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Transition of the Journal of Intercollegiate Sport

Laura J. Burton, Editor-in-Chief
Jon Welty-Peachey, Associate Editor

With the first issues of 2019 we are pleased to announce that the Journal of Intercollegiate Sport will now be published as an open access journal supported by the University of Kansas online journal platform Journals@KU. The transition to our new platform follows ten successful years of publication and support through Human Kinetics Journals.

The rigor and quality of the journal will remain, as we consider the Journal of Intercollegiate Sport a premiere outlet for scholarly work in the context of intercollegiate sport. With the new open access platform the work published in the journal will now be widely available to download and share (with no associated fees). We believe this will continue to enhance the reputation of the journal, as the important scholarship that has been and will continue to be published in the journal will now be easily accessible to readers including our academic and professional communities. As such, we encourage all authors to widely share their work on available platforms.

The transition to our new platform would not have been possible without the support of Casey Butcha, Kathleen Burgener and many others at Human Kinetics. Further, we are grateful to Jordan Bass, faculty member at the University of Kansas and editor of the Journal of Amateur Sport. Jordan was instrumental in connecting us to Marianne Reed, Pamela LeRow and the staff in the Journals@KU program at the University of Kansas. We are appreciative of their insights, patience and professionalism as we learn a new publishing platform.

Beginning in August of 2019 Jon Welty Peachey will assume the role of Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Intercollegiate Sport. Finally, the journal could not exist without the time, dedication and knowledge graciously provided by members of the Editorial Board. Thank you for your contributions to the continued success of the journal.

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Mentoring Characteristics and Functions Important to Men and Women within Intercollegiate Athletic Administration

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Female athletic administrators were asked about the role of mentoring in their careers as women while male athletic administrators were asked about the role of mentoring in their careers as men working in intercollegiate athletic administration. The researchers gathered and compared information on mentor characteristics as well as career and psychosocial benefits of having a mentor. Participants were 518 female and 778 male athletic administrators working at NCAA Division I, II, and IIII, NAIA, NCCAA, and NJCAA schools. A three-step content-analytic procedure was used to analyze the qualitative data. Men identified being trustworthy, supportive, respected, and a good listener while women identified being supportive, hardworking, and knowledgeable as the most important mentor characteristics. Men most frequently named coaching and challenging assignments as career benefits from mentors while women named exposure/visability and coaching. Both men and women most frequently identified counseling and role modeling as psychosocial benefits from mentors.

Keywords: athletic administration; gender differences; mentoring; career development

Introduction

Mentoring relationships can serve as critical career resources for employees in any organization. Mentoring is "a process in which a more experienced person (i.e., the mentor) serves as a role model, provides guidance and support to a developing novice (i.e., the protégé), and sponsors that individual's career progress" (Weaver & Chelladurai, 1999, p. 25). This definition was developed by scholars in the academic discipline of Sport Management and subsequently utilized by other Sport Management researchers as well (Bower, 2011; Bower & Hums, 2014). In addition to defining mentoring, researchers have defined a mentor as "an individual who has taken a personal interest in an individual and has guided, sponsored, or otherwise had a positive influence on their professional career development" (Allen, Poteet, & Burroughs, 1997, p. 2). Mentors facilitate protégés' career advancement while contributing to protégés' personal growth and professional development (Kram, 1985). This

definition, also utilized by Bower (2011) with coaches and Bower and Hums (2014) with female intercollegiate athletic administrators, sets the stage for this study.

Research consistently demonstrates how mentoring relationships provide substantial benefits associated with an array of positive career outcomes. Mentoring researchers in the sport industry have reported results with regard to increased job satisfaction, learning from experienced professionals, help with acquiring new skills and information, personal growth, and career mobility (Bower, 2011; Bower & Hums, 2014; Dougherty, Dreher, Arunachalam, & Wilbanks, 2013; Hancock, Grappendorf, Wells, & Burton, 2017; Ransdell, Nguyen, Hums, Clark & Williams, 2017; Taylor & Wells, 2017).

While these basic benefits are well documented, one question that needs further investigation, particularly given the male-dominated nature of the sport industry, is do men and women experience mentoring relationships differently. Gender differences have been shown to impact networking behavior and career enhancement (Forret & Dougherty, 2004). Men have more experience mentoring men than mentoring women and, therefore, male protégés progress further and benefit more from mentoring relationships than their female counterparts (Bickel, 2014). Men and women have been shown to differ in experiences with and expectations of mentors. Mentoring relationships for male protégés are typically more formal and often more closely related to career outcomes than mentoring relationships for female protégés (Ragins & Cotton, 1999). Additionally, female protégés with male mentors have been shown to earn significantly more than female protégés with female mentors (Ragins & Cotton, 1999).

In intercollegiate athletics, proteges with same-sex mentors have been found to receive significantly more psychosocial and career mentoring than protégés with opposite-sex mentors (Avery, Tonidandel, & Phillips, 2008). The masculine power perspective in sport even influences women's intercollegiate athletics (Avery et al., 2008), an area once traditionally populated by women in leadership positions. This shift further supports the need for examining mentoring relationships in intercollegiate athletics for both men and women. It is important to examine potential gender differences in mentoring experiences in sport to better understand gendered opportunities and perceptions of exclusively male social networks in intercollegiate athletics (Walker & Bopp, 2011).

