ABSTRACT

BROWN, JENNIFER MARIE. Perceptions and Performance of African American Male Student-Athletes at a Historically Black University and a Predominantly White University. (Under the direction of Edwin R. Gerler.)

The current study examined the self-perceptions of African American male student-athletes in regards to academic abilities, athletic role, and ethnicity. More specifically, this investigation explored how academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity are related to the academic performance of 101 African American male student-athletes. In addition, differences in institutional affiliation (i.e., Historically Black University and Predominantly White University) and academic level (i.e., underclassmen and upperclassmen) were examined. The participants were administered four instruments: (a) the Academic Self-Concept (ASCS), (b) the Athletic Identity Measurement Scale (AIMS), (c) the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), and (d) the Student-Athlete Questionnaire. Results of this investigation revealed that African American male student-athletes with higher levels of athletic identity had more confidence about their academic abilities and had significantly higher cumulative grade point averages. The more African American male student-athletes identified strongly and exclusively with the athlete role the less likely they were to commitment to an ideology that emphasizes commonalities of all human beings (i.e., humanist). In addition, African American male student-athletes who had higher academic self-concept scores had significantly higher cumulative grade point averages. As for Racial Ideology, African American male student-athletes attending the Predominantly White University reported significantly higher Assimilation, Humanist, Oppressed Minority, and Nationalist subscale scores. Finally, the results for athletic identity showed a three-way interaction among university affiliation, academic level, and sport

participation. Given the unique educational experience of African American male student-athletes, it is imperative for academic advisors and other counseling professionals to apply the information obtained from this study to developing policies and designing and implementing programs that enhance these student-athletes' development and learning.

PERCEPTIONS AND PERFORMANCE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE STUDENT-ATHLETES AT A HISTORICALLY BLACK UNIVERSITY AND A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE UNIVERSITY

by

JENNIFER M. BROWN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of North Carolina State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

COUNSELOR EDUCATION

Raleigh

2004

APPROVED BY:

Edwin R. Gerler
Chair of Advisory Committee

Stanley B. Baker
Member of Advisory Committee

Herbert A. Exum
Member of Advisory Committee

Carolyn S. Love
Member of Advisory Committee

DEDICATION

*For I know the plans I have for you, declares the Lord, plans to prosper you
and not to harm you, plans to give you hope and a future.*

- Jeremiah 29:11

All that I am is because of my parents, Ronald and Gwendolyn S. Brown. I thank

God everyday for blessing me with such wonderful parents. I could not have made it through

this journey without their unconditional love and continuous support. I will never be able to

repay them for all that they have done for me. I just pray that the contributions I make in life

will always reflect the values and beliefs they have instilled in me.

BIOGRAPHY

Jennifer M. Brown, a native of Eden, N.C., is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Brown. She is the granddaughter of Virginia B. Sims and the late Reverend John J. Sims and the late Joseph and Mary S. Brown. She is currently serving as the Director of Academic Support Services for Student-Athletes at Western Carolina University. She received her Masters degree in Counselor Education from North Carolina Central University in 1996. Her Bachelors degree in psychology was completed at North Carolina State University in 1992.

Prior to coming to WCU, her previous work experience has been with the Academic Support Programs for Student-Athletes at North Carolina State University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She has also worked with the Center for the Prevention of School Violence as the program coordinator for the Youth Out of the Education Mainstream Project and with the North Carolina Association of Educators as the parent coordinator of the North Carolina Foundation for Public School Children.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Proverbs 3:5-6 states, "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths." No matter how discouraged, frightened, and/or confused I was during the doctoral process, I have to thank God for his grace and mercy. Also, I am forever grateful for those individuals that God has brought into my life during my educational endeavors. Without each of them, I could not have made it this far.

To my grandmother, Virginia B. Sims, who is a perfect example of a strong Black woman. I am humbled by your unselfish devotion to our family and me. I would also like to give honor to my deceased grandparents, Reverend John J. Sims and Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Brown. Although their strength and faith has become the foundation of my growth, my only regret is that they are not here to witness this most recent accomplishment.

Words can never express how much my parents, Ronald and Gwendolyn S. Brown, mean to me. I am extremely grateful for their unwavering faith in my abilities and the sacrifices they made in order for their girls to have everything their hearts desired.

To my sister, Ronda Brown-Byrd, who I love and admire, I am still trying to figure out how you were able to earn a second undergraduate degree and a Masters degree while raising a child all by yourself. You are my hero. And to Brandon, my nephew, who always reminds me what is really important in life. I know it has not been easy having your mom and me in school but thanks for having patience with us. From witnessing our pursuits of our degrees, I hope you have learned that "with God all things are possible."

I am especially thankful for my aunts, uncles, and cousins who were all my personal bankers. Thanks for never forgetting my checking account number and always making the

bank run before 2:00 pm. To my aunt, Emma Howell, thank you for providing me with a free summer vacation home in Maryland. You will never know how much our shoe shopping trips decreased my stress level. To my cousin/"little sis", Antoinette Moyer, who spent many nights with me in the library copying journal articles. You are the reason that Chapter 2 was completed.

I am deeply appreciative of my NCSU mom, Fay Bostic. Your warm and gentle manner has sustained me. Thank you for providing constant encouragement and guidance.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my committee members for their knowledge, guidance, and support. Dr. Edwin Gerler, thank you for having so much patience with deadlines. I could have never asked for a better advisor. Dr. Herbert Exum, thank you for your calming spirit and constant reassurance. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Carolyn Love for whom I have great respect and admiration. Thank you from the bottom of my heart for coming out of retirement to serve on my committee. Dr. Stan Baker, thank you for always steering me in the right direction.

I am eternally grateful to Dr. Tracey E. Ray, David Scott, and Tammi Brown who are truly angels sent from God. To Tracey, thank you for analyzing my data and editing my chapters. I could not have completed this process without you. You are a perfect example of what sisterhood is all about…Thanks again, Soror.   To David, I am so glad that I didn't have to travel this journey alone. Thanks for your friendship and helping me to stay motivated. To Tammi, thank you for your gift of friendship and your sincere thoughtfulness.

I am very appreciative of the following individuals at Western Carolina University: Jeff Compher, Rebecca Vick, Jane Adams-Dunford, Fred Cantler, Kim Jamison, Cheryl

Plemmons, and Eleanor Lieberman. Thank you for your invaluable support and for encouraging me to complete my dissertation.

I would like to extend a warm and loving thank you to Michale Spicer and Nick McNeil, to whom I refer to as "my sons". Thank you for always being there whenever I needed help. To Carol Gilbert and Holly Wilson, thanks for taking care of my dog and holding things down in Academic Support while I traveled to Raleigh. To my dear friend, Tim Turner, thanks for your patience, sense of humor, and for allowing me to have my "Revelation moments."

To the student-athletes, athletic directors, academic counselors, and coaches whom I have had the privilege to work with, learn from, and come to know, thank you for your cooperation and participation in this research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

"Dumb jocks are not born, they are being systematically created, and the

system must change." (Edwards, 1984, p. 8)

The historical origin of the "dumb jock" stereotype can be traced back to the early

Greeks (circa 900 B.C.). According to Coakley (1990), Greek athletes concentrated more on

their physical skills and placed more emphasis on athletic training than enhancing their

intellectual development. They were often criticized by the Greek philosophers, who

characterized them as being useless and ignorant citizens with dull minds. From this

perspective, emerged the idea that there is a connection between physicality and intelligence.

Often tinged with racism, the dumb jock stereotype is far more pervasive in the

United States and "has attached itself to blacks, particularly African Americans, because

blacks are starring in disproportionate numbers in almost all sports" (Entine, 2000, p. 337).

African American athletes being referred to as natural athletes and intellectually inferior are

myths that have evolved as individuals attempt to explain the success and over-representation

of these athletes in certain American sports (Leonard, 1998). Although these myths attempt

to rationalize the dominance of African Americans in specific sports, they generally have

little scientific credibility. For instance, there remains the popular belief that African

American athletes are physically superior to white athletes, and that their superior body

structure is genetically determined, giving them an advantage over their white counterparts.

In addition, the support for the athletic superiority myth has indirectly contributed to the

belief that African American athletes were mentally and intellectually inferior to the white

athlete. Consequently, this racist attitude has led to the discriminatory practice of stacking in collegiate and professional sports. The belief that these athletes do not possess the mental capacity to handle the demands of thinking positions in sports and can not cope in situations where strategy is a priority has contributed to the stacking practices of African Americans being over-represented in non-central positions (e.g., running back) and under-represented in central positions (e.g., quarterback) (Coakley, 1990; Davis, 1990; Leonard, 1998). The intellectual and racial stereotyping of African Americans has often been used as a platform to justify the power and dominance of the White culture.

In order to preserve their superior status in society and foster a notion of African American inferiority, Whites created "the Sambo" and "the Brute" stereotypes. The Brute stereotype demonstrated that African American males were subordinate by depicting them as "primitive, temperamental, overreactive, uncontrollable, violent, and sexually powerful;" whereas, the Sambo stereotype characterized them as "benign, childish, immature, exuberant, uninhibited, lazy, comical, impulsive, fun loving, good humored, inferior, and lovable" (Lombardo, 1978, p.60). Although, not as evident, these myths and negative stereotypes regarding African American athletes are still prevalent in today's society.

Statement of the Problem

The academic performance and experiences of African American men in college has become a major concern and challenge for many institutions of higher education in the United States. The latest year for which complete statistics on African Americans in higher education was complied in 1998, by the U.S. Department of Education, who reported that African American males accounted for only 36.9% of all African American enrollments (U.S. Department of Education, 1998). While African American students make up

approximately 11% of college enrollment, African American males constitute approximately 29.7% of the male student-athlete population at Division I institutions (Cross & Slater, 2000). Although African American males are underrepresented in higher education, they are significantly overrepresented among the revenue-producing sports of football and basketball. Their disproportionate representation is evident given the fact that they comprise approximately 42% of the football players and 57% of the male basketball players who participate in Division I athletic programs. NCAA statistics have revealed that approximately 1 out of every 11 African American males attending Division I universities is a scholarship athlete. In contrast, only 1 out of every 33 White male college student is a scholarship athlete (National Collegiate Athletic Association, 2002b). The athletic department appears to be one of the few areas in which African American students are found to be overrepresented. Additionally, intercollegiate athletics is clearly an important means for higher educational attainment among African American males (Upthegrove, Roscigno, & Charles, 1999).

On average, African American student-athletes graduate at a higher rate than the total African American student body population (The NCAA News, 2002). Even though - as the number of African American male student-athletes entering Division I institutions continues to increase - these athletes continue to perform worse academically than their female cohorts and their White peers (Suggs, 1999). Forty-three percent of African American male freshman scholarship student-athletes earned bachelor's degrees within six years of entering NCAA Division I universities in 1995-1996. However, the graduation rate for other student-athletes were 60% African American females, 72% White females and 59% White males. Graduation rates are lowest in the revenue-producing sports, especially men's basketball

(43%) and football (52%). These rates are below the graduation rates for student-athletes in other sports (59%) and for the general student body (58%). Specifically, African American male basketball (35%) and football (45%) players have graduated at a lower rate than White male basketball (53%) and football (62%) players at Division I institutions (National Collegiate Athletic Association, 2002a). Compared to their White counterparts, African American student-athletes are more likely to leave school with GPAs lower than 2.0 on a 4.0 scale. In addition, approximately one-third of African American student-athletes leave school with deficient academic standing and about one-fourth of all Division I institutions have graduation rates of less than 25% for minority males, most of whom are African American (Coakley, 2001; Lindsey, 2000).

Several researchers have noted that African American student-athletes typically come from very different backgrounds than the rest of the student body (Leonard, 1986; Sellers, Kuperminc, & Waddell, 1991; Upthegrove, et al., 1999). Specifically, African American male student-athletes are more likely to be first generation college students, come from female-headed households (Sellers, et. al., 1991), score lowest on college entrance exams, and have the lowest grade point average before entering college and during their college careers (Upthegrove, et al., 1999). These student-athletes have apparent differences from the three student constituencies (i.e., African American female student-athletes, White student-athletes, and African American non-student-athletes) with whom they share the most in common. In spite of years of research, the problem noted in earlier decades continues to exist today. African American male student-athletes are still at the bottom of all measures of academic success.

Significance of the Study

According to Lindsey (2000), African Americans are more likely than Whites to emphasize sport as a means of achieving prestige and economic success because they perceive more barriers to achievement in other activities. In order to explain the rising number of African American athletes, one would have to understand the role sports have played and continue to play in the African American male experience. Edwards (1983) proposed four reasons to the significance of sports in lives of many African American males: limited opportunities, few role models, the value of athletic achievement, and demonstrations of masculinity.

As a result of racism, African Americans have experienced limited economic and employment opportunities. Therefore, African Americans perceive sports as an avenue of upward mobility in American society. A career in professional sports allows young African Americans the opportunity to experience the money, power, and prestige similar to the majority White culture. Hence, in an effort to reach "the top," these young people's fantasies about becoming a professional athlete motivates them to spend a great deal of time and energy improving their athletic abilities.

Next, for young African Americans, there are minimal opportunities to see alternative professional role models (e.g., doctors, lawyers) in television and other media. The only consistent model for success, other than African American entertainers, is the professional African American athlete. Therefore, these are the role models young African Americans use when setting priorities in their own lives.

Also, the emphasis that African American family and community place on sport participation greatly influences the younger generation's athletic career aspirations. The

African American family and community have a tendency to reward athletic achievement more frequently than any other activity. They also view sports as one of the only ways to achieve economic success and notoriety. Being aware of where the family and the community place prestige and admiration, young African Americans' pursuit for athletics tends to be greater for academics.

Finally, for African American males, sports are seen as a means of proving their manhood. Their attraction to sports is partially due to limited opportunities in American society to witness positive role models in positions of power, authority, and economic success. In addition, the absence of a male figure in the African American household is not uncommon. Therefore, many young African American males look to the sport arenas (e.g., basketball court or football field) as a means to establish their role identity.

The relationship sports has to the African American community provides an explanation of why many talented, young African American male student-athletes develop a strong identification with the athletic role and value athletic success more than academic success. Furthermore, previous research has shown that the concern about the lack of educational achievement among African American student-athletes is well grounded. From these investigations, three perspectives have guided the discussions and provided explanations as to why African American male student-athletes perform so poorly academically.

The first explanation given regarding the poor academic performance of these athletes derives from the "deficit" perspective. Researchers writing from this point of view suggest that the problem stems from the deficiency of African American student-athletes when compared to other groups (Irvine, 1990; Sellers, et al., 1991). For example, these student-

athletes are more likely to be first generation college students, from female-headed households, and from families with low socioeconomic status. Second, the "structural barrier" perspective suggests that the underachievement of these students-athletes is a function of the quality of the educational experience available to the African American society at large (Cross & Slater, 2000; Edwards, 1984; Leonard, 1986; Sellers & Chavous, 1997). Hence, marginal academic performance is attributed to lack of resources. This perspective also suggests that Black educational institutions remain inferior to their white counterparts because of outdated equipment, poor facilities, and inadequate curriculum materials. Finally, the academic problems of African American male student-athletes are due to the lack of motivation. The motivational rationale claims that these student-athletes place more emphasis on athletics than academics (Edwards, 1983, 1984, 1989; Leonard, 1986; Sellers & Chavous, 1997).

Although these three perspectives have provided a foundation for understanding the academic experience of these student-athletes, their academic performance continues to be a concern in higher education. Therefore, one could conclude that something is still missing in an attempt to address this issue. Cross (1991) indicated that it is impossible for any Black person to pass through the formal educational system without being exposed to certain historical misrepresentations about Africa and the African American experience. The problem occurs when individuals begin to believe the distortions presented to them. Carter G. Woodson (1933) described this process as "miseducation." Individuals have a tendency to question their own self-worth as a Black person when they internalize negative stereotypes about Blacks. As a result of extreme miseducation, Black internalized oppression is likely to occur. This notion of miseducation could possible explain why some African American male

student-athletes integrate and succeed in their academic studies and others become detached and fail academically. The internalization of negative stereotypes (e.g., intellectually inferior) regarding African American athletes could result in student-athletes questioning their academic abilities. Furthermore, it is difficult for individuals to possess positive self-perceptions about their academic abilities when they have been led to believe that they will not and cannot perform well academically. Given the unique educational experience of these student-athletes and their proposed emphasis on sports, this investigation will examine the self-perceptions of African American male student-athletes with respect to academic abilities, athletic role, and ethnicity. The proposed study will also explore the impact these perceptions could possible have on their academic performance.

Summary

Chapter one examined several myths and stereotypes regarding African American male student-athletes and their participation and graduation rates. This chapter also identified possible explanations for their poor academic performance by exploring the life experiences of these athletes. Previous literature focusing on the academic performance of student-athletes has provided several explanations regarding why some groups of these students demonstrate higher levels of academic success than do others. Unfortunately, many of these studies failed to investigate the relationship between academic self-concept and identity development and their possible influence on the educational experience.

