoles nickname and Chief Osceola mascot played at Florida State University?

Subquestions are as follows:

(a) What can these roles tell us about the organizational trajectories of the university?

(b) Do the nickname and mascot and their use correspond to the conceptual framework of "invented tradition?"

(c) If so, what is the utility of this framework in understanding the role these traditions play at the university?

HSRD I.4.b *Provide a description of the procedures that will be conducted for the study.*

- ***Describe all project procedures under consideration; include a description of any data or specimens that will be used in the project and an explanation of how they will be collected or obtained by the***

researcher.

This is a qualitative case study which explores narratives of Florida State University's Seminoles mascot and rituals. Data will be collected from documents and interviews. Interviewees include various constituents of the university such as professors, administrators (in athletics and academics), students, and alumni/fans.

HSRD I.5. *The federal regulatory definition of research is: "A systematic investigation including research development, testing and evaluation, designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge." [45-CFR 46.102(d)]*

In this instance "generalizable knowledge" is information (findings) that can be applied to populations or situations beyond those being immediately studied.

Is the intent to apply the findings to populations or situations beyond the one you are proposing for this project?

Yes

HSRD II. Determination Info (B)

HSRD II.1. *Does your project involve obtaining information (data) about living individuals through intervention or interaction with the individual?*

Yes

HSRD II.2. *List ALL of the variables in the study data, including any identifiers or links to identifiers you plan to obtain/use for purposes of this study.*

- the function of athletics at the Florida State University
- evolution of FSU as a research-oriented university
- the role of Chief Osceola by constituent group
- the meaning of Chief Osceola correspond to the conceptual framework of "invented tradition"

HSRD II.3. *Does the activity involve information that is individually identifiable, that is, "the identity of the subject is or may readily be ascertained by the investigator or is associated with the information"?*

Yes

HSRD II.4. *Is the information private, that is, "about behavior that occurs in a context in which an individual can reasonably expect that no observation or recording is taking place, and information which has been provided for specific purposes by an individual and which the individual can reasonably expect will not be made public"?*

No

HSRD II.5. *Will you be accessing any medical records or medical information, or do any of the data you plan to access meet the federal regulatory definition of protected health information (PHI)?*

No
HSRD II.6. Does your project involve obtaining specimens or data from a living individual through intervention or interaction with the individual?

No
HSRD II.7. Does your project involve the use of existing data or specimens?

No
HSRD III. Determination Info (C)

HSRD III.3. The Principal Investigator of this study is:

Graduate student

HSRD You must add your faculty advisor or mentor as a member of your research team

III.

5.

UI Team Members

Name	E-mail	College	Contact	Key Person	UI	VAM	Consent Process	Activity Location	Subject's consent	Deactivated
Dong Hyuk Shin, MA, MS, MA	donghyuk-shin@uiowa.edu	Graduate College	Yes	Yes						No


Christopher Morphew, MA, PHD, BA	christopher-morphew@uiowa.edu	College of Education	Yes	Yes						No
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Non-UI Team Members

Name	Institution	Location	FWA	Role	DHH	Contact	Key Person	UI	VAM	Consent Process	Activity Location	Subject's consent	Email

Nothing found to display.

HSRD Memos

Attachment Name	Category	Ver	Size	Attached
not-hsr-determination-memo.rtf	Approval Form	1	853 k	E  04/01/15

Determination Comments

I have determined that the project described in the application does not meet the regulatory definition of human subjects research and does not require review by the IRB, because the study is about a mascot, cultural phenomenon and the data collection is not systematic

April 1, 2015

TO: Dong Hyuk Shin

Graduate College

Christopher Morphew

FROM: John Wadsworth, PHD

IRB Chair or Chair Designee

RE: Not Human Subjects Research Determination

I have reviewed the information submitted with your project titled 201503833 ONCE A SEMINOLE: INVENTING TRADITIONS OF NATIVE AMERICAN MASCOT AS ORGANIZATIONAL BUILDERS AT FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY. I have determined that the project described in the application *does not* meet the regulatory definition of human subjects research and does not require review by the IRB, because the study is about a mascot, cultural phenomenon and the data collection is not systematic.

We appreciate your care in submitting this application to the IRB for review. If the parameters outlined within this Human Subjects Research application request change, re review and/or subsequent IRB review may be required.

Please don't hesitate to contact me if you have any questions. The Human Subjects Office can be reached via phone (319)-335-6564 or email irb@uiowa.edu.