The number of female intercollegiate athletic administrators remains low, however, (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014) resulting in a scarcity of female mentors for future generations of leaders. This is particularly troubling, as in intercollegiate athletics, protégés with same-sex mentors have been found to receive significantly more psychosocial and career mentoring than protégés with opposite-sex mentors (Avery et al., 2008). Male leaders and managers reported having more experience mentoring fellow males than mentoring women. Those male protégés therefore have access to support and mentorship that allows them to progress further and benefit more from mentoring relationships than their female counterparts (Bickel, 2014). The byproduct of such mentoring relationships is that women are not provided assistance with the career functions necessary to lead them to intercollegiate athletic administrative

positions (Bower, 2011; Bower & Hums, 2014; Dougherty et al., 2013). Further exploration into the mentoring functions of both men and women in intercollegiate athletics is necessary to support the advancement of women into sport leadership positions. A better understanding of the comparisons and differences by gender will provide further guidance for promoting equity in the workplace.

The present article focuses on the role of mentoring for people working in a particular line of business – the sport industry. In the sport industry, mentoring benefits have been shown to include increased job satisfaction as well as personal growth and career mobility for women working in intercollegiate coaching (Bower, 2011; Inglis, Danylchuk, & Pastore, 2000) and women working in intercollegiate athletic administration (Bower 2011; Bower & Hums, 2014; Smith, Taylor, & Hardin, 2016). While researchers have focused on the impact of mentoring on the careers of women working in the sport industry, no studies have specifically examined men and their experiences with the mentoring relationship in the sport industry. In intercollegiate athletics, protégés with same-sex mentors have been found to receive significantly more psychosocial and career mentoring than protégés with opposite-sex mentors (Avery, Tonidandel, & Phillips, 2008).

In the present study, the researchers queried both men and women about the impact of mentoring on their careers. The female participants were specifically asked about the role of mentoring in their careers *as women* working in intercollegiate athletic administration while the male participants were specifically asked about the role of mentoring in their careers *as men* working in intercollegiate athletic administration.

Theoretical Background

According to mentor role theory, the gender of the mentor and protégé may relate to the mentoring functions provided to the protégé (Kram, 1985). Kram (1985) identified two distinct, but related, functions provided by mentors: career and psychosocial. The career development functions (sponsorship, exposure and visibility, coaching, protection, and challenging assignments) facilitate the protégé's ability to advance in the organization. Psychosocial functions (role modeling, acceptance and confirmation, counseling, and friendship) contribute to the protégé's personal growth and professional development (Kram, 1985). Existing mentorship theory from Ragins' work on gender and mentoring (Ragins, 1997, 2002) and social exchange theory (Olian, Carroll, & Giannantionio, 1993) posit that the gender composition of the mentoring relationship is a critical factor affecting mentoring functions and outcomes. This holds true in the sport industry where researchers have found the same type of results in coaching and intercollegiate athletic administration (Bower, 2011; Bower & Hums, 2014; Dougherty et al., 2013; Hancock et al., 2017; Taylor & Wells, 2017).

According to Ragins' (1997, 2002) theory of mentoring, gender makes a difference in mentoring relationships because the mentor may be someone who possesses a high degree of power within an organization. In addition, Ragins asserted that the experiences one has as a mentor may impact the development and effectiveness of the mentoring relationship. For example, a female protégé may be perceived as

weaker than her male counterparts and thus be accorded a greater degree of protection by mentors. Ragins proposed that because the majority of male mentors have more power in organizations than female mentors, they should be better able to provide career development functions and encourage positive organizational outcomes.

Looking at the sport industry, mentoring relationships are critical for the career success of women wanting to advance to leadership positions in campus recreation (Bower, Hums, & Keedy, 2006), sport and physical activity academic disciplines (Bower, 2006), intercollegiate athletics (Lough, 2001; Weaver & Chelladurai, 2002), and interscholastic athletics (Bloom, Durand-Bush, Schinke, & Salmella, 1998). Several theoretical perspectives suggest that men may be more apt to provide career mentoring whereas women may be more apt to provide psychosocial mentoring. More specifically, literature suggests that women are more likely than men to provide psychosocial support such as emotional support and informal counseling (Allen, Russell, & Maetzke, 1997; Burke, McKeen, & McKenna, 1993; Chester & Mondello, 2012).

According to social role theory (Bem, 1974), the feminine gender role encourages women to be caring and nurturing. On the other hand, the instrumental focus of career-related mentoring is associated more with men and perceptions that men hold greater power within organizations (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). This theory held true for the sport industry in regard to women working in coaching and intercollegiate athletics who reported female mentors displayed more psychosocial functions in comparison to career functions (Bower, 2011; Bower & Hums, 2014). Since this is the first study exploring men's experiences in mentoring, as of this writing no comparative data exists to support this theory in the sport industry. This gap in the literature provides a significant reason to conduct this study and add to the body of literature focused on how mentoring relationships can potentially enhance the career development and psychosocial development of both mentors and protégés.