For the purpose of this investigation, the research questions will be as follows: (1) What relationships exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, racial identity dimensions, and academic performance? (2) What differences exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions for student-athletes attending a

historically Black university (HBU) and student-athletes attending a predominantly White university (PWU)? (3) What academic level (i.e., freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors) differences exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions?

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Academic Self-concept – construct which refers to attitudes, feelings, and perceptions relative to an individual's intellectual or academic abilities.

Athletic Identity – construct which refers to the extent to which an individual identifies with the athlete role.

Central positions – positions in collegiate and professional sports that requires decision-making and leadership abilities.

Graduation rates – percentage based on a comparison of the number of students who entered a college or university and the number of those who graduated within six years.

National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) – an organization that governs the conduct of intercollegiate athletics programs of member institutions.

Non-central positions – positions in collegiate and professional sports that do not require decision-making and leadership abilities.

Racial Identity – construct which refers to the significance and meaning that an individual place on their membership within a particular ethnic or racial group.

Revenue-producing sports – sports that generate large amounts of revenue for a college or university through ticket sales, increased alumni donations, and media contracts.

Stacking – racial pattern in sports which holds that a disproportionate concentration of minority athletes are placed into certain sports and/or team positions because of their ethnicity.

Student-athlete – an individual who receives athletics aid (e.g., grant, scholarship, tuition waiver) from a college or university which is awarded on the basis of the student's athletic ability.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW and CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

According to Charles Barkley, "Sports are a detriment to blacks, not a positive. You have a society now where every black kid in the country thinks the only way he can be successful is through athletics. . . . That is a terrible, terrible thing" (McCallum, 2002, p. 32).

Introduction

The literature on racial identity and academic achievement primarily has addressed the question of whether strong identification with being African American is detrimental or beneficial for African American students' academic achievement. Fordham's (1988) research of African American high school students suggests that in order for these students to improve their chances of succeeding in school they must choose between either social acceptance by peer group members or educational success. Specifically, Fordham notes that the peer group, which she identified as fictive kinship networks, discourages students from pursuing scholastic achievement. Furthermore, these fictive kinship networks promote a set of values which operate as the direct opposite of mainstream American cultural values, which endorse individualism, achievement, and success. Torn between two oppositional values systems, fictive kinship networks and mainstream American cultural values, African American students who maintain strong academic records and prefer mainstream American cultural values often endure ridicule and rejection from members of the fictive kinship network (Fordham, 1998).

According to Fordham (1988), exclusively embracing the dominant cultural values exacts a hefty price at the expense of racial identity and psychological well-being.

Academically, students must dissociate themselves from members of fictive kinship networks and adopt dominant culture values. Thus, Fordham (1988) contends that students who opt for academic achievement and success develop a strategy to find acceptance among their White peers. This coping strategy is described as cultivating a raceless persona in which individuals assimilate into the dominant group by minimizing their connection to their indigenous culture. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) describe this phenomenon as "the burden of acting White." This burden arose partly because Euro-Americans traditionally refused to acknowledge the intellectual aptitude of African Americans and partly because African Americans began to doubt their own abilities, thereby defining success as the domain of Euro-Americans. Therefore, one could conclude that African American students live in a system in which, if they are to succeed academically, they must mold themselves and their thoughts in order to "fit in." Hence, the resilient and successful students are able to fit their actions and thinking into the expectations and acceptances of the dominant culture.

In addition to her raceless persona ethos, Fordham (1996) postulates that African American students who wish to pursue academic excellence are confronted with obstacles that influence their educational endeavors. She claims that cultural mainstream is an enormous struggle for these students because they are expected to relinquish their identity and sense of belonging to their African American community in exchange for educational achievement. While in school, these students are required to use an individual approach to assigned tasks. Nevertheless, out of school, these same students feel pressured to give priority to their identity as people of African ancestry, which emphasizes a group-centered cultural frame that values collaboration and cooperation. The problem for African American

students is the community terms of sharing and collaborating is defined by the dominant community and the academic context as cheating, and is consequently inappropriate.

Also, African American students often find themselves in direct conflict with the dominant society's conceptualizations of how to cultivate knowledge. The privileging of individualism and knowledge derived from written texts is generally endorsed in the dominant society but is incongruent with the cultural system of African Americans. For these individuals acquired knowledge and wisdom is highly valued and often obtained through personal or orally transmitted experiences. Furthermore, Fordham (1996) insists that the commitment of African American students to the Black fictive kinship system compels them to feel ambivalence and/or resistance to established school norms and practices because they perceive it as part of the larger society's effort to reconstruct their Black identity.

If Fordham and Ogbu (1986) and Fordham's (1988, 1996) assumptions are true, then African American male student-athletes constructing an identity that fuses assimilation and separatism is just one dilemma they must contend with during their educational experience. In addition to being identified as a "dumb jock," they are haunted by the racial myths that label them as naturally superior athletes and intellectual inferior. According to Entine (2000), "the whole idea is to convince black people that they're superior in some areas – sports – and therefore by definition must be inferior in other areas" (p. 77). Tatum (1997) discusses this notion in terms of the impact of dominant and subordinate status. Tatum states that the dominant groups "set the parameters within which the subordinates operate" (p. 23). The dominant group preserves their superior position in society by controlling and maintaining power and privilege. According to Tatum, the dominant group uses their power and authority to coerce and manipulate the subordinate group into accepting their view of the

world as the correct view. Under these circumstances, those without power and authority are labeled and led to believe that they are inferior, inadequate, and substandard in significant ways. For instance, historically, African Americans have been characterized as intellectually inferior to Whites. Therefore, "the dominant group assigns roles to the subordinates that reflect the latter's devalued status, reserving the most highly valued roles in the society for themselves. Subordinates are usually said to be innately incapable of being able to perform the preferred roles" (Tatum, 1997, p. 23). Hence, internalizing the images that the dominant group reflects to them may cause the subordinate group to doubt their own abilities. Given these assumptions one could ask: How do African American male student-athletes perceive themselves academically? And, is there a relationship between their academic self-perception and identity development?

The present chapter will provide a foundation for understanding the unique educational experience of African American male student-athletes. The proposed investigation will focus on three constructs as they relate to the academic performance of this population. The three constructs are: (a) academic self-concept, (b) athletic identity, and (c) racial identity. This section begins with a brief historical identification of theories about the self and theoretical positions on the structure of self-concept. The theoretical framework of this study includes a review of: (a) Shavelson, Hubner, and Staton's (1976) academic self-concept construct, (b) Brewer's (1991) athletic identity construct, (c) Cross's (1991) Black Racial Identity Model, and (d) Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith's (1997) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity. In addition, an integration of the theories will be presented at the conclusion of the section.

Historical Perspectives of Theories of the Self

Although the history of the study of the self can be traced back to ancient Greek philosophers (i.e., Socrates, Plato), as revealed in the notion "know thyself," contemporary scholars of the self-concept generally view William James (1890, 1892) as the first pioneer who laid the foundation for the development of a self-concept theory. James was the first theorist to introduce the distinction between two fundamental aspects of the self, the self as knower or "I" and the self as known or "me." According to James, the I is viewed as an active agent or "subjective self" which organizes and interprets one's experiences. In contrast, the me is represented as the content of experience or the objective. More precisely, he believed that the I-self was responsible for constructing the me-self.

James (1890) further developed the concept of the me-self, which he described as the aggregate of things known about the self. In his theory, the known self is divided into three domains of self-experience: the material self, the social self, and the spiritual self. Under the material self, James includes one's body and material possessions, as well as family members and things connected to the self. The social self comprises characteristics of the self that are recognized by significant others. Since the social self relies on what individuals think other people think or expect of them, James (1890) insists, "A man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their minds" (p. 190). The spiritual self is the inner or subjective being, which includes the individual's thoughts, disposition, and moral judgments.

Another significant contribution of James (1890) is his emphasis on the role of pretensions when he formulated the cause of an individual's level of self-esteem. He hypothesized that self-esteem is based upon the ratio of one's successes to one's pretensions

or goals. Hence, individuals' objective levels of success are less important than how well they perceive meeting their strivings. In his theory, "self-concept relates to identity, whereas self-esteem relates to that which I wish that identity to be" (Hattie, 1992, p. 17). The emphasis on self-esteem and strivings leads directly to consideration of self-motives and self-regulation in contemporary research.

James's notion of the social self paved the way for symbolic interactionist theorists, who contend that one's concept of self is an ongoing product of social interaction with other people. According to scholars such as Charles Cooley (1902) and George Mead (1934), "the self is considered to be primarily a social construction, crafted through linguistic exchanges (symbolic interactions) with others" (Hattie, 1992, p. 17).

Charles Cooley (1902) regards the self merely as a reflection of others. Cooley introduces the concept of the "looking-glass self" to describe how an individual construes the self. He believes that significant others constitute a social mirror into which individuals would gaze to detect their opinions toward the self. These opinions, in turn, are incorporated into the sense of self. More precisely, what becomes the self is based upon what individuals imagine others are thinking about them. This "self-idea" is comprised of three principal components: (a) individuals' perception of how they appear to others; (b) individuals' perception of the other's evaluation of that appearance; and (c) individuals' resulting feelings (e.g., pride or shame), which are based upon their reactions to the previous two components. The internalization of others' opinions about the self is a critical element in Cooley's thinking and laid the foundation for a more developmental perspective on how the attitudes of others are incorporated into the self.

Inspired by Cooley's approach to the development of the self, George Mead (1934) expanded Cooley's theory by suggesting that others do not solely define the self. The sense of self is created through social interactions. Therefore, the individual self is individual only because of its relation to others. According to Mead, individuals learn to take the role of others and, in this way, learn who they are and how they should behave. "We appear as selves in our conduct insofar as we ourselves take the attitude that others take toward us. We take the role of what may be called the 'generalized' other. And in doing, this we appear as social objects, as selves" (Mead, 1934, p. 270). Mead believes that through symbols, people create a world of objects to which they respond. Hence, the self refers to the tendency for individuals to respond to themselves as symbolic objects.

Mead (1934) describes the self as a basic internal process with two distinctive parts: the "I" is the self functioning as subject and the "me" which is the self functioning as object. He introduces the concept of the I as the spontaneous and active aspect of the self that is creative and unpredictable. Thus, the me is described as the reflective self or a composite view of the self as seen from the perspectives of significant and generalized others. The me imposes structure and set limits based on social values. In essence, the I produce acts that are either socially desirable or undesirable; these actions enter self-consciousness in terms of the me.

Psychological Perspectives on the Structure of Self

The notion of the self is so important in Carl Rogers' (1951) approach to the study of human behavior that his theory is often referred to as a "self theory." Rogers views the self as a social product, developing out of interpersonal relationships and striving for consistency. He also views the self as a phenomenological concept (i.e., a pattern of conscious perceptions

experienced by the individual) which is of central importance to the understanding human behavior. He maintains that individuals behave in accordance with their subjective awareness of themselves and of the world around them. According to Rogers, the actualizing tendency is the basic underlying human motive. The development of self is an outgrowth of the general tendency which serves to maintain and enhance the individual's experiences and potentialities. As the self is form, a portion of the individual's perceptions and sensations become distinguished as "I" or "me." Hence, this self becomes a kind of filter through which the world is perceived. In Rogers' theory, perception is selective and that selectivity strives for consistency. Those experiences that are consistent with the self are perceived and integrated into a relationship with the self. In contrast, the experiences that are inconsistent with the self may be denied or distorted.

When the self develops, Rogers (1951) suggests that the need for positive regard (i.e., refers to the person's desire to be viewed by others in a positive manner) is important to an individual. The individual requires positive regard both from others and from oneself. Although there is a need for an individual to obtain the approval from others, the goal the individual most wish to achieve is to become himself or herself. According to Rogers, individuals often exist only in response to the demands of others. Therefore, they behave in ways that they believe others want to them to think, feel, and act. Hence, the danger in pursuing these conditions, which leads to self-denial, is that whole segments of experience will be closed off and the potential for growth and actualization will be diminished. Rogers' contributions provided a framework for the structure of self-concept to be viewed in other areas of the psychological community, particularly in educational and cognitive psychology.

Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton Self-Concept Model

Although self-concept theory has been modeled from other perspectives (Byrne, 1984; Strein, 1993), the Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton model (1976) is the one that has provided the basis for most of the literature associated with presence of an academic self-concept within a global self-concept. Shavelson and colleagues (1976) broadly define self-concept as "a person's self-perceptions formed through experience with and interpretations of his or her environment" (p. 411). According to this model, individuals have an overall, general self-concept which is developed through interactions with and reactions to their environment, particularly significant others. Shavelson et al., contends that self-concept is not an entity within the person but rather a hypothetical construct that is potentially useful in explaining and predicting human behavior. These self-perceptions influence the way the individual acts, and these acts, in turn, influence the person's self-perceptions. According to Shavelson et al., self-concept is important as both an outcome and as a mediating variable that helps to explain other outcomes.

Shavelson et al. (1976) proposes seven characteristics that are critical to their definition of the self-concept construct. Self-concept is described as being multidimensional because the enormous amounts of information individuals receive about themselves in the environment is divided into several different subcategories which are subsequently used to create a global, overall self-concept. Shavelson et al. (1976) further suggests that self-concept is constructed in a hierarchical form. At the top is an individual's overall self-concept, which is supported by academic and nonacademic (i.e., social, physical, and emotional) components. These two subcategories are subsequently subdivided into smaller categories, all of which are related to one another. For example, competence in different

forms of physical activity (e.g., running, jumping, throwing) are separate, but related subcategories of the physical self-concept construct. According to the authors, this multidimensional self-concept model is organized in such a way that perceptions of behaviors in particular areas (e.g., artistic ability) receive contributions from specific assessments in subareas (e.g., singing, drawing, and painting). Perceptions made in all the component subareas lead individuals to create their overall self-concept.

Shavelson and colleagues (1976) consider individuals' overall self-concept, which is at the apex of their hierarchical self-concept model, to be stable. However, as general self-concept is divided into subareas and the information at the bottom of the self-concept hierarchy becomes increasingly more situation-specific, self-concept can be considered less stable. Also, as individuals develop and grow older, their self-concept becomes multifaceted as they begin to assess themselves in more situations. Consequently, younger individuals are more likely to make global assessments of themselves until they experience more areas in which to judge themselves. Finally, self-concept consists of two different dimensions: evaluative and descriptive. An individual's conceptual self-statements describe him/her (e.g., I am sad) or make evaluations of himself/herself (e.g., I am an excellent student).

Academic self-concept. During the college years, performance in academics is an essential part of most students' life; therefore, the academic facet could be highly salient to these individuals. According to Reynolds (1988), academic self-concept refers to an individual's perception of his/her academic abilities. Shavelson and colleagues (1976) proposed that the general self-concept is divided into two elements: academic and nonacademic self-concepts. The academic facet is subsequently divided into self-concepts specific to general school subjects (i.e., English, history, math, science) and nonacademic

component is split into physical, social, and emotional self-concepts. Next, these subcategories of self-concept are divided into separate and more specific components which are not identified by Shavelson et al. (1976).

In addition, Shavelson and associates postulate that the academic facet becomes increasingly multifaceted with age, and is differentiated from related behavioral constructs (e.g., history achievement). Thus, perceptions of self in specific school subjects (e.g., mathematics, English) should be more highly correlated with achievement in matching school subjects than achievement in other subjects. Furthermore, the evaluative and descriptive aspect of academic self-concept is based on absolute standards, or on relative ones such as comparison with one's peers, or the expectations of significant others.

Shavelson and colleagues insist that perceptions of self are formulated relative to some particular behavior and thus, direction of casual flow progress from actual performance at the bottom, to overall self-concept at the top of the model. Specifically, the model of academic self-concept hypothesizes that self-perceptions of science competence "cause" self-perceptions of overall academic competence, which in turn impact perceptions of self in general. Hence, school experiences and the student's perceptions of those experiences in context of the school environment influence these perceptions (Shavelson & Bolus, 1982).

Markus' Model of the Self

The self-theorists who have employed information processing models of the self tend to have a more cognitively oriented process approach. Hazel Markus is an instrumental figure in this literature (Markus, 1977, Markus & Kunda, 1986, Markus & Wurf, 1987). She was one of the first scholars to examine the influence of cognitive structures on the selective processing of significant social information (i.e., information about important aspects of

one's self). From this perspective individuals are seen as active, constructive processors of

information. According to Markus and Wurf (1987), the self structure is seen as a

"multidimensional, multifaceted dynamic structure that is systematically implicated in all

aspects of social information processing" (p. 301).

Markus (1977) proposes that individuals' attempts to organize, summarize, or explain

their own behavior will result in the formation of cognitive structures about the self that she

calls "self-schemata." "Self-schemata are cognitive generalizations about the self, derived

from past experiences, that organize and guide the process of self-related information

contained in the individual's social experience" (Markus, 1977, p. 63). According to

Markus, some self-schemas are derived from one's place in the social structure; while others

are constructed creatively and selectively from an individual's past thoughts, feelings, and

behaviors in various areas. These structures might include, for example, the individual as

independent, creative, shy, or as a good athlete.