APPENDIX D

DUAL TIMELINE OF FSU AND FSU FOOTBALL SINCE 1947

<p><u>1947</u> The Governor signed an act of the Legislature returning Florida State College for Women to coeducational status and naming it The Florida State University.</p>	<p><u>1947</u> FSU played its first football game since 1905. Ed Williamson became head coach. FSU became a charter member of Dixie Conference. The student body of 4,056 chose a new alma mater and selected the Seminole as their mascot.</p>
<p><u>1948</u> Enrollment: 4,953</p>	<p><u>1948</u> Don Veller became head coach</p>
<p><u>1950</u> College of Business, College of Nursing founded Enrollment: 4,654</p>	<p><u>1950</u> Doak Campbell Stadium was built (capacity: 15,000).</p>
<p><u>1952</u> A student in the Department of Chemistry was awarded the University's first Ph.D.</p>	<p><u>1953</u> Tom Nugent became head coach</p>
<p><u>1954</u> Enrollment: 5,650</p>	<p><u>1954</u> Renovation of Doak Campbell stadium (capacity: 19,000).</p>
<p><u>1957</u> Robert M. Strozier became president. Enrollment: 7,203</p>	<p><u>1959</u> Perry Moss became head coach</p>
<p><u>1960</u> Gordon W. Blackwell became president. Enrollment: 9,019</p>	<p><u>1960</u> Bill Peterson became head coach</p>
<p><u>1962</u> The first black student (Maxwell Courtney) enrolled.</p>	<p><u>1961</u> Stadium was expanded to 21,000 seats.</p>
	<p><u>1964</u> Stadium was expanded to 40,500 seats. FSU upset No.5 Kentucky (48-6). Fred Bilentnikoff became FSU's first consensus All-American.</p>

<p><u>1965</u> Dr. John E. Champion became president.</p> <p><u>1966</u> College of Law was founded</p> <p><u>1969</u> Stanley Marshall became president</p> <p>Night of the Bayonets incident (March, 4)</p> <p>The Westcott Building was partially destroyed by a fire.</p> <p>Enrollment: 17,010</p> <p><u>1970</u> The first black Ph.D. candidates graduated.</p> <p><u>1971</u> Paul Adrien Maurice Dirac (Winner of the 1933 Nobel Prize for physics, a founder of the Theory of Quantum Mechanics) joined the faculty at Florida State University.</p> <p><u>1972</u> The Black Student Union is established.</p> <p>FSU's men's basketball team (nine out of ten players were black) advanced to the NCAA tournament finals</p> <p><u>1974</u> FSU's Marching Chiefs traveled to Syria and Jordan</p> <p><u>1975</u> Jordan's King Hussein received Honorary Doctorate at FSU</p> <p><u>1976</u> Bernard F. Sliger became president.</p> <p><u>1977</u> Enrollment: 21,604</p>	<p><u>1968</u> Calvin Patterson became the first African American football player</p> <p><u>1971</u> Larry Jones became head coach</p> <p><u>1972</u> Clownish mascot Chief Fullabull was retired after one year.</p> <p><u>1974</u> Darrell Mudra became head coach</p> <p>The caricature Sammy Seminole was retired as a mascot.</p> <p><u>1976</u> Bobby Bowden became head football coach.</p> <p><u>1978</u> Osceola-Renegade pregame ritual began.</p>
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	<p>Stadium was expanded to 47,413 seats.</p> <p><u>1979</u> FSU mascot at football games is officially called Osceola.</p> <p><u>1980</u> Stadium was expanded to 51,094 seats.</p> <p><u>1982</u> Stadium was expanded to 55,264 seats.</p> <p><u>1985</u> Stadium was expanded to 60,519 seats.</p>
<u>1983</u> College of Engineering was founded	
<u>1987</u> FSU Panama City campus opened.	
<u>1989</u> The Institute of Engineering shared between FSU and FAMU opened	
<u>1991</u> Dale W. Lick became president	<p><u>1991</u> FSU joined the Atlantic Coast Conference.</p> <p><u>1992</u> Stadium was expanded to 70,123 seats.</p> <p><u>1993</u> Stadium was expanded to 72,589 seats.</p>
<u>1993</u> Shayne Osceola becomes the first Seminole to graduate from FSU.	
<u>1994</u> Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte was designated president.	<p><u>1994</u> FSU won its first National Championship beating Nebraska (18-16)</p> <p>Stadium was expanded to 75,000 seats.</p> <p><u>1995</u> Bobby Bowden became first college football coach with a million dollar salary.</p> <p>Stadium was expanded to 77,500 seats.</p> <p><u>1996</u> Stadium was expanded to 80,000 seats.</p>
<u>2000</u> College of Medicine was founded	<p><u>2000</u> FSU won its second National Championship beating Virginia Tech (46-29)</p> <p><u>2001</u> Stadium was expanded to 82,000 seats.</p>
<u>2003</u> Thomas K. Wetherell became president.	<p><u>2003</u> Stadium was expanded to 82,300 seats.</p>

<p><u>2004</u> Regional medical campuses and training facilities were added in Tallahassee, Orlando, Pensacola, Sarasota, Daytona Beach, Fort Pierce, and Immokalee.</p> <p>Harold W. Kroto, a Nobel laureate in chemistry, joined the faculty of Florida State University.</p> <p><u>2010</u> Eric J. Barron became president.</p> <p>Enrollment: 40,838.</p> <p><u>2014</u> John Thrasher became president.</p>	<p><u>2004</u> Bobby Bowden Field was dedicated.</p> <p><u>2007</u> Bobby Bowden won his 300th career game at FSU (24-16 victory against Maryland)</p> <p><u>2008</u> Junior Safety Myron Rolle was named one of 32 Rhodes Scholars for 2009.</p> <p><u>2010</u> Jimbo Fisher became head coach</p> <p><u>2014</u> FSU won its third National Championship beating Auburn 34-31.</p> <p>FSU won its 15th ACC championship since 1992.</p>
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