Markus (1977) suggests that when self-schemas are formed, they "function as

selective mechanisms which determine whether information is attended to, how it is

structured, how much importance is attached to it, and what happens to it subsequently" (p.

64). Self-schemas promote more efficient processing and recall of self-congruent

information and impede our acceptance of material that is not congruent with the self-

structure. Specifically, schema-consistent information is more easily noticed and stored in

memory; whereas, schema-inconsistent information requires more time to process and store.

Given the fact that self-schemas are a system of cognitive associations generated from

past social experiences and people's past experiences differ, Markus (1977) uses this notion

to distinguish between individuals who are "schematic" or "aschematic" with respect to a

particular domain or set of attributes. Individuals who are considered schematic with respect to a particular aspect of themselves are believed to be more intensely concerned with that aspect and hence have well-developed cognitive structure in terms of which relevant information may be interpreted. However, an aschematic individual is considered to be less involved and have less differentiated and elaborate cognitive structures (Markus, 1977).

  Athletic identity. Brewer (1991) defines athletic identity as "the extent to which individuals evaluate themselves on the basis of their performances in the athletic domain" (p. 7). Many individuals assign a great deal of psychological significance to their involvement in athletics and exercise (Eldridge, 1983). Thus, for many athletes participating in sports is a central and many times the central, source of self-worth and self-definition (Brewer, Van Raalte, & Linder, 1993). Brewer et al. (1993) suggest that this facet of an individual's self-concept has two components: strength and exclusivity. Given the amount of time and energy that athletes commit to sport and exercise, they are more likely to incorporate the athletic identity dimension into their self-concepts. Athletic identity can be conceived as being both a cognitive structure and a socially defined role.

  According to Brewer (1991), the multidimensional model of self provides an acceptable framework for examining the athletic identity construct. He proposes that from a narrow perspective, athletic identity is similar to Markus' (1977) self-schema concept which represents domain specific knowledge structures. Thus, this cognitive structure directs and arranges the processing of information about the self. Brewer et al. (1993, p. 238) claims that "a person with strong athletic identity is more likely to interpret a given event (e.g., an injury) in terms of its implications for that individual's athletic functioning than a person only weakly identified to the athlete role." Similarly to self-schema, the athletic identity

functions as a self-defining element that reflects personal concerns of enduring salience and commitment. Specifically, Brewer and colleagues (1993) postulate that "conceptualization of athletic identity holds that the individual with strong athletic identity ascribes great importance to involvement in sport/exercise and is especially attuned to self-perceptions in the athletic domain" (p. 238).

According to Markus and Wurf (1987), central self-conceptions are usually the most well elaborated and are believed to have the stronger influence on information processing and behavior. Brewer et al. (1993) suggests that, in addition to affecting information processing, these central conceptions of self will also have impact on how individuals responds to successes or failures in the salient dimensions and the decisions they make about activities and relationships. Hence, individuals engage in activities that are consistent with prevailing conceptions of the self and tend to interact with others who provide support for one's prevailing view. Markus and Wurf (1987) believe that "people are generally self-enhancing; that is, they prefer and seek out positive information about themselves. People may structure their activities to enhance the probability that they will receive positive feedback; and, when the feedback is negative, they will selectively interpret information in such a way as to minimize the threat to their positive self-concept" (p. 318).

From a broad perspective, Brewer (1991) postulates athletic identity to be a "social role or occupation self-image" (p. 7). He contends that in viewing athletic identity as a socially defined role, significant others (e.g., family members, friends, coaches, teachers, and the media) have a strong influence on the degree to which individuals identify themselves as athletes. For instance, if an individual fares well in the athletic role, and receives positive reinforcement from other sources, that individual may subsequently develop stronger ties to

the athletic role because of his perceived success. This notion is similar to James' (1890)

social self-concept and Cooley's (1902) looking glass self. To both James and Cooley, the

social self-concept refers to individual's perceptions of how much others liked and admired

them. Hence, these theorists define the social self-concept by self-perceptions of social

acceptance. Brewer et al. (1993) claim that, in regards to the athletic identity, the idea of a

social concept is "revealed in the assertion that individuals may be making a social statement

about themselves simply by choosing to participate in a particular sport or exercise

activity"(p. 239).

Theoretical Perspectives of Racial Identity Development

Helms (1990) define racial identity as "a sense of group or collective identity based on

one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial

group" (p. 33). Specifically, this paradigm reflects one's sense of affiliation or dissociation

with others who possess the same racial heritage. Cross (1991) distinguishes between

personal identity and reference group orientation. Considered to be an insignificant

component in the nigrescence theory, personal identity represents the general personality or

overall self-concept common to the psychological make-up of all human beings. However,

reference group orientation, which is the basis of the nigrescence theory, "defines the

complex of social groups used by the person to make sense of oneself as a social being"

(Cross, 1991, p. 190). Reference group orientation involves an individual's preferences for

his or her ascribed racial group (Helms, 1990). Hence, Cross (1985) insists that racial

identity refers exclusively to reference group orientation or the "esteem one holds toward

his/her group" (p. 152).

Racial identity scholars use the term Nigrescence as an alternative name for the models which emerged during the 1970s and were developed to describe the Black identity development process (Helms, 1990). As defined by Helms (1990), Nigrescence is "the developmental process by which a person 'becomes Black' where Black is defined in terms of one's manner of thinking about and evaluating oneself and one's reference group rather than in terms of skin color per se" (p. 17). Nigrescence racial identity theorists sought to identify stages within which a Black person self-identifies, given the prescribed Black reference group, and to define how a person can negotiate the identity stages and develop a healthy Black identity. According to this model, individuals move from a less healthy to a healthier, more self-defined identity resolution.

Cross (1971) originally postulated a Nigrescence model, the "Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience," to coincide with the attitudinal and behavioral shifts observed in African Americans as a result of the 1970s Civil Rights Movement and Black Power phase. According to Cross, Black identity is developed within a transformative paradigm that can be represented as a series of successive stages in changing one's self-image and cultural framework from "Negro" to "Black." He theorizes that this transition is characterized by a change in value orientation which places limited emphasis and esteem on Blackness to a value orientation which celebrates the inherent worth and dignity of Black people and Black issues.

Cross's Black Racial Identity Model

Cross's (1971) model has been referred to as the psychology of nigrescence or the psychology of becoming Black. In his original model (1971), five stages of racial identity were presented: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and

Internalization-Commitment. This paradigm describe the process by which individuals transition from Eurocentric derivations of Blackness, which denigrate Black people, and gradually come to a self-prescribed conceptualization of Blackness which esteems African American value orientations as well as other cultural orientations. In Cross's (1991) revised nigrescence theory, four identity stages characterize the process. Additionally, the concept of race salience was introduced. According to Cross (1991), race salience "refers to the importance or significance of race in a person's approach to life and is captured across two dimensions: degree of importance and the direction of the valence" (p. 190). Therefore, race salience can range from low to high in importance and from positive to negative in valence.

The first stage of Cross's (1991) model, Pre-encounter, maintains that the individual views the world as non-Black or anti-Black. Pre-encounter individuals may consciously idealize the dominant culture, believe in the intellectual superiority of Whites, and want to assimilate. Negative attributions are passively accepted, and Blacks are viewed in stereotypical ways (e.g., lazy, criminal). These individuals grant higher priority to their religion, occupation, social class, or other distinctive status and consequently de-emphasize their racial identity. They typically refer to themselves as a human, or an American, rather than an African American. Effort may be extended by individuals in this stage to distance themselves from other Blacks and develop a belief that race has very little personal or social meaning.

Once individuals experience catalytic events, which cause them to reconstruct race more meaningfully, the Pre-encounter stage draws to a close. This experience serves as the impetus, which motivates individuals to explore their identity, thus moving them into the second stage, Encounter. The catalytic event can be either a degrading or a positive

experience, such as exposure to a new aspect of African American culture. In addition to experiencing a jolting event, individuals must also internalize the event or experience by challenging prior viewpoints of blackness. During this experience, the Encounter individual experiences cognitive dissonance as a result of fluctuating between two identity states, the previous identity and the emerging identity.

The third stage, Immersion-Emersion, represents a turning point in the conversion from an old to a new frame of reference. This stage includes learning and experiencing the meaning and value of one's race and culture. This stage is characterized by an immersion into Blackness (e.g., heritage, culture, art, music, hair, dress, political organization, and churches) and liberation from Whiteness. Immersion-Emersion individuals have a tendency to be pro-Black and anti-White. Typically, these individuals have a personal sense of shame and guilt for having previously denied Black racial identity and feel overwhelming pride which results from new levels of awareness and consciousness. However, Cross believes that if an individual's identity is based on the hatred of White people, rather than on the affirmation of a pro-Black experience, the result will be the cultivating of a "pseudo" Black identity. In the latter phase of this stage, Emersion, emotional intensity diminishes. Individuals emerge from this identity state with less idealistic and more objective views of blackness. They now possess a more balanced perspective of Black life.

During stage four, Internalization, individuals have a pluralistic and non-racist perspective. They are able to integrate their racial identity and have an openness and appreciation of both Eurocentric and African-centered values and viewpoints. Experiencing a greater sense of inner security and comfort in their race and identity, these individuals do not feel the overwhelming anger and hostility characterized in the Immersion-Emersion

stage. Realizing that there were few psychological differences between fourth and fifth stage, Internalization-Commitment, Cross integrated the two stages. However, by stage five, the individual has adopted African Americans as their primary reference group and is committed to eliminating racism and oppression. Thus, they are anchored in a positive sense of racial identity and are prepared to perceive and transcend race.

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith (1997) propose a model of racial identity as a result of observing limitations in the Nigrescence theory and its operationalization. The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) defines racial identity as that part of the individual's self-concept that is related to membership within a particular racial group. The MMRI is predicated on the belief that African American identity is a multifaceted, multidimensional phenomenon that is not easily captured by one-dimensional theories and instruments. The MMRI contends that racial identity has both stable properties and situational specific properties. Specifically, the model addresses (a) how African Americans define themselves, and (b) the qualitative meaning African Americans ascribe to membership in that racial group. Under these circumstances, the MMRI takes on a phenomenological approach, in that the emphasis is on the individual's self-perception as opposed to objective criteria in determining whether an individual is racially identified. Additionally, the model does not suggest any particular definition regarding what it means to be Black. The MMRI delineates four independent, but interrelated dimensions of racial identity in African Americans: (a) identity salience, (b) the centrality of the identity, (c) the ideology associated with the identity, and (d) the regard in which person holds African Americans. Salience and centrality pertain to the significance of

race, while ideology and regard involve the qualitative meaning that individuals ascribe to their membership in the Black community.

The salience of an individual's racial identity refers to the extent to which individual's race is a relevant part of his or her self-concept during a particular moment or situation. Racial salience is highly sensitive to both the context of the situation and the individual's tendency to define himself or herself in terms of race (i.e., centrality). "Salience is the dynamic aspect of racial identity" (Seller, et. al, 1997, p. 806). Additionally, this dimension is the most useful in predicting behaviors in various situations.

The centrality dimension "refers to the extent to which an individual normatively defines him or herself in terms of race" (Sellers, et al., 1997, p. 806). This dimension is concerned with whether race is a core component of an individual's self-concept. Racial centrality acknowledges individual differences in the hierarchical ranking of different identities (e.g., class, gender, or occupation) with regard to the individual's core or main self-definition.

A third dimension of racial identity, ideology, is characterized as an individual's beliefs and philosophy about the ways in which African Americans should live and interact with other members in society. Specifically, racial ideology refers to the meaning that the individual ascribes to being Black. The MMRI consist of four ideologies:

> "(a) a nationalist philosophy, characterized by a viewpoint that emphasizes the importance and uniqueness of African descent; (b) an oppressed minority philosophy, characterized by a viewpoint that emphasizes the commonalities between African Americans and other oppressed groups; (c) an assimilationist philosophy, characterized by a viewpoint that emphasizes the commonalities between African Americans and the rest of American society; and (d) a humanist philosophy, characterized by a viewpoint that emphasizes the commonalities of all humans " (Sellers, et. al., 1997, p. 806).

These ideologies are manifested across four areas of functioning: intergroup relations, interaction with the dominant group, political-economic issues, and cultural-social activities. The ideology dimension acknowledges that African Americans can hold more than one philosophy, which often varies across areas of functioning.

Regard is the fourth dimension of racial identity that pertains to individuals' affective and evaluative judgment of their race. More precisely, it is "the extent to which an individual feels positively or negatively towards African Americans and his or her membership in that group" (Sellers, et al., 1997, p. 807). The regard dimension consists of a private and a public component. Private regard is concern with whether an individual feels positively or negatively about African Americans as well as if he or she possesses positive or negative feelings about being Black. However, public regard is defined as the extent to which an individual feels that others perceive African Americans in a positive or negative manner. Public regard refers to the individual's assessment of how African Americans are viewed or valued by the broader society.

Integration of Theories

According to self-theorists such as James, Cooley, Mead, and Rogers, the self is viewed as social product. Their theoretical positions claim that an individual's self-concept is developed through social interactions. Therefore, our self-perceptions are shaped by the messages that we receive from those around us. This idea of a social basis is an essential component of Cross's racial identity model, academic self-concept and athletic identity.

In African American culture, social interactions and connectedness with the group are very important aspects to identity development. Individual characteristics, family dynamics, community norms, historical factors, and social and political contexts influence identity

development. According to Gibbs (1999, p. 80) "the concept of 'social construction' implies that racial identity is an interaction between an internal psychological process and an external process of categorization and evaluation imposed by others." Hence, an individual's racial identity is influenced by the messages received from significant others (e.g., parents). For example, if African American parents provide their child with positive cultural images and messages about what it means to be Black, then the child is more likely to exhibit a positive feeling about his or her Blackness.

In terms of academic self-concept, the more positively an individual feels about his or her academic abilities, the more likely the person will achieve (Heath, 1998). Additionally, these self-perceptions will also be related to how individuals behave as learners (Hamacheck, 1982). However, academic self-concept can be influenced by others. If African American students perceive implicit and/or explicit messages from others that they are less well academically prepared and are not expected to do well in school, then some students may internalize these messages. Thus, they may develop attitudes that correspond with these characterizations and begin to behave in ways that others expect them to behave. Similar to racial identity and academic self-concept, significant others can have an effect on one's athletic identity. Therefore, if an African American student-athlete perceives that his or her family and/or community is rewarding and praising athletic achievement more than any other activity (i.e., academics), he or she will possibly identify strongly with the athlete role and place more effort into maintaining this role.

Previously, self-concept was viewed as a self-evaluation; that is people's positive and negative feelings about themselves, their beliefs about themselves, and how others consider them. Instead of a social approach, Markus (1977) took a more cognitive approach on the

structure of self-concept. The self-concept is seen as a self-description, which refers to, how individuals describe themselves. Markus's self-schema represents the ways in which individuals organize and process information about themselves and their world. The cognitive approach is also evident in racial identity and athletic identity.

According to Sellers and colleagues (Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, Rowley, & Smith, 1998, p. 277) "racial identity focuses more on the cognitions and attitudes associated with the individuals' attempts at integrating their status as African Americans into their self-concepts." Thus, racial identity provides a mechanism by which African Americans can define themselves in relation to other groups. For instance, individuals who feel that race is a defining characteristic of their self-concept may believe that being African American is an important reflection of who they are. In addition, Seller et al. (1997) contended that understanding the significance and meaning of race in an individual's self-concept allows one to better predict the way the individual is likely to behave in certain situations. Specifically, an individual's regard and ideology beliefs should have a greater influence on an individual's behavior at the level of the event when race is more salient than it is less salient. This notion concurs with Markus's (1983) conceptualization of self-knowledge, which suggests that information individuals have about self influences behavior most when this information is most relevant to the individual's self-concept.

According to the model of self proposed by Markus and Kunda (1986), self-concept has properties that are both situational-dynamic and stable. These properties often interact in such a way as to influence the individual's behavior in certain specific situations. Similarly, athletic identity may be relatively stable and susceptible to social and environmental influences. Therefore, when athletes encounter a loss (e.g., sport career termination or

injury), those individuals with a strong athletic identity are more likely to experience greater adjustment difficulties than those individuals with a weak athletic identity. Because losses can fundamentally change an individual's self-perception, it is possible that the self-identity of an athlete who has a high degree of psychological investment and commitment in sport participation changes in response to events that threaten his or her involvement in sports and, consequently, overall sense of competence.

Relevant Research

Research regarding the academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity of African American male student-athletes, specifically, was not found. However, studies have been conducted which include African American male participants in these three areas. This section provides a summary of the most salient research studies, as well as examines conceptual and methodological issues. At the end of this section an overview of findings as they relate to academic self-concept, athletic identity and racial identity will be provided.

Academic Self-Concept Research

Cokley (2000) used academic self-concept as a criterion variable and investigated the construct of academic self-concept in a sample of African American college students attending historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and predominantly White colleges and universities (PWCUs). Specifically, institutional, gender, and class status (i.e., year in college) differences in academic self-concept were examined as well as factors that best predict academic self-concept. The theoretical framework of the study was based on Shavelson et al. (1976) academic self-concept construct.

The study consisted of 206 African American undergraduate college students (84 men and 122 women) who attended two public PWCUs and three private HBCUs located in the

Southeast. There were 112 (67 males and 45 females) students attending HBCUs and 92 students (17 males and 75 females) attending PWCUs. Two participants failed to specify school affiliation.

The participants completed (a) the Academic Self-Concept Scale (ASCS; Reynolds, Ramirez, Magrina, & Allen, 1980) and (b) a modified version of the National Study of Black College Students questionnaire (Allen & Strong, 1996). In addition to these instruments, the researcher collected information on the students' gender, institution (i.e., HBCU or PWCU), and class status (i.e., freshmen or sophomore defined as underclassmen and junior or senior defined as upperclassmen). The research questions for this study were: (a) What institutional differences exist in academic self-concept? (b) What gender differences exist in academic self-concept? (c) What class status differences exist in academic self-concept? (d) What variable best predict academic self-concept?

The results of the analyses revealed that there were no significant differences in the academic self-concept of African American students attending PWCUs versus African Americans students attending HBCUs. In addition, there were no gender differences found in the study. However, the findings did show that the best predictor of academic self-concept for students attending PWCUs was grade point average; whereas, the best predictor of academic self-concept for student attending HBCUs was quality of student-faculty interactions. In addition, grade point average was significantly more important for the academic self-concept of African American students attending PWCUs than African American students attending HBCUs. Furthermore, class status was found to be a significant predictor of academic self-concept for HBCU students but not PWCU students. Hence, after

further inspection of the means, the results indicated that underclassmen had higher mean academic self-concept scores than upperclassmen.

Although Cokley's (2000) study provided some important data concerning the academic self-concept and its relationship to academic achievement of African American college students, certain limitations exist which need to be mentioned. A purpose of this investigation was to examine any class status differences that may exist. The researcher reported six upperclass female participants and seven underclass male participants. These small numbers created small cell sizes. Hence, the statistical validity of the study was threatened. Although the participants came from several different schools, the sample consisted of only African American students from southeast colleges and universities. Thus, external validity is questioned and the generalizability of the results is limited.

According to Cokley (2000), academic achievement being measured by one's GPA could be potentially problematic. The fact that students enter college with different educational backgrounds and institutions differ in regards to admission requirements could possibly have some impact on the results. Additionally, there are limitations to self-reported data (e.g., grade point average) because there is no certainty that the information being provided by the participants will be an honest response. Therefore, future research should take these factors into consideration.

Gerardi (1990) examined whether academic self-concept was a significant predictor of academic success among 98 minority and low socioeconomic college students. Similar to Cokley's (2000) study, the theoretical framework of the study was also based on Shavelson et al. (1976) academic self-concept construct.

The participants in the study were freshman majoring in engineering and attending the City University of New York. The sample consisted of 57% African American, 30% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 4% Euro-American. There were 81% men and 19% women in the sample. These students were selected because they had failed to demonstrate minimal proficiency on reading, writing, and mathematics examinations and because they were enrolled in remedial classes.

Each participant completed: (a) the CUNY Freshmen Skills Assessment test in reading; (b) the CUNY Mathematics Skills Assessment Test; (c) Brookover Self-Concept of Ability scale (SCA; Brookover, Thomas, & Patterson, 1964). In addition to these instruments, the researcher collected information on the students' high school and college grade point average. The research question for the study was: Is academic self-concept an important and significant predictor of academic success among minority and low socioeconomic college students?

The results revealed that academic self-concept was the only variable that correlated significantly with GPA. Subsequently, academic self-concept was the best predictor variable for academic success. Also, the group of students who attended all three semesters scored significantly higher on the academic self-concept scale than those who dropped out over the course of the study. Gerardi (1990) suggested that while cognitive variables (i.e., SAT and achievement tests scores) have traditionally been better predictors of GPA than academic self-concept, these findings revealed that for minority and low socioeconomic background students, the noncognitive variable of academic self-concept was a better predictor of GPA than standardized test scores.

The results of this preliminary study should be viewed and interpreted carefully. The sample of participants is one of the external factors that influence the generalizability of the results. Given the small size (n=98), the number of female participants (i.e., 19%), the majority of the students being from the New York City area, and the fact that all were attending CUNY, caution should be taken when applying these results to the general minority and low socioeconomic college student population. In addition, the small number of participants in each subgroup threatens statistical power. Therefore, this investigation should be replicated using a larger sample size with relatively equal numbers of male and female participants and extended to other populations (e.g., students who are not attending CUNY).

The researcher failed to provide validity and reliability information for the CUNY Freshmen Skills Assessments, which raises a conceptual issue pertaining to construct validity. Failure to provide this information required one to speculate if these instruments adequately operationalize the constructs they were intended to measure. Similarly to the Cokley (2000) study, academic success being measured by GPA was a limitation because of the different levels of academic ability of incoming students. Also, another limitation of the study was having students self-report their GPAs.

Athletic Identity Research

Murphy, Petitpas, and Brewer (1996) conducted research that explored the relationship between identity foreclosure, athletic identity, and career maturity. Specifically, the researchers wanted to assess the extent to which student-athletes' level of athletic identity and identity foreclosure related to their level of career maturity. In addition, differences in the self-identity variables and career maturity as a function of gender, playing status (i.e., varsity vs. nonvarsity), and sport (i.e., revenue vs. nonrevenue producing) were examined.

The study's theoretical foundation was derived from: (a) Marcia's (1966) ego identity status (i.e., identity foreclosure), (b) Brewer's (1991) athletic identity, and (c) Super's (1957) career maturity.

The sample consisted of 124 (25 females and 99 men) intercollegiate student-athletes enrolled in a NCAA Division I university. The participants were involved in football (n=47, 37.9%), men's and women's crew (n=60, 48.4%), men's and women's basketball (n=8, 6.5%), men's ice hockey (n=6, 4.8%), field hockey (n=1, 0.8%), wrestling (n=1, 0.8%), and men's swimming (n=1, 0.8%). These student-athletes consisted of 61 freshmen (49.2%), 36 sophomores (29.0%), 12 juniors (9.7%), and 15 seniors (12.1%). All participants completed: (a) the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS; Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979); (b) the Athletic Identity Measurement Scale (AIMS; Brewer, et al., 1993); and (c) the Career Maturity Inventory (CMI; Crites, 1978). The researchers hypothesized that self-identity variable (i.e., identity foreclosure and athletic identity) would correlate negatively with career maturity. They also theorized that the self-identity variables and career maturity would be higher for varsity athletes and athletes in revenue-producing sports (i.e., basketball, football, and ice hockey) than for nonvarsity athletes and athletes in nonrevenue-producing sports (i.e., crew, wrestling, and swimming).

The results indicated that identity foreclosure and athletic identity were inversely related to career maturity. Specifically, these results revealed that failure to explore alternative roles and identifying strongly and exclusively with the athlete role are associated with delayed career development. Significant effects of gender, playing status, and sport on identity foreclosure and career maturity were observed. Thus, male varsity student-athletes participating in revenue-producing sports may be at particular risk of inhibited career

decision-making skills. No significant differences of gender, playing status, and sport were found on athletic identity and identity foreclosure scores. Varsity student-athletes were found to have higher levels of identity foreclosure and athletic identity than nonvarsity student-athletes. These findings suggested that varsity athletes were more likely to identify strongly and exclusively with the athlete role and were less likely to explore various occupational and ideological options. Additionally, athletes participating in revenue-producing sports indicated higher levels of identity foreclosure and lower levels of career maturity than athletes participating in nonrevenue producing sports.

The goal of Murphy et al.'s (1996) research was to explore the relationship between self-identity variables and career maturity. The fact that this research has contributed a great deal to the body of literature examining student-athletes does not allow one to overlook the limitations of the study. The researchers indicated the research design restricted the study. Hence, causal conclusions could not be made regarding the relationships among identity foreclosure, athletic identity, and career maturity because the cross-sectional design was used.

The external validity of the study was jeopardized because of the relatively small sample size (n=124); the participants not being chosen randomly; and the unequal distributions of student-athletes across gender, classes, and sports. Thus, the generalizability of the results was limited. The researchers suggested that a longitudinal study with a more representative sample could possible "clarify developmental process by which student-athletes become delayed in acquiring career decision-making skills and to identify demographic and sport-related factors that moderate career development in student-athletes" (Murphy, et al., 1996, p. 244). An additional limitation to the study was the authors failed to

mention if they shared any follow-up information (e.g., a summary of research findings or a debriefing sheet) with the participants.

Good, Brewer, Petitpas, Raalte, and Mahar (1993) examined the relationship between self-identity variables and college sport participation. In particular, the researchers investigated identity foreclosure and athletic identity across three levels of athletic involvement (i.e., intercollegiate sport participation, intramural sport participation, no sport participation) in male and female upperclass and underclass college students. The theoretical framework of the study is based upon Marcia's (1966) ego identity status (i.e., identity foreclosure) and Brewer's (1991) athletic identity construct.

The study consisted of 502 college students enrolled in psychology and physiology of research courses. The participants were 166 (71 females and 95 males) intercollegiate student-athletes, 90 (50 females and 40 males) intramural athletes, and 246 (180 females and 66 males) non-athletes. Each student completed: (a) the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS; Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979); (b) the Athletic Identity Measurement Scale (AIMS; Brewer, et al., 1993); and (c) a demographic information sheet which was designed for the study. The researchers hypothesized that both identity foreclosure and athletic identity would increase with level of athletic involvement and both self-identity variables would be lower in the upperclass group than in the underclass group.

The findings from the study revealed that identity foreclosure and athletic identity increased with level of athletic involvement. For upperclass non-athletes, identity foreclosure scores were significantly lower than underclass non-athlete. However, no class difference was found for intercollegiate and intramural student-athletes. The researchers suggested that the demands of participating in sports and the tendency for competitive sports

environments to be sheltered and restrictive may cause student-athletes to commit to the athletic role without exploring other alternative identities. The researchers found no gender differences for identity foreclosure. However, male non-athletes' athletic identity score was significantly higher than female non-athletes. Given no gender difference was found for male and female student-athletes, one could conclude that they identify themselves with the athletic role in a similar fashion.

Similar to the Murphy et al. (1996) study, this investigation was unable to make causal inferences regarding the relationship among self-identity variables, sport participation, and academic standing because of the research design. Also, the researchers recommended conducting a longitudinal study that explored the identity development of student-athletes.

Even though this study had a large sample size (n=502), all of the participants attended colleges and universities in the northeast. In addition, these schools were NCAA Division II and III institutions. In order to improve the external validity of the study, future investigations should include NCAA Division I student-athletes and participants from other geographical areas. Also, the authors failed to provide specific descriptive information about the participants (e.g., race, age, and SES). A limitation in the methodology involved the procedural information given. The fact that this information was so vague makes the replication of this study impossible.

African American Racial Identity and Academic Performance Research

Cokley's (1998) assessed the African self-consciousness, racial identity, and academic self-concept among African American college students attending historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and predominantly White colleges and universities (PWCUs). The theoretical framework of the study was based upon: (a) Baldwin's (1981, 1984) Black

personality theory, (b) Seller, et al.'s (1997) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI), and (c) Shavelson et al.'s (1976) academic self-concept construct.

The participants of the study were 206 African American undergraduate college students who attended public and private PWCUs and HBCUs located in the Southeast. The sample was comprised of 84 men (40.8%) and 122 women (59.2%). There were 112 students (54.9%) attending HBCUs and 92 students (45.1%) attending PWCUs. Two students failed to indicate school affiliation.

The participants completed: (a) the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997); (b) the African self-consciousness scale (AFSC; Baldwin, 1996); and (c) the Academic Self-Concept Scale (ASCS; Reynolds, 1988). In addition to these instruments, the researcher collected information on the students' gender, institution (i.e., HBCU or PWCU), and class status (i.e., freshmen, sophomore, junior or senior). The research questions consisted of: (a) Are there differences in the levels of African self-consciousness, racial identity dimensions, and the academic self-concept of African Americans attending PWCU versus African Americans attending HBCU? (b) Are there gender differences in academic self-concept? (c) How well do the combination of demographic variables (i.e., gender, class status, student-faculty interactions, GPA) and independent variables (i.e., African self-consciousness, racial identity, institutional racial composition) predict academic self-concept?

The findings suggested that institutional racial composition influenced African self-consciousness, as well as the racial identity dimensions of Nationalist, Humanist, and Assimilationist ideologies, but did not influence academic self-concept. Gender and class status had an interaction effect on Nationalist ideology. Junior and senior females were

significantly higher on Nationalist ideology than freshmen and sophomore females, upperclassmen and underclassmen males. College GPA, class status, quality of student-faculty interactions and the racial identity dimension of Public Regard significantly predicted academic self-concept. College GPA was the single best predictor of academic self-concept, followed by quality of student-faculty interactions. The results also indicated that HBCU students have higher levels of African self-consciousness as well as Nationalist ideology when compared to PWCU students. The quality of student-faculty relationships and college GPA appeared to be better predictors of academic self-concept than racial/cultural identity.

Even though Cokley's (1988) work added to the increasing empirical research examining the academic and psychosocial development of African American college students attending HBCUs and PWCUs, there were some drawbacks to the study. The researcher and the researcher's assistant administered the assessments to the participants. Unfortunately, the author did not provide any information regarding the research assistant or instructions given to the participants by the research assistant. Therefore, one would have to question if the instructions given to the participants by different researchers were consistent. According to Heppner, Kivighan, and Wampold (1992, p. 51), the unreliability of treatment implementation may cause "uncontrolled variability that obscures the true relationship between the independent and dependent variables." Thus, this variation represented threats to the statistical validity.

The external validity of the study was questionable because the participants were not randomly selected and all the participants were from one geographical area. Hence, the participants in this research investigation may not be representative of all African American students in higher education. In terms of construct validity, the author stated that "there is no

normative data of African American students using the Academic Self-Concept Scale, so it might be argued that it does not fully capture how the construct is operationalized with African American students" (Cokley, 1998. p. 119).

Hood (1998) conducted a research study that investigated the relationship between ethnic identity attitudes of African American college students and their academic achievement, campus involvement, and academic satisfaction. Specifically, the study explored the relationship between racial identity attitudes, grade point average (GPA), participation in on-and off-campus African American and non-African American focused activities, satisfaction with academic experience, and intention to persist. This study utilized the theoretical foundation of Ethnic Identity Formation (Phinney, 1990) which was grounded in Erikson's (1968) developmental framework of ego identity.

The sample consisted of 338 (214 female and 124 males) undergraduate and graduate students who enrolled in 15 colleges and universities in 11 states. In the sample, 241 participants attended historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and 97 attended predominantly White institutions (PWIs). The participants completed the 50-item Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS; Parham & Helms, 1981). The participants also completed a survey which focused on their: (a) demographic characteristics (i.e., age, gender, institution type), (b) academic achievement (i.e., GPA), (c) involvement (i.e., participation in non-academic activities, employment), and (d) intentions to persist (i.e., expected graduation semester and year, plans for transferring or dropping out). In addition, the participants rated the quality of their university and academic department and indicated their level of satisfaction with several aspects of their university experience (i.e., academic performance and social experiences). The research questions addressed in the study were: (a) What

relationship exists between the RIAS subscales (dependent variable) and GPA, racial/ethnic self-label, and age (independent variables)? (b) What differences exist between institution types (i.e., HBCUs and PWIs) with regards the RIAS subscales? and (c) Which of the RIAS subscales best predicts involvement in non-academic activities, intention to persist, and academic satisfaction?

The findings from the study indicated that the scores on the RIAS subscales were significantly related to students' GPA. Specifically, cumulative GPA was predictive of pre-encounter and internalization attitudes. In regards to gender, men indicated higher pre-encounter and immersion scores. The findings revealed that there were significant differences in institution type with regards to the RIAS subscales. Hence, HBCU students held higher immersion attitudes than their counterparts at PWIs. The results revealed that pre-encounter attitudes best predicted involvement in off-campus African American focused clubs and activities and on-campus non-African American focused activities. No relationship existed for the RIAS subscales and predicted intention to persist as well as the satisfaction variable and the RIAS subscale.

This study provided a framework for examining ethnic identity with academic and social variables. Although the study had a relatively large sample size, generalizing these results to other African American college students at PWIs and HBCUs should be done with caution. This RIAS instrument contained some wording that was out-of-date and may be distracting for the respondent and inhibit an accurate response. Additionally, strongly worded items could have been skipped or answered untruthfully because of social desirability. Also, allowing students to self-report was a major limitation of the study.

The relatively low internal consistency estimates in the encounter and internalization subscales was an issue of concern. The encounter subscale consisted of four items, which could have accounted for its low reliability coefficient. However, the internalization subscale had twelve items, but those items could have measured more than one dimension. Therefore, more work needs to be done to establish the psychometric properties of this instrument.

In addition, majority of the participants in the sample were women (64%) and freshmen (55%). Replication of this study should include a more equal distribution of participants.

Sellers, Chavous, and Cooke (1998) examined the relationship between racial identity and academic performance in a sample of college students from a predominantly African American institution and a predominantly White institution. The theoretical framework of this study was derived from Seller, Shelton, et al.'s (1998) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI). Specifically, the focus of this study was on racial centrality (i.e., the extent to which a person normatively defines himself or herself with regard to race) and racial ideology (i.e., the meaning that the individual ascribes to being Black) in investigating African American college student's academic performance.

The participants in the study consisted of 248 undergraduate students who identified themselves as African American. A total of 163 attend a public, predominantly White university (PWU); 85 students attended a private, historically Black university (HBU). The sample was 70.6% female and reported a median family income of $53,700.

The participants self-reported their cumulative GPA and completed the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, et al., 1997). Sellers, et al. investigated the independent associations between both racial centrality and racial ideology

and cumulative GPA. The researchers also explored whether racial centrality moderates the relationship between racial ideology and cumulative GPA for African American students for a predominantly Black and a predominantly White institution. Furthermore, the researchers hypothesized that racial ideology should be significant to the academic performance of only those students for whom race is a central aspect of their self-concept.

The findings indicated that both racial centrality and racial ideology were significantly related to African Americans' cumulative GPA. When examined together, racial centrality was positively associated with academic performance. Specifically, individuals for whom race was a more central aspect of their self-concept reported higher GPAs. The researchers found that both nationalist and assimilation ideologies were negatively associated with academic performance. These findings suggested that the relationship between racial ideology and academic performance is moderated by racial centrality. A possible explanation for a nationalist ideology (emphasizes the uniqueness of being Black) being associated with academic performance is that this ideology may result in a heightened sensitivity toward racism in the environment that may in turn result in feelings of racial isolation and alienation. For individuals who indicated race was not a central aspect of their self-concept (i.e., low racial centrality), the results revealed that none of the racial ideologies were significant predictors of GPA. However, nationalist and assimilation ideologies were negatively associated and a minority ideology was positively associated with GPA for individuals who scored high on racial centrality.

Although a school-level difference was found for GPA, with students at the HBU reporting a significantly higher mean GPA than students at the PWU, the data revealed no evidence of school differences in the pattern of results. This finding suggested that the

moderating relationship of racial centrality appeared to be consistent across both the HBU and the PWU. The researchers also investigated the possible relationships between gender, class, and income with racial centrality, racial ideology, and GPA. However, no significant relationship was found.

From a theoretical perspective, a major strength of the study was that the overall pattern of relationships (i.e., the moderating effect of centrality) was consistent with the MMRI. Although this study provided important evidence for the relationship between racial ideology and academic performance, efforts to apply these findings to other African Americans students at HBUs and PWUs should be done with caution. The sample consisted of majority African American women and students from the PWU. Further research is needed with a more equal gender and school type distribution sample. The researchers failed to define African American and examine if all the participants were American born. Also, allowing students to self-report was a major limitation of the study. Further research should be conducted with getting GPAs from school records. Given the fact that very little research has been conducted using the multidimensional theoretical framework, further research efforts should include a focus on the construct validity of the MIBI to determine the relation of this racial identity measure to other relevant constructs (e.g., self-efficacy, academic motivation, self-esteem).

African American Male Student-Athletes and Academic Experience Research

Benson's (2000) qualitative study was designed to discover the educational experiences and perspectives of African American athletes. The researcher investigated the student-athletes' high-school background, early college years, and current academic experience. In addition, their perceptions regarding their interactions with various members

of the academic community and regarding their experiences in the classroom and in studying

activities were taken into account.

Eight African American football scholarship recipients were interviewed. The

sample population consisted of three seniors, one juniors, and four sophomores. All

participants in the study attended a large public, predominantly White, southeastern

university with a highly ranked Division I revenue-producing football program. Each

participant was identified as "academically at-risk" by the head coach and academic advising

office for student-athletes. The cumulative GPAs of the participants ranged from 1.6 to 2.3,

and the mean cumulative GPA for the group was 1.96.

The sample participated in two meetings and spent an average of three hours with the

researcher. The student-athletes' stories were collected through ethnographic, open-ended, in-

depth interviews. The data were analyzed according to constant-comparison and thematic

analysis techniques to identify connections within and across interviews.

The major analysis of the study suggested that the student-athletes' marginal

academic performance was constructed in a system of interrelated practices engaged in by

the significant members (i.e., coaches, peers, advisors, instructors, and the student-athletes

themselves) of the academic setting. In order to better understand how the entire system of

schooling process contributed to the poor academic performance of the "at-risk" student-

athletes, two components were presented: "(a) the establishment and reinforcement of limited

expectations and attitudes by advisors, peers, teachers, and coaches and (b) the role the

football players themselves played in the process" (Benson, 2000, p. 229).

From the stories and perspectives of the student-athletes, Benson (2000) intended to

present the relationships among the structural process of the educational system, the

expectations and practices of others, and the attitudes and practices of the student-athletes and how these components are connected to the inadequate academic performance of these students. In addition, by looking at the academic experience of these students' first-hand, the researcher was able to acquire vital information that provided a discussion on the education policies and practices needed to improve the academic performance of "at-risk" African American student-athletes. There were some limitations, however, to the study. The researcher failed to provide specific examples of the interview questions, which make it difficult to replicate the study and to get a clear understanding as to what her initial focus was. The researcher did mention that the interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. However, no explanation was given as to who transcribed or coded the data. If the researcher was not the only one collecting and analyzing the data, one would have to question the reliability of the qualitative interviews. This lack of information threatens the construct validity of the study and may affect the results obtained from the study. In addition, the duration of the interviews was also questionable. Was the three hours over two meetings long enough for the research to sufficiently understand the student-athletes and their experiences? Given the fact that the sample consisted of "at-risk" African American football players, the interpretation of the results must be done cautiously as well as applying these findings to other student-athletes attending other university.

The researcher suggested that future research should focus on the experiences of coaches, instructors, and advisors with these student-athletes regarding academic issues. In regards to the coaches, typically their demands on their athletes differ in regards to the division of the institution (i.e., Division I or Division II) and the type of sport (i.e., revenue or non-revenue producing sport). Therefore, additional research on the issue could examine the

student-athletes' perceptions of the coaches demands and its possible impact on their educational experience. Furthermore, conducting a longitudinal study that examines the student-athletes' experiences from the beginning to the end of their educational experience could also contribute to the body of research.

Assuming that stereotypical and racist attitudes still exist in American sport, Sailes (1993) conducted a study to determine the presence of the relationship between intellectual stereotyping and racial stereotyping. The researcher also examined ethnic and gender differences in regards to racial and athletic stereotyping. Specifically, the study assessed college students' beliefs regarding specific stereotypes about African American male student-athletes and about college male student-athletes. This study investigated beliefs about intelligence, academic integrity and academic competitiveness among male college student-athletes. In addition, the researcher investigated the assumptions regarding intelligence, academic preparation, style of play, competitiveness, physical superiority, athletic ability, and mental temperament in African American male student-athletes.

The researcher developed a 30-item questionnaire for this investigation. The instrument contained questions such as: (a) "Generally, athletes are not as smart as the average student." and (b) "Generally blacks are better athletes than whites." The questionnaire was administered to 869 (427 males and 442 females) undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in lecture hall classes at Indiana University. The study included 45 African American students, 786 White students, 38 identified as other. The research hypothesized that intellectual stereotyping and racial stereotyping exist and there is a relationship between the two. Also, the college students' beliefs will vary by race and gender.

Sailes (1993) found significant differences on the intelligence competence and academic integrity variables. The White students believed that athletes were not as smart and academically competitive as the typical student; whereas, White and male students felt strongly that athletes took easy courses to maintain their eligibility. This finding suggested that the "dumb jock" stereotype was prevalent among the participants. However, only 10% of the sample was willing to admit to their belief in this stigma.

From the results, the researcher was able to support the notion that racial stereotyping regarding African American male athletes still exists. The data indicated that Whites and males held stronger negative stereotypical beliefs about African American male athletes. Specifically, White and male students felt more strongly that African American male student-athletes were not academically prepared to attend college, received lower grades, and were not as intelligent than White male athletes. Furthermore, male students believed that African American male student-athletes were generally temperamental. Although the women and African American students did not hold negative views regarding sport stereotyping, they did believe that African American male student-athletes were more competitive and had a different playing style than White male student-athletes.

The results of the study were noteworthy in that they substantiate the presence and continued existence of racial and social stereotyping. This investigation further illustrated the attitudinal problems permeating intercollegiate sports, American colleges and universities, and society as a whole. Although this research contributed to the body of literature regarding African American student-athletes, it did have several limitations. The external validity was threatened in that the sample consisted of Indiana University students and approximately 64% of the students were from the state of Indiana. Hence, it is difficult

to generalize the findings to other college students. Therefore, future research should be conducted with populations from other geographic areas. A major limitation of the study involved the questionnaire used to assess racially and intellectually oriented beliefs about college student-athletes. The researcher failed to provide any reliability or validity information on the instrument. The missing information makes evaluating the construct validity impossible. Therefore, future research on the questionnaire should be done in order to assure that the dependent variables (i.e., intelligence, academic preparation, athletic ability, etc.) chosen to operationalize the construct (i.e., stereotypical beliefs about college student-athletes) are reliable and valid.

African American Males and Academic Performance Research

The purpose of Davis' (1995) study was to examine the relationship among student background, racial congruency, and college-level factors affecting academic performance of black male college students attending HBCUs and PWCUs. The study also evaluated relative effects of institutional environment, including social support, on academic achievement in college. The sample consisted of 742 Black males who attended both historically Black (55%) and predominantly White (45%) institutions. The data in this study were drawn from Nettles's (1988) survey of college students' academic and social experience. The participants completed the Student Opinion Survey (SOS; Nettles, 1988), a 109-item questionnaire that assessed issues of college performance, behaviors, and attitudes.

The independent or predictor variables for the study were: (a) Academic and Personal background factors (i.e., age, socioeconomic background, high school GPA, SAT, and degree aspirations), (b) Racial Congruency Factors (i.e., community racial congruency and high school racial congruency), and (c) College-level Factors (i.e., academic integration, study

habits, peer relations, institutional support, and academic achievement). The research

questions for the study were: (a) What differences exist between college environment type

(i.e., HBCUs or PWCUs) in regards to Black male achievement and (b) Which variable(s)

best predict academic success for Black males at predominantly White and historically Black

colleges and universities?

The finding revealed that, with the exception of peer relations, there were significant

differences found among all variables. Specifically, PWCUs Black males reported better

high school grades and higher SAT scores than their counterparts at HBCUs; whereas, Black

males attending HBCUs indicated significantly higher college GPAs than their peers

attending PWCUs. A difference was revealed in the continuity of Black males' high school

racial composition and that of their college campuses. Those PWCU students indicated less

racial congruency between their high school and community and their college than did their

HBCU peers. Black males attending HBCUs were found to be more integrated into the

academic life of the campus, got better grades, and perceived their colleges as providing

more institutional support. However, Black students at PWCUs reportedly had better study

habits. The study also showed that those students attending PWCUs who had more positive

perceptions about institutional support studied harder and had stronger peer relations.

Moreover, academic integration was the only college environment variable found to be a

significant predictor of these student's grades at PWCUs. Additionally, the findings revealed

that HBCU Black males who had higher SES backgrounds, higher GPAs in high school, and

higher SATs, and who were more academically integrated into campus life, had good study

habits and formed strong relations with their peers. They were also more likely to get better

grades. Hence, the college environmental variables explained most of the variations in academic performance for Black males attending HBCUs.

Given that most of the research conducted on African American college students' outcomes includes both male and female participants, Davis' study was unique in that he focused exclusively on African American males. This investigation provided a framework for understanding how African American males who attend HBCUs differ academically from those who attend PWCUs. The study has also expanded the literature with regards to factors that predict academic success of Black males at HBCUs and PWCUs. However, there are several drawbacks to the study. The researcher failed to provide a theoretical framework from which the study was derived. The study's procedural information was very limited, therefore, making it difficult to replicate. Caution should be taken when applying these findings to all African American males attending college. Additional, theory-based research needs to be conducted. Research needs to focus on the construct validity of the measure used in the study. Furthermore, the study did not take into consideration how specific non-cognitive factors might affect the student's academic performance. Research that considers the effect of academic self-efficacy, motivation, and self-esteem could shed further light on the results.

Conclusion

Previous research conducted by Fordham (1988) indicated that in order for African American students to have positive academic outcomes, they have to develop a "racelessness" identity. This identity requires individuals to distance themselves from their Black peers. Fordham's assertions regarding racelessness and the academic performance of

African American male student-athletes have provoked this investigation into the relationship between academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity.

Based upon the review of the preceding theories and research studies regarding academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity development, it seems that a relationship does exist between academic self-concept and racial identity. Consequently, Fordham's theory of racelessness is not supported. Tatum (1999) argues that academically successful Black students have the ability to play down Black identity in order to succeed in school and mainstream institutions without rejecting their Black identity and culture.

The research done by Sellers, Chavous, et al. (1998) and Hood (1998) indicated that racelessness does not seem to be an effective strategy for African American college students. Specifically, Sellers, Chavous, et al.'s (1998) results revealed that racial centrality was positively associated with college grade point average. Therefore, individuals for whom race was a more central aspect of their self-concept reported higher GPAs. In addition, ideologies that de-emphasized the importance of race (i.e., humanist) and emphasized the connection with the mainstream (i.e., assimilation) were not associated with academic success. Similarly, Hood, (1998), using a different instrument to assess racial identity, found that African American students who held internalization attitudes (i.e., reflecting a sense of pride and security in one's racial identity) reported higher cumulative GPAs than students who held pre-encounter attitudes (i.e., reflecting a non-Black or anti-Black persona). From these results it is evident that racial identity is related to the academic performance of African American students.

Given that individuals who hold high racial identity attitudes or high racial centrality have higher GPAs, one could assume that individuals with higher levels of racial identity or

racial centrality would feel more confident in their academic abilities. However, Cokley's (1998) study revealed that the racial identity dimension of public regard (i.e., an individual's affective and evaluative judgments of their race) was the single best predictor of academic self-concept. Hence, the extent to which an individual feels that others view African Americans positively influences their self-concept. In addition, Cokley (1998) found that college GPA was the best predictor of academic self-concept followed by quality of student-faculty interactions. In a similar study which looked at institutional differences, Cokley (2000) indicated that the best predictor of academic self-concept of PWCU students was GPA. However, the best predictor of academic self-concept of HBCU students was quality of student-faculty interactions. Additionally, underclassmen had higher mean academic self-concept scores than their upperclassmen peers. Furthermore, the research conducted by Davis (1995) found that students at HBCUs reported significantly higher GPAs than their peers at PWIs. African American males at the HBCUs were more integrated into the academic life of the campus, got better grades, and perceived their colleges as providing more institutional support. However, African American males attending the PWCUs reportedly had better study habits. Also, academic integration was the only college environment variable found to be a significant predictor of these students' grades at PWCUs. In another study examining academic success of minority students, academic self-concept was the best predictor variable for academic success. From these findings, one could assume that GPA is a critical variable in the relationship between racial identity and academic self-concept.

Even though the athletic identity studies in this review did not examine the academic performance of student-athletes, assumptions can be made regarding the relationship between

these two variables. Both Murphy et al.'s (1996) and Good et al.'s (1993) studies agreed that male varsity student-athletes in revenue-producing sports have a tendency to identify strongly and exclusively with the athletic role and are less likely to explore alternative roles or identities. Therefore, one could assume that those individuals who have a strong identification with the athletic role would possibly struggle with their role as students.

Based on these findings and observations, one could ask what is the educational experience like for African American student-athletes. Benson (2000) conducted a qualitative study that investigated the academic performance of eight African American football players at a predominantly White Division I institution. Because of their academic performance, these student-athletes were identified as "at-risk". Benson suggested that the reason for these student-athletes' poor academic performance was a result of a series of actions by significant members (i.e., coaches, peers, advisors, and instructors) in the educational environment and by the student-athletes themselves. Specifically, the results revealed that the "significant others" communicated messages to the students that suggested that others were more responsible for their academic programs than they were themselves, that they were neither capable of nor were expected to perform well academically, and that they were not cared about as individual persons. Consequently, these athletes would internalize these messages and become detached from academics by adopting an attitude of "doing enough to just get by in school." As a result of constructing this attitude, the students would perform poorly academically.

Furthermore, Sailes (1993) data indicated that White students and male students held stronger negative stereotypical beliefs about African male athletes. Specifically, White students and male students felt more strongly that African American male student-athletes

were not academically prepared to attend college, received lower grades, and were not as intelligent as White male athletes. Hence, one would have to ask if those "messages by significant others" discussed in Benson's (2000) study are a result of the stereotypical attitudes and beliefs found in Sailes (1993) study.

With all the research that has been done, the relationship among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity is still unknown. In addition, research findings have shown that students attending HBCUs perform better academically and underclassmen perceived their academic abilities more positively than upperclassmen. Are these results true for African American male student-athletes? Given the growing concern regarding the academic performance of student-athletes, there seems a need for researchers to begin investigating factors that could possible have an impact on their educational endeavors.

The current research study seeks to answer three main questions. First, what relationships exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, racial identity dimensions, and academic performance? It is hypothesized that there will be positive relationships among academic self-concept, cumulative grade point average, and racial centrality. In addition, there will be negative relationships among academic self-concept, cumulative grade point average, athletic identity, and racial ideology (i.e., Nationalist subscale, Oppressed Minority subscale, Assimilation subscale, and Humanist subscale). Second, what differences exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions for student-athletes attending a historically Black university (HBU) and student-athletes attending a predominantly White university (PWU)? It is postulated that African American male student-athletes attending the HBU will have higher academic self-concepts and higher levels of racial centrality and nationalist ideology than African American male student-

athletes attending the PWU. Also, African American male student-athletes attending the PWU will exhibit higher levels of athletic identity and racial ideologies of assimilationist, humanist, and oppressed minority than African American male student-athletes attending the HBU. Third, what academic level (i.e., freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors) differences exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions? It is hypothesized that underclassmen student-athletes will exhibit higher levels of academic self-concept and athletic identity than upperclassmen student-athletes. In addition, upperclassmen student-athletes will exhibit higher levels of racial centrality and nationalist ideology than underclassmen student-athletes.

Chapter 3

METHOD

The purpose of this investigation was to examine the self-perceptions of African American male student-athletes in regards to academic abilities, athletic role, and ethnicity. More specifically, this study explored how academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity are related to the academic performance of African American male student-athletes. In addition, differences in institutional affiliation and academic level were examined. This chapter presents the research methodology which includes: description of the participants, independent and dependent measures, data collection procedures, and the analysis of data strategy.

Participants

The participants in this study consisted of 101 African American male student-athletes. The data were collected during the Spring 2002 semester. Of the 101 participants, a total of 48 student-athletes attended a historically Black university (i.e., HBU) while 53 student-athletes attended a predominantly White university (i.e., PWU). Both public universities are located in the Southeast region of the United States and are NCAA Division I-AA institutions. The sample was not randomly selected. This investigation was designed to examine the self-perceptions of collegiate athletes. Given that majority of the African American male student-athletes participate in revenue-producing sports, this study focused on football and basketball players from both universities. Seventy-eight of the participants were football players and 23 student-athletes were basketball players. The academic level of the participants was as follows: 32 freshmen, 22 sophomores, 22 juniors, and 25 seniors. The mean age of the participants was 20.23 years.

Independent Measures

The four independent variables in this investigation are (a) university affiliation, (b) academic level, (c) sport participation, and (d) cumulative grade point average. Information regarding the first three variables was collected from the student-athlete questionnaire. University affiliation is defined as either a historically Black university or a predominantly White university and referenced the type of university the student-athlete attended. Academic level was classified as a freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior in college. For this investigation, freshmen and sophomores were classified as underclassmen and juniors and seniors were classified as upperclassmen. Sport participation was defined as being either a football player or a basketball player. The cumulative grade point average (i.e., GPA) was determined by dividing the total number of quality points earned by the total number of quality hours attempted. Both institutions use a 4-point grading scale. GPA was not obtained via self-report but provided by the academic counselors.

Dependent Measures

Participants were administered three scales: (a) the Academic Self-Concept, (b) the Athletic Identity Measurement Scale, and (c) the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity. In addition, participants completed a student-athlete questionnaire.

Academic Self-Concept Scale (ASCS). The ASCS, was designed by Reynolds (1988), and assessed an academic facet of general self-concept in college students. The ASCS consists of 40 items to be rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (4) to indicate the degree to which each item described them. The ASCS yields one global score and seven subscale scores. The items were keyed in a positive direction for academic self-concept. Therefore, a high score indicated a high or

strong academic self-concept. Sample questions included the following: "Being a student is very rewarding experience," and "I feel teachers' standards are too high for me."

Factor analysis of the ASCS has yielded a seven-factor solution which has accounted for 52.6% of total variance (Reynolds, 1988). The seven factors were described in the following way:

Factor 1: grade and effort dimension

Factor 2: study habits/organizational self-perceptions

Factor 3: peer evaluation of academic ability

Factor 4: self-confidence in academics

Factor 5: satisfaction with school

Factor 6: self-doubt regarding ability

Factor 7: self-evaluation with external standards

Test-retest reliability is reported to be .88, and Cronbach's alpha for the entire scale has been reported to be .92, while reliability coefficients for the subscales range from .59 to .92 (Reynolds, 1988). After correction for attenuation, the correlation between academic self-concept and general self-concept was reported to be .44 which provided evidence for convergent validity of ASCS as measuring an academic facet of general self-concept. Discriminant validity with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale is reported to be .17, which suggests that the ASCS is "relatively free from social desirability" (Reynolds, 1988, p.236). (See Appendix A)

Athletic Identity Measurement Scale (AIMS). The AIMS was developed by Brewer, Van Raalte, and Linder (1993). The 10-item instrument was designed to measure the degree of identification, both behaviorally and psychologically, with the athletic role. Each item is

scored on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7) and are summed to create an overall athletic identity score. The AIMS is keyed in the direction such that a high score is indicative of a strong, exclusive athletic identity. The scale was designed to encompass social (e.g., "Most of my friends are athletes"), cognitive (e.g., "I spend more time thinking about sport than anything else") and affective (e.g., "I feel bad about myself when I do poorly in sport") elements of athletic identity. The item content of the AIMS was created in order to explore thoughts and feelings that are central to the daily experience of student-athletes.

Brewer et al. provided support for the psychometric integrity of the AIMS, obtaining a test-retest reliability coefficient of .89 over a 2-week period and Cronbach's alphas (internal consistency) coefficients ranging from .80 to .93 across three independent samples. In support of the convergent validity of the AIMS, significant correlations were found between the AIMS and measures of constructs conceptually related to athletic identity (e.g., level of sport involvement, perceived importance of sports competence). Nonsignificant correlations between the AIMS and measures of constructs conceptually unrelated to athletic identity (e.g., social desirability, self-esteem, perceived sports competence, sport skill level) provide evidence of the divergent or discriminant validity of the AIMS. (See Appendix B)

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). The MIBI is a paper-and-pencil instrument created by Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith (1997). The 56-item content, which is intended to assess Black racial identity, is scored on a 7-point Likert-type response scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree (7). The instrument is based upon Sellers et al. (1997) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity and

measures the three stable dimensions of racial identity (i.e., centrality, ideology, and regard). For the proposed study, only the Centrality and Ideology scales was utilized.

The 8-item Centrality scale was used to assess the extent to which being African American is central to the respondents' definition of themselves. Sample items for this scale included "Being Black is an important reflection of who I am" and "Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships." Participant scores were averaged across the 8 items such that a higher score on the Centrality scale was indicative of race being a more important aspect of the individuals' definition of self. The scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of .74 which suggests an acceptable level of internal consistency.

The Ideology scale consists of 4 subscales (i.e., Assimilation, Humanist, Nationalist, and Oppressed Minority) with 9 items for each subscale. The scale assesses the way African Americans view political/economic issues, cultural/social issues, intergroup relations, and attitudes toward the dominant group. The Assimilation subscale (Cronbach's alpha = .71) measures the extent to which an individual's racial ideology emphasizes the similarities of African Americans and the American society in general (e.g., "Blacks should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost"). The Humanist subscale (Cronbach's alpha = .67) reflects an ideology where the similarities of all human beings are emphasized (e.g., We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races). The Nationalist subscale (Cronbach's alpha = .80) measures the extent to which racial ideology emphasizes the uniqueness of being African American (e.g., "Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values"). Finally, the Oppressed Minority subscale (Cronbach's alpha = .77) emphasizes the relationships between African Americans and other

oppressed groups (e.g., "Black people should treat other oppressed people as allies"). (See Appendix C)

Student-Athlete Questionnaire. The Student-Athlete Questionnaire was developed for this study to better understand the demographic characteristics of the participants. The four question instrument requested the following information: age, university affiliation, academic level, and sport participation. (See Appendix D)

Procedures

Initial contact was made to the academic counselors and athletic directors at both universities in order to the explain purpose of the study and request their participation in the study. Once permission from the athletic directors was obtained institutional review board applications were submitted to each university. When approval for the research study was granted at both universities, individual meetings with the head basketball and football coaches were held to request permission to use their teams and identify procedures for obtaining the student-athletes' participation in the study. On specified dates during the Spring 2002 semester, the researcher, accompanied by the academic counselor, met with the African American student-athletes after a team meeting. At the beginning of each session, the participants were verbally given general information concerning the purpose of the study, confidentiality, honesty, and a brief explanation regarding the information in the research packets. The researcher distributed consent forms to those student-athletes who wanted to participate. After reading and signing the consent forms, the participants were given instructions on how to complete the research packets. Additionally, if the participants wanted to obtain a summary of the findings, they were asked to put their address on the consent form. In order to maintain confidentiality, the researcher left the room as the

academic counselor assigned identification numbers to each packet and distributed the

packets to the student-athletes. Each participant was given a packet containing the ASCS,

the AIMS, the MIBI, and the Student-Athlete Questionnaire. At the end of each session, the

academic counselor collected the research packets and reported the participants' cumulative

grade point average. Once all packets were collected, the researcher returned to the room

and debriefed the participants.

Analysis Strategy

Pearson Product Moment correlations were calculated to examine the relationship

among academic self-concept, athletic identity, racial identity dimensions, and academic

performance. Differences among the dependent variables (i.e., academic self-concept scores,

athletic identity scores, and racial identity dimensions scores) was analyzed using a 2

(university affiliation) x 2 (academic level) x 2 (sport participation) analysis of variance

(ANOVA) design. A traditional alpha level (p=.05) was set in order to determine statistical

significance of the results.

Chapter 4

RESULTS

This chapter reports the results of an investigation which examined the academic self-concept and identity development African American male student-athletes. Chapter four begins with a summary of demographic information to describe characteristics of the participants. Next, each research question and hypotheses will be presented followed by the research findings.

The sample consisted of 101 undergraduate African American male collegiate athletes. The average age of this sample was 20.23, with a range of 18 years to 24 years. Forty-eight (47.53%) were HBU student-athletes, fifty-three (52.48%) were PWU student-athletes. Seventy-eight (77.23%) were football players and 23 (22.77%) were basketball players. There were 54 (53.47%) underclassmen (i.e., freshmen and sophomores) and 47 (46.54%) upperclassmen (i.e., juniors and seniors). Specifically, the academic levels included: 32 freshmen (31.68%), 22 sophomores (21.78%), 22 juniors (21.78%), and 25 seniors (24.75%). The sample had a cumulative GPA mean of 2.31. Student-athletes attending the HBU had higher cumulative GPAs ($M = 2.42$) than their counterparts who attended the PWU ($M = 2.21$). The basketball participants had higher cumulative GPAs ($M = 2.55$) than the football participants ($M = 2.24$). The results are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Overall Sample

Variable	Frequency	Mean	SD
Cumulative Grade Point Average	101	2.31	0.60
HBU	48	2.42	0.65
PWU	53	2.21	0.56
Football	78	2.24	0.62
Basketball	23	2.55	0.50
Underclassmen[a]	54	2.18	0.66
Upperclassmen[b]	47	2.45	0.50
Academic Self-Concept Scale-Total		19.19	2.31
Athletic Identity Scale-Total		9.13	2.77
Racial Identity Dimensions-Totals			
Centrality Subscale		4.59	0.83
Assimilation Subscale		5.17	0.89
Humanist Subscale		5.33	0.85
Nationalist Subscale		3.95	0.90
Oppressed Minority Subscale		4.65	0.74

Note. HBU = Historically Black University; PWU = Predominantly White University
a. Freshmen and Sophomores
b. Juniors and Seniors

Research Question 1

What relationships exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, racial identity dimensions, and academic performance?

Hypothesis 1. There will be positive relationships among academic self-concept, cumulative grade point average, and racial centrality.

Hypothesis 2. There will be negative relationships among academic self-concept, cumulative grade point average, athletic identity, and racial ideology (i.e., Nationalist subscale, Oppressed Minority subscale, Assimilation subscale, and Humanist subscale).

In order to determine significant relationships among academic self-concept, athletic identity, racial identity dimensions, and cumulative grade point average, correlation analyses were performed. The results revealed that athletic identity was correlated with academic self-concept, cumulative grade point average, and humanist subscale. Specifically, the athletic identity scale score was positively correlated with academic self-concept scale score ($r = 0.249$, $p<0.01$). Student-athletes with higher levels of athletic identity had more confidence about their academic abilities. However, the amount of variance accounted for between athletic identity scale score and academic self-concept scale score was approximately 6% ($r^2 = .062$). A positive correlation was found between the athletic identity scale score and cumulative grade point average ($r = 0.229$, $p<0.05$). Specifically, student-athletes with higher athletic identity scale scores had higher cumulative grade point averages. Hence, the amount of variance accounted for between athletic identity scale score and academic performance was approximately 5% ($r^2 = .052$). A negative relationship was found between the athletic identity scale score and the Humanist subscale score ($r = -0.194$, $p<0.05$). Student-athletes, who identified strongly and exclusively with the athletic role,

were less likely to have a commitment toward humanist ideal (i.e., viewpoint that emphasizes the commonalities of all humans). However, the amount of variance accounted for between athletic identity scale score and the Humanist subscale score was approximately 3% ($r^2 =$ .038). Also, the results revealed a significant correlation was between the academic self-concept scale score and cumulative grade point average ($r = 0.434$, $p<0.0001$). Student-athletes who had higher academic self-concept scores had higher cumulative grade point averages. The results are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Pearson Product Correlations for Academic Self-concept, Athletic Identity, and Racial Identity Dimensions

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
					Student-Athletes (n=101)			
1. ASCS	-	.249**	.054	.171	.159	.167	.009	434****
2. AIMS		-	.050	-.073	-.194*	-.121	-.118	.229*
3. Racial Centrality			-	.142	-.085	.069	.296	-.096
4. Assimilation Subscale				-	.603	.542	.249	-.035
5. Humanist Subscale					-	.543	-.130	-.093
6. Oppressed Minority Subscale						-	.181	-.034
7. Nationalist Subscale							-	-.021
8. Cumulative Grade Point Average								-

Note. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001. ****p<.0001

To investigate possible differences among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions, separate 2 (university affiliation) x 2 (academic level) x 2 (sport participation) analysis of variance (ANOVAs) were performed. The results of the analysis of variance for the dependent variables are described below.

Research Question 2

What differences exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions for student-athletes attending the historically Black university (HBU) and student-athletes attending the predominantly White university (PWU)?

Hypothesis 3. African American male student-athletes attending the HBU will have higher academic self-concepts and higher levels of racial centrality and nationalist ideology than African American male student-athletes attending the PWU.

Hypothesis 4. African American male student-athletes attending the PWU will exhibit higher levels of athletic identity and racial ideologies of assimilationist, humanist, and oppressed minority than African American male student-athletes attending the HBU.

The results revealed no significant difference in the academic self-concept of student-athletes attending the HBU versus student-athletes attending the PWU ($F(1, 101) = 0.68$, $p > .05$). This finding suggests that student-athletes at both universities perceived their academic abilities in a similar fashion.

No significant university affiliation differences were found for student-athletes' perceptions regarding their performance in the athletic domain. From this result, it can be inferred that the strength and exclusivity of an individual's identification with the athletic

role does not differ significantly based on the racial composition of the university ($F(1, 101)$ = 0.24, $p>.05$).

The results revealed no significant difference in the Centrality dimension for student-athletes on the HBU and PWU campuses ($F(1, 101) = 0.57$, $p>.05$). Therefore, being African American was not the central aspect of their self-concept.

As for Racial Ideology, the results showed university affiliation differences to be significant among all four subscales. Student-athletes attending the PWU reported significantly higher Assimilation scores ($F(1,100) = 6.79$, $p<.0107$), higher Humanist scores ($F(1,97) = 6.49$, $p<.0125$), higher Oppressed Minority scores ($F(1,98) = 7.92$, $p<.0060$), and higher Nationalist scores ($F(1,98) = 8.40$, $p<.0047$). Student-athletes at the PWU ($M = 5.42$) expressed a closer connection to the mainstream American society than student-athletes at the HBU ($M = 4.91$). PWU student-athletes ($M = 5.02$) were more likely to de-emphasize the importance of race than HBU student-athletes ($M = 4.55$). Student-athletes on the PWU campus ($M = 4.91$) were more likely than HBU student-athletes ($M = 4.44$) to perceive other oppressed groups as having similar experiences to that of African Americans. Also, PWU student-athletes ($M = 4.91$) were found to express stronger nationalist beliefs (i.e., stress the uniqueness of being Black) than student-athletes attending the HBU ($M = 4.43$). Table 3 presents the means and standard deviations for the distributions.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for University Affiliation

	HBU		PWU	
Variable	Mean (N)	SD	Mean (N)	SD
Academic Self-concept	2.69 (48)	0.36	2.78 (53)	0.29
Athletic Identity	3.19 (48)	0.91	2.91 (53)	0.91
Racial Identity Dimensions				
Racial Centrality	4.55 (48)	0.87	4.62 (53)	0.80
Assimilation Subscale	4.91 (47)	0.89	5.42 (53)**	0.83
Humanist Subscale	4.55 (47)	0.78	5.02 (50)**	0.72
Oppressed Minority Subscale	4.44 (46)	0.54	4.91 (52)**	0.76
Nationalist Scale	4.43 (47)	0.54	4.91 (51)**	0.77

Note. HBU = Historically Black University; PWU = Predominantly White University
*$p<.05$. **$p<.01$.

Research Question 3

What academic level (i.e., underclassmen and upperclassmen) differences exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions?

Hypothesis 5. Underclassmen student-athletes will exhibit higher levels of academic self-concept and athletic identity than upperclassmen student-athletes.

Hypothesis 6. Upperclassmen student-athletes will exhibit higher levels of racial centrality and nationalist ideology than underclassmen student-athletes.

The results revealed no significant difference in academic self-concept between underclassmen and upperclassmen ($F(1,101) = 0.48, p>.05$). Therefore, underclassmen's perceptions of their academic abilities did not differ from upperclassmen's perceptions.

There was no significant difference found in racial centrality ($F(1, 101) = 2.16$, $p>.05$) and the remaining racial identity dimensions. Therefore, underclassmen and upperclassmen did not differ in how they define themselves as African Americans and the subjective meaning they ascribe to being apart of their ethnic group. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 4.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations for Academic Level

Variable	Underclassmen		Upperclassmen	
	Mean (N)	SD	Mean (N)	SD
Academic Self-concept	2.69 (54)	0.33	2.79 (47)	0.31
Athletic Identity	2.92 (54)	1.01	3.18 (47)	0.79
Racial Identity Dimensions				
Racial Centrality	4.46 (54)	0.92	4.74 (47)	0.68
Assimilation Subscale	5.12 (54)	0.88	5.25 (46)	0.91
Humanist Subscale	4.90 (51)	0.77	4.67 (46)	0.79
Oppressed Minority Subscale	4.82 (52)	0.80	4.54 (46)	054
Nationalist Scale	4.82 (52)	0.80	4.52 (46)	0.55

Note. *p<.05. **p<.01.

Finally, the results for athletic identity revealed a three-way interaction among university affiliation, academic level, and sport participation ($F(1,101) = 8.71$, $p<0.0040$). A simple effects test was carried out to assess the interaction among the three independent variables. This analysis could not indicate specific areas of significance due to small cell sizes (all ranged in size from 1-5).

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present study was to examine the relationship among academic self-concept, athletic identity, racial identity and academic performance of African American male student-athletes. In addition, university affiliation and academic level differences were explored. Specifically, this investigation sought to answer three main questions. First, what relationships exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, racial identity dimensions, and cumulative grade point average? Second, what differences exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions for student-athletes attending the historically Black university (HBU) and student-athletes attending the predominantly White university (PWU)? Third, what academic level (i.e., underclassmen and upperclassmen) differences exist among academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions?

Research question one originated from previous research that investigated variables that influence the academic performance of African American students (Cokley, 1998, 2000; Davis, 1995; Hood, 1998; and Sellers, Chavous, et al., 1998). In examining possible relationships among the dependent variables and cumulative GPA, it was hypothesized that there would be positive relationships among academic self-concept, cumulative GPA, and racial centrality. The results indicated that a positive correlation was found between academic self-concept and cumulative GPA. Hence, the more confidence an African American male student-athlete has in his academic abilities, the higher his cumulative GPA. This finding was expected and consistent with previous literature. Cokley (1998) and Gerardi (1998) found academic self-concept to be the best predictor variable for academic success.

The findings from this study indicate that the self-perceptions African American male student-athletes have about their academic abilities has a significant impact on their performance in an academic situation. Therefore, the student-athlete who believes that he is capable of performing well on an exam is more likely to put forth more effort by studying longer or attending tutorial in order to achieve that potential.

Sellers, Chavous, et al. (1998) found racial centrality to be significantly related to the cumulative GPA of African American students. However, the data of this investigation revealed no evidence to support racial centrality's association with academic self-concept and cumulative GPA. A possible explanation for racial centrality not being associated with academic performance and academic self-concept is that African American male student-athletes may feel a sense of comfort and confidence in their racial identity. As a result, the student-athletes may be able to separate their academic success from their ethnicity. Therefore, the meaning and significance of race in their self-concept has no relationship to their perceptions about their academic abilities or academic achievement.

Research hypothesis two stated that there would be negative relationships among academic self-concept, cumulative GPA, athletic identity, and racial ideology. The rationale for this prediction generated from the research of Murphy et al.'s (1996) and Good et al.'s (1993) studies which indicated that students who identify strongly and exclusively with the athlete role are less likely to investigate other roles or identities. As a result, student-athletes' involvement and commitment to the athlete role could potentially hinder achievement. Nevertheless, in the present study athletic identity was found to be positively correlated with academic self-concept and cumulative GPA. The inconsistency of results is very interesting. It is possible that today's athletic arena has created an environment that is so demanding,

restrictive, and sheltered that it discourages student-athletes from examining alternative

identities. On the other hand, the findings of this study suggest that African American male

student-athletes who have a strong dedication to the athlete role are capable of exploring

multiple roles and identities (i.e., academic self-concept) and achieving academic success as

measured by cumulative GPA. These results imply that African American males

participating in Division I-AA athletics have the ability to use their commitment and

acceptance of one salient role (e.g., student) to create more energy to occupy another salient

role (i.e., varsity athlete). Division I-AA student-athletes may be able to balance multiple

roles and achieve academic success because their aspirations of becoming a professional

athlete are lower than Division I student-athletes. Therefore, African American male

student-athletes at Division I-AA institutions realize that their future employment

opportunities are much more likely to result from their performance in the classroom than

their actions on the court or field.

Finally, athletic identity was found to be negatively associated with humanist

ideology. The more African American male student-athletes identified strongly and

exclusively with the athlete role the less likely they were to commitment to an ideology that

emphasizes commonalities of all human beings (i.e., humanist). Therefore, student-athletes

with higher levels of athletic identity are not able to think in terms of distinguishing

characteristics (e.g., race, occupation, gender, class). These student-athletes have the

potential to be vulnerable to the negative influence of racial discrimination. For example, if a

young African American male, who was the star high school quarterback, comes to college

and his coach changes his position to wide receiver. He may attribute the position change to

his own personal inabilities instead of contributing this experience to possibly being the discriminatory practices of stacking.

Although no relationship was found between athletic identity and racial centrality, one could speculate that as athletic identity continues to increase; it may develop at the expense of other parts of the student-athlete's self-concept, thus hindering or delaying the development of racial centrality. In addition, African American male student-athletes are so dedicated to the athlete role that it could be possible for them to deem the significance of race as a less salient component in their self-concept.

The second research question examined university affiliation differences among the dependent variables. This particular research question was derived from Cokley's (1998, 2000) and Sellers, Chavous, et al.'s, (1998) studies. It was speculated that HBU male student-athletes would have higher levels of academic self-concept, racial centrality and nationalist ideology than the PWU male student-athletes. Similar to previous findings (Cokley, 1998, 2000), the results of the present study indicated no significant differences in academic self-concept for African American male student-athletes attending HBU versus African American male student-athletes attending the PWU. Given the fact that academic self-concept was found to be significantly related to cumulative GPA and the cumulative GPA for HBU student-athletes was higher than the PWU student-athletes, one would assume that there would be university differences found for academic self-concept. Consequently, the findings suggest that student-athletes at both universities perceive their academic abilities in similar fashion. One reason for this result could be Davis's (1995) belief that, for African American male students, the type of university attended has no significant impact on their academic performance. Instead, it is the university environmental variables (i.e., academic

integration, study habits, peer relations, institutional support) that have greater influence on their performance. Thus, the African American male student-athletes who are more integrated into the academic life of the campus, have positive perceptions about institutional support, have stronger peer relations, and good study habits are more likely to get good grades.

As for racial centrality, the results revealed no significant difference between African American male student-athletes attending the HBU and African American male student-athletes attending the PWU. Thus, the evidence did not support the assumption that HBU male student-athletes would have higher levels of racial centrality than PWU male student-athletes. For HBU and PWU African American male student-athletes, it is apparent that race is not a central facet in their self-concept.

Significant differences between the two groups of student-athletes were found for all racial ideologies. African American male student-athletes at the PWU had higher assimilationist, humanist, oppressed minority, and nationalist scores than student-athletes at the HBU. Although, the data revealed a significant finding for the nationalist ideology, this finding did not substantiate the research hypothesis. Conversely, African American male student-athletes at the PWU were more likely to have a racial ideology that focuses on the unique experiences of African Americans. Surprisingly, one would suspect that the HBU, more so than the PWU, would provide an environment that would positively reinforce the nationalist ideology since the HBU reflects and incorporates cultural values of African Americans. More importantly, it may be possible for the PWU male student-athletes to feel a need to have stronger nationalist beliefs because they are on a predominantly White campus which has an African American population of less than 8%. In addition, the African

American population on campus is greater than the African American population found in surrounding areas of the university.

The effect of university affiliation in assimilationist, humanist, and oppressed minority ideologies were not surprising since it was predicted that PWU male student-athletes would possess higher levels on these ideologies than HBU male student-athletes. While the results supports the notion that institutional norms and practices at the PWU allows these ideologies to cultivate more so than at the HBU, it also suggest that higher levels of assimilation (i.e., emphasizes the connection to the mainstream) and humanist (i.e., emphasizes commonalities of all humans) for PWU male student-athletes could possibly serve as survival techniques need to achieve success in a predominantly White environment. Also, it is more likely that the student-athletes attending the PWU have more opportunities to interact with individuals from other ethnic groups. Having constant exposure to a multicultural environment increases the likelihood that African American male student-athletes at the PWU will develop an ideology that views other groups as having similar experiences to their cultural heritage (i.e., oppressed minority). As a result, this identification with other ethnic groups is particularly important to PWU male student-athletes. Thus, one could speculate that having an ideology that includes an acceptance of other groups is significant for academic success. Specifically, resilient student-athletes, on the PWU campus, are able to fit their actions and thinking into the expectations of the dominant culture.

As for athletic identity, the data indicated no significant differences between HBU student-athletes and PWU student-athletes. Therefore, university affiliation has no effect on how one identifies with the athlete role.

Research question three explored academic level differences in academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity dimensions. Contrary to previous findings (Cokley, 1998; Good, et al., 1993), the results of this study failed to reveal academic level differences in academic self-concept and racial identity dimensions. Therefore, student-athletes who were more acclimated to the university did not differ in their perceptions regarding their academic abilities, athlete role, and ethnicity from those student-athletes who were less acclimated. Hence, the hypotheses for these variables were not supported.

Although specific areas of significance could not be determined, the data, when examined for academic levels differences, revealed a three-way interaction among university affiliation, academic level, and sport participation.

Significance of Study

Given the fact that there has been very little research done on African American male student-athletes, this study offers valuable insight into their self-perceptions regarding academic abilities, athlete role, and ethnicity. In addition, the results of this investigation reveal a significant relationship between academic self-concept and cumulative GPA. Therefore, this study adds to the literature that supports the notion that the academic facet of African American students' overall self-concept is closely related to their success in academic pursuits. Finally, this study provides a framework for exploring African American male student-athletes' academic self-concept, athletic identity, and racial identity on college campuses with different ethnic compositions.

Limitations

There are three important limitations to this study that should be considered when interpreting the findings. Given the small sample size ($N = 101$), unequal distributions of

student-athletes across sport participation, and the fact that all the participants attended Division I-AA institutions in the southeast, caution should be taken when applying these results to the general African American male student-athlete population at HBUs and PWUs. Another limitation was using the cumulative GPA as a measure of academic success because HBU and PWU male student-athletes have different educational backgrounds. Thus, they enter college with different levels of academic abilities. Lastly, statistical validity was jeopardized because of the small number of participants which created small cell sizes.

Implications for Future Research

First, the cross-sectional research design that was used in this study does not allow causal conclusions regarding the associations among the independent variables (i.e., university affiliation, academic level, and sport participation) in African American male student-athletes. Hence, future research should utilize the longitudinal research design to examine any changes that may occur in the dependent variables from beginning to the end of African American male student-athletes' collegiate careers. Given the fact that student-athletes at NCAA Division I institutions tend to have a higher level of talent and expectations of becoming professional athletes. Future studies should attempt to investigate these student-athletes' perceptions of their academic abilities, athlete role, and ethnicity. Thus, some of these results may be even more pronounced among student-athletes at this division level. Finally, a replication of this study using a larger sample size with relatively equal distribution of participants across sport participation is recommended.

Implications for Professionals Working with African American Male Student-Athletes

Given the unique educational experience of African American male student-athletes, it is imperative for academic advisors and other counseling professionals to examine factors

affecting these student-athletes' educational and identity development. Practitioners need to also understand how the campus environment and racial identity influences the college experience of these student-athletes. In addition to being knowledgeable of these issues, university professionals should apply the information obtain from this study to developing policies and designing and implementing programs that enhance these student-athletes' development and learning.

The results of this investigation support the use of the academic self-concept construct with African American male student-athletes. It appears that the Academic Self-concept Scale (ASCS) is a useful tool for academic advisors and other counseling professionals to access the student-athletes' perceptions of their academic abilities and make predictions about the way they will behave in the classroom. There is no doubt that academic self-perceptions influence the way the student-athlete acts, and these acts, in turn, influence their academic self-concept. Yet, why is it that African American male student-athletes continue to perform worse academically than any other group of student-athletes? A possible explanation is that some educational institutions have established policies and practices that discourage student-athlete involvement in academics, which in turn, encourages their poor academic performance. Such methods used by university professionals include: academic advisors' tendency of selecting and registering groups of student-athletes in easy courses and encouraging student-athletes to select less demanding majors; athletic administrators' and coaches' choices of not enforcing negative consequences for academic rules violations (e.g., not attending class, cheating) because of unwillingness to possible lose a big game due to a key player not participating; and professors' laissez-faire approach that allows student-athletes to engage in unproductive academic practices (i.e., sleeping in class)

without reprimand or confrontation. Therefore, the messages African American male student-athletes perceived from significant others' course of action could be that they are not capable of performing well academically and that academics are not important. In addition, student-athletes can play a major role in creating their academic performance. Once the implicit and/or explicit messages from significant others are internalized, student-athletes could construct attitudes and engage in practices that conform to these collective messages they receive. For example, if student-athletes are constantly receiving negative messages, then they are likely to adopt attitudes of resistance, isolation, and/or detachment from academics. It is important for academic advisors and other counseling professionals to realize that the messages perceived by African American male student-athletes provide reinforcement (negative and positive) for behavior and information about themselves, both of which has an influence on their academic self-concept. Thus, the feedback from significant others is essential to the enhancement of student-athletes' feelings about their academic worth.

Given the academic performance and the impact of significant others' feedback, it may be beneficial for academic advisors and other counseling professionals to have a better understanding of the role that the university environment could have on the academic achievement of African American male student-athletes. Previous research has shown that the most determinant factor of academic success is academic integration (Davis, 1995). The more African American students participated in activities that immersed them in the academic life on campus, the more likely they are to have higher grade point averages. Thus, the two best indicators for integration are peer relations and faculty support.

     The importance of peer relations and faculty support can be useful in understanding how to be effective with African American male student-athletes. Hence, academic advisors and other counseling professionals can play a vital role in fostering a supportive academic environment and improving student-faculty relationships. Based on the results of the study, academic advisors and other counseling professionals, particularly at PWUs, need to provide greater integration of African American male student-athletes in the academic mainstream of college life. Due to the heavy demands of the athlete role, it is not uncommon for student-athletes to feel cut off or isolated from the rest of the student population. However, academic advisors and other counseling professionals should encourage and provide opportunities for African American male student-athletes to network and study with peers (e.g., non-athletes). By increasing their interactions with the general student body, these student-athletes are more likely to develop supportive peer relationships, which in turn, could lead to them developing a sense of group belonging.

     In addition, academic advisors and other counseling professionals can assist in facilitating positive student-faculty interactions. By working collaboratively with university educators, academic advisors have the opportunity to educate faculty on the benefits of utilizing teaching styles that allow them to become more academically involved with African American male student-athletes. Academic advisors can increase the faculty's awareness and understanding of how their academic feedback can affect the academic performance of these student-athletes. Also, university educators should be encouraged to serve as mentors for these student-athletes. Such student-faculty, out-of-class interactions may bolster a sense of connectedness to the institution as well as enhance the academic achievement of African American male student-athletes. In order to produce positive educational outcomes in these

student-athletes, institutions of higher education need to foster an environment that provides significant amounts of support and empowerment.

Assuming that for all African Americans, race is the central aspect of their self-concept can be problematic. In fact, this study found that race is not the central identity of African American male student-athletes. Given the fact that individuals will seek out activities and relationships that are consistent with their more central and salient identities, these student-athletes may become so consumed in the athletic culture that they do not explore less salient identities in their self-concept. Thus, one could speculate that having "athlete" as a central and salient dimension of the self-concept may hinder or delay racial identity development. However, assuming that race is not an important part of their identity and failing to provide these student-athletes with opportunities that could enhance their racial identity development, may be detrimental. African American male student-athletes, at some point during their collegiate careers, will be faced (directly or indirectly) with different events involving race (positive and negative). Their racial identity has a significant influence in how they respond to these issues as well as how they perceive and interact with their environment. Practitioners need to be mindful that certain situations can cause changes in their racial identity attitudes and beliefs. In addition, academic advisors and other counseling professionals need to have a good understanding where the student-athlete is in his developmental journey as well as take into consideration the impact that the campus environment can have on their racial identity when developing and implementing effective programs and services.

Finally, academic advisors and other counseling professionals need to be cognizant of the centrality of sport in the identity of African American male student-athletes. In addition

to affecting their academic performance, their level of commitment to the athlete role can have a significant impact on their career development. African American male student-athletes should be encouraged to incorporate more realistic vocational choices into their existing identities. It is essential that academic advisors and other counseling professionals help these student-athletes understand that it is possible for them to participate in sports and also prepare for a career that is suitable for their individual interests and abilities. It is not unusual for those student-athletes expecting to extend their athletic careers into professional sports to be cautious about engaging in career planning. However academic advisors and other counseling professionals need to challenge this professional dream directly by developing career workshops and programs that approach career planning as a contingency for post-sport career retirement instead of as an alternative to the professional sport dream. Given the opportunity to develop realistic career aspirations, these student-athletes can achieve the same level of success as their peers.

REFERENCES

Adams, G. R., Shea, J., & Fitch, S. A. (1979). Toward the development of an objective assessment of ego identity status. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 8,* 223-237.

Allen, W. R., & Strong, B. M. (1996). National study of Black college students. In R. Jones (Ed.), *Handbook of tests and measurements for Black populations* (pp. 327-349). Berkeley, CA: Cobb & Henry.

Baldwin, J. A. (1981). Notes on an Africentric theory of Black personality. *The Western Journal of Black Studies, 5* (3), 172-179.

Baldwin, J. A. (1984). African self-consciousness and the mental health of African Americans. *Journal of Black Studies, 15* (2), 177-194.

Baldwin, J. A. (1996). An introduction to the African Self-Consciousness Scale. In R. Jones (Ed.), *Handbook of test and measurements for Black populations* (pp. 207-215). Berkeley: Cobb & Henry.

Benson, K. F. (2000). Constructing academic inadequacy. *The Journal of Higher Education, 71* (2), 223-246.

Brewer, B. W. (1991). *Athletic identity as a risk factor for depressive reaction to athletic injury.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University.

Brewer, B. W., Van Raalte, J. L., & Linder, D. E. (1993). Athletic identity: Hercules' muscles or Achilles' heel? *International Journal of Sport Psychology, 24,* 237-254.

Brookover, W., Thomas, S., & Patterson, A. (1964). Self-concept and school achievement. *Sociology of Education, 17,* 271-283.

Byrne, B. M. (1984). The general/academic self-concept nomological network: A review of construct validation research. *Review of Educational Research, 54,* 427-456.

Coakley, J. J. (1990). *Sport in society: Issues and controversies* (4th ed.). Boston: Times

    Mirror/Mosby.

Coakley, J. J. (2001). *Sport in society: Issues and controversies* (7th ed.). Boston:

    McGraw-Hill.

Cokley, K. O. (1998). *A comparative study of African self-consciousness, racial identity,*

    and academic self-concept among African American college students at historically

    Black and predominantly White colleges and universities. Unpublished doctoral

    dissertation, Georgia State University.

Cokley, K. (2000). An investigation of academic self-concept and its relationship to

    academic achievement in African American college students. *Journal of Black*

    Psychology, 26 (2), 148-164.

Cooley, C. H. (1902). *Human nature and the social order.* New York: Scribner's.

Crites, J. O. (1978). *Career Maturity Inventory administration & use manual* (2nd ed.).

    Monterey, CA: McGraw-Hill.

Cross, W. E. (1971). The Negro-to-Black conversion experience. *Black World, 10,* 13-27.

Cross, W. E. (1985). Black identity: Rediscovering the distinction between personal

    identity and reference group orientation. In M. Spencer, G. Brookins, & W. Allen

    (Eds.), *Beginnings: The social and affective development of Black children* (pp. 155-171).

    Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Cross, W. E. (1991). *Shades of Black: Diversity in African-American identity.*

    Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Cross, T. & Slater, R. B. (2000). The alarming decline in the academic performance of

    African American men. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 27,* 82-89.

Davis, L. R. (1990). The articulation of difference: White preoccupation with the question or racially linked genetic differences among athletes. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 7* (2), 179-187.

Davis, J. E. (1995). College in Black and White: Campus environment and academic achievement of African American males. *Journal of Negro Education, 63,* 620-630.

Edwards, H. (1983, November). Educating Black athletes. *Current,* 25-36.

Edwards, H. (1984). The black dumb jock: An American sports tragedy. *College Board Review, 131,* 8-13.

Edwards, H. (1985). Beyond symptoms: Unethical behavior in American collegiate sport and the problems of the color line. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 9,* 3-11.

Edwards, H. (1989). The exploitation of Black athletes. *AGB Reports, 25* (6), 37-46.

Eldridge, W. D. (1983). The importance of psychotherapy for athletic related orthopedic injuries among adults. *International Journal of Sport Psychology, 14,* 203-211.

Entine, J. (2000). *Taboo: Why Black athletes dominate sports and why we're afraid to talk about it.* New York: Public Affairs.

Erickson, E. H. (1968). *Identity youth and crisis.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Fordham, S. (1988). Racelessness as a factor in Black student's school success: Pragmatic strategy or pyrrhic victory? *Harvard Educational Review, 58,* 54-84.

Fordham, S. (1996). *Blacked Out: Dilemmas of race, identity, and success at Capital High.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the "burden of 'acting' White." *Urban Review, 18,* 176-206.

Gerardi, S. (1990). Academic self-concept as a predictor of academic success among

minority and low-socioeconomic status students. *Journal of College Student

Development, 31,* 402-407.

Gibbs, J. T. (1999). The social construction of race, ethnicity, and culture. In A. Garrod, J.

V. Ward, T. L. Robinson, & R. Kilkenny (Eds.), *Souls looking back: Life stories of

growing up Black.* (pp. 75-84). New York: Routledge.

Good, A. J., Brewer, B. W., Petitpas, A. J., Van Raalte, J. L., & Mahar, M. T. (1993,

Spring). Identity foreclosure, athletic identity, and college sport participation. *The

Academic Athletic Journal,* 1-12.

Hamacheck, D. (1982). Humanistic psychology: Theoretical-philosophical overview and

principles. *Journal of Humanistic Education and Development, 20,* 2-8.

Hattie, J. (1992). *Self-concept.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Heath, T. M. (1998). African American students self-concept development: Integrating

cultural influences into research and practice. In K. Freeman (Ed.), *African American

culture and heritage in higher education research and practice.* (pp. 33-42). Westport,

CT: Praeger.

Helms, J. E. (Eds.). (1990). *Black and White racial identity.* New York: Greenwood.

Heppner, P. P., Kivighan, D. M., & Wampold, B. E. (1992). *Research design in

counseling.* Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Hood, D. W. (1998). *Racial identity attitudes and African American students' academic

achievement, campus involvement, and academic satisfaction.* Unpublished doctoral

dissertation, Arizona State University.

Irvine, J. (1990). *Black students and school failure.* New York: Greenwood Press.

James, W. (1890). *Principles of psychology.* Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica.

James, W. (1892). *Psychology: The briefer course.* New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Leonard, W. M., II. (1986). The sports experience of the Black college athlete: Exploitation in the academy. *International Review for Sociology of Sport, 21,* 35-47.

Leonard, W. M., II. (1998). *A sociological perspective of sport* (5th ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Lindsey, F. (2000). Arena higher learning? Black athletes are the key players in college sports. But when will academia train them to succeed in the classroom and beyond? *Black Issues Book Review, 2* (5), 47-49.

Lombardo, B. (1978). The Harlem Globetrotters and the perception of the Black stereotype. *The Physical Educator, 35* (2), 60-63.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3,* 551-558.

Markus, H. (1977). Self-schemata and processing information about the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3,* 63-78.

Markus, H. (1983). Self-schemata and processing information about the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35* (2), 63-78.

Markus, H. & Kunda, Z. (1986). Stability and malleability of the self-concept. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51* (4), 858-866.

Markus, H. & Wurf, E. (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology, 38,* 299-337.

McCallum, J. (2002, March 11). Citizen Barkley. *Sports Illustrated, 96,* 32-38.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Murphy, G. M., Petitpas, A. J., & Brewer, B. W. (1996). Identity foreclosure, athletic identity, and career maturity in intercollegiate athletes. *The Sport Psychologist, 10,* 239-246.

National Collegiate Athletic Association (2002a). *1995-1996 NCAA Division I , II, & III graduation-rates summary.* Indianapolis, IN: National Collegiate Athletic Association.

National Collegiate Athletic Association (2002b). *2000-01 NCAA Student-athlete ethnicity report.* Indianapolis, IN: National Collegiate Athletic Association.

Nettles, M. T. (1988). *Toward Black undergraduate student equality in American higher education.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1981). The influence of Black's students' racial identity attitudes on preference for counselor's race. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 28,* 250-257.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108* (3), 499-514.

Reynolds, W. M. (1988). Measurement of academic self-concept in college students. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 52,* 223-240.

Reynolds, W. M., Ramirez, M. P., Magrina, A., & Allen, J. E. (1980). Initial development and validation of the academic self-concept scale. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 40,* 1013-1016.

Rogers, C. R. (1951). *Client-centered therapy.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Sailes, G. A. (1993). An investigation of campus stereotypes: The myth of Black athletic superiority and the dumb jock stereotype. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 10,* 88-97.

Sellers, R. M. & Chavous, T. .M. (Winter, 1997). Motivation vs. structure: Factors in the academic performance of African American college athletes. *African American Research Perspectives.*

Sellers, R. M., Chavous, T. M., & Cooke, D. E. (1998). Racial ideology and racial centrality as predictors of African American college students' academic performance. *Journal of Black Psychology, 24,* 8-27.

Sellers, R. M., Kuperminc, G. P., & Waddell, A. S. (1991, Fall). Life experiences of Black student-athletes in revenue-producing sports: A descriptive empirical analysis. *The Academic Athletic Journal,* 20- 38.

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997). Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: Preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73,* 805-815.

Sellers, R. M., Shelton, J. N., Cooke, D. E., Chavous, T. M., Rowley, J. N., & Smith. M. A. (1998). A multidimensional model of racial identity: Assumptions, findings, and future directions. In R. L. (Ed.). *African American identity development: Theory, research, and intervention.* Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.

Shavelson, R. J. & Bolus, R. (1982). Self-concept: The interplay of theory and methods. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 74* (1), 3-17.

Shavelson, R. J., Hubner, J. T., & Staton, G. C. (1976). Self-concept validation of construct interpretation. *Review of Educational Research, 46,* 407-441.

Super, D. E. (1957). The psychology of careers. New York: Harper & Row.

Suggs, W. (1999, September 10). Graduation rates hit lowest level in 7 years for athletes in football and basketball. *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* pp. A58-A59.

Strein, W. (1993). Structural validity of an academic self-concept scale: An illustrative case study of large-scale archival data set use. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development, 26,* 125-136.

Tatum, B. D. (1997). *Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?* New York: Basic Books.

The NCAA News. (2002, September 30). *Division I athlete graduation rate reaches 60 percent.* Retrieved from http://www.ncaa.org/news/2002/20020930/active/3920n01.html

Upthegrove, T. R., Roscigno, V. J., & Charles, C. Z. (1999). Big money collegiate sports: Racial concentration, contradictory pressures, and academic performance. *Social Science Quarterly, 80* (4), 718-735.

U.S. Department of Education, National Center of Education Statistics (1988). *Fall Enrollment in Title IV Degree-Granting Postsecondary Institutions: 1998* (NCES Publication No. 2002-162). Washington, DC: F. B. Morgan.

West, C. K., Fish, J. A., & Stevens, R. J. (1980). General self-concept, self-concept of academic ability and school achievement: Implications for "causes" of self-concept. *The Australian Journal of Education, 24* (2), 194-213.

Woodson, C. G. (1933). *The mis-education of the Negro.* Washington, DC: Associated Press.

Appendix A

ACADEMIC SELF-CONCEPT SCALE (ASCS)

Listed below are a number of statements concerning school-related attitudes. Rate each item as it pertains to you personally. Base your ratings on how you feel most of the time. Use the following scale to rate each statement:

SD. Strongly Disagree   D. Disagree   A. Agree   SA. Strongly Agree

INDICATE YOUR RESPONSE BY CIRCLING THE APPROPRIATE LETTER(S). <u>Be sure to answer all items</u>. Please response to each item independently, do not be influenced by your previous choices.

1.   Being a student is a very rewarding experience.

2.   If I try hard enough, I will be able to get good grades.

5.   I often expect to do poorly on exams.

6.   All in all, I feel I am a capable student.

10.   Most courses are very easy for me.

12.   Most of my classmates do better in school than I do.

40.   I have poor study habits.

Appendix B

ATHLETIC IDENTITY MEASUREMENT SCALE (AIMS)

Instructions: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's perceptions about their athletic role. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. On your answer sheet, fill in the number that best describe how you feel.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

1. I consider myself an athlete.

2. I have many goals related to sport.

3. Most of my friends are athletes.

4. Sport is the most important part of my life.

5. I spend more time thinking about sport than anything else.

6. I need to participate in sport to feel good about myself.

7. Other people see me mainly as an athlete.

8. I feel bad about myself when I do poorly in sport.

9. Sport is the only important thing in my life.

10. I would be very depressed if I were injured and could not compete in sport.

Appendix C

MULTIDIMENSIONAL INVENTORY OF BLACK IDENTITY (MIBI)

Instructions: Rate each item as it pertains to you personally. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your ratings on how you feel most of the time. Try to be as honest as you can. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. On your answer sheet, fill in the number that best describe how you feel.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
2. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
4. Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
6. I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
7. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.
9. Blacks who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism.
10. A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever before.
11. Because America is predominantly White, it is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites.
12. Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system.
13. Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.
14. Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated.
15. Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people.
16. Blacks should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost.
17. The plight of Blacks in America will improve only when Blacks are in important positions within the system.
18. Blacks values should not be inconsistent with human values.
19. Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially.
20. Blacks and Whites have more commonalities than differences.
21. Blacks people should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book to read.
22. Blacks would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on Black issues.
23. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as Black.
24. We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races.
25. Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race.
26. People regardless of their race have strengths and limitations.

27. The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups.
28. The struggle for Black liberation in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups.
29. Blacks should learn about the oppression of other groups.
30. Black people should treat other oppressed people as allies.
31. The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups.
32. There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to Black Americans.
33. Blacks will be more successful in achieving their goals if they form coalitions with other oppressed groups.
34. Blacks should try to become friends with people from other oppressed groups.
35. The dominant society devalues anything not White male oriented.
36. It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music, and literature.
37. Black people should not marry interracially.
38. Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values.
39. Black students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Blacks.
40. Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force.
41. Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses.
42. A thorough knowledge of Black history is very important for Blacks today.
43. Blacks and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.
44. White people can never be trusted where Blacks are concerned.

Appendix D

STUDENT-ATHLETE QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer all of the following questions. Place a (X) by the appropriate answer.

1. Classification:
 _____ Freshman   _____ Sophomore   _____ Junior   _____ Senior

2. Age: _____

3. Racial composition of college that you attend:
_____ Historically Black University   _____ Predominantly White University

4. What sport do you participate in:
_____ Football   _____Basketball