Through the career functions of sponsorship, coaching, protection, exposure-and- visibility, and challenging assignments, a protégé may learn the ropes of organizational life and become better prepared for advancement opportunities. For example, the career-development sponsorship function allows a mentor to build the reputation of a protégé wanting to pursue a career in intercollegiate athletic administration. A mentor may promote a man or woman by highlighting his/her potential at an athletic board meeting. By providing exposure and visibility, the mentor introduces the protégé to important people in the field, such as athletic directors at other conference schools. Expanding the protégé's network creates opportunities to develop relationships that allow for greater future advancement opportunities. A mentor also provides knowledge and skills as well as productive feedback via the career development coaching function. A protégé may have the opportunity to observe an athletic director in his or her role working with donors. A mentor can also exhibit the protection function, shielding the protégé from taking on excessive committee work or responsibilities outside of athletics. Finally, the mentor may assign the protégé challenging assignments such as overseeing the budget of a revenue-producing sport

in order to prepare him or her to undertake greater intercollegiate athletic administrator responsibilities (Kram, 1985).

The psychosocial functions identified by Kram (1985) include role modeling, acceptance and confirmation, counseling, and friendship. Role modeling provides the protégé with guidance on performing organizational tasks while observing the behaviors, attitudes, and values of the mentor (Bandura, 1977; Hackett & Betz, 1981; Itoh, 2014). An inexperienced athletic administrator may be able to sit in on high level athletic department meetings and observe an experienced athletic administrator. In acceptance and confirmation, the protégé may be provided with confidence, mutual trust, encouragement, support, and positive feedback from a mentor in intercollegiate athletic administration. Counseling allows the mentor to help the protégé solve personal conflicts that might distract from effective job performance. Differences and conflicts often arise between athletic department personnel so having a trusted mentor to talk with about political situations or difficult decisions is essential for protégé development. Finally, friendship is a social interaction which allows the protégé to share personal experiences while being removed from the pressures within the intercollegiate athletic department. People work long hours in athletics and being collegial can benefit the environment and the people working there.

Kram (1985) also identified how the mentoring relationship constitutes a reciprocal, interactive process of give and take between the mentor and the protégé in helping each other reach their goals. This reciprocal interactive process may best be explained by social exchange theory. Social exchange theory:

> Views the interaction between two people as an exchange where the cost of participation in the relationship is compared to the perceived benefits. The basic premise of social exchange theory indicates that if an individual perceives greater rewards than cost, he or she will be more inclined to develop the relationship (Olian et al., 1993, p. 2).

The social exchange in a mentor-protégé relationship may include material benefits along with psychological benefits of approval, respect, affection and esteem. For example, a protégé may select a mentor based on certain desirable attributes and/or competencies with the anticipation of receiving career and psychosocial benefits useful in becoming a successful intercollegiate athletic administrator. The mentor may choose a protégé based on performance. If the protégé is a high performer, the mentor may perceive the protégé and the organization will be successful and so it is worth the time and effort to work together.

Substantial benefits can be associated with mentoring and career mobility in the sport industry. An examination of the characteristics and functions that relate to the mentor's perception of effective mentoring should lead to a better and more complete understanding of what constitutes beneficial mentoring relationships for both the mentor and the protégé

Purpose of the Study

While mentoring relationships can benefit any employee, when looking at the predominantly male make-up of intercollegiate athletic administration, one could ask whether men and women experience these benefits similarly or differently. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine the mentoring relationships of men and women working in intercollegiate athletic administration. More specifically, the study gathered and compared information from both male and female athletic administrators on mentor characteristics, career benefits, and psychosocial benefits that could guide them toward advancement in intercollegiate athletic administration. The study addressed the following research questions:

(1) What mentoring characteristics were most frequently identified as important to the success of male and female intercollegiate athletic administrators?
(2) What career functions of the mentor were most frequently identified as important to the success of male and female intercollegiate athletic administrators?
(3) What psychosocial functions of the mentor were most frequently identified as important to the success of male and female intercollegiate athletic administrators?

Significance of the Study

The study has the potential to bridge theory and practice and to contribute to the body of the mentoring literature in three ways. First, the research provides information on the importance of mentoring relationships in the career development of men and women working in intercollegiate athletic administration. This information provides strategies for mentoring all young employees working in intercollegiate athletic administration. This may mean an athletic director works with athletic department personnel in developing a formal mentoring program for new employees, including coaches and administrators. Second, the intercollegiate athletic environment is fast-paced with athletic administrators working long hours and interacting with coaches, athletes, sponsors, fans, and the media. The information from this study may assist new male and female employees in learning ways to navigate this environment, thus aiding their career maturation. Finally, the responses from the male participants will add to the body of literature since this is a group which has not yet specifically been queried about how mentoring impacted their careers as men working in intercollegiate athletic administration.

Method

Both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis were used to address the research questions. Data were gathered and analyzed on the mentor character-

istics and the career and psychosocial benefits of having a mentor in intercollegiate athletic administration.

Participants

The participants of the study were 518 women and 778 men working in intercollegiate athletic administration at NCAA Division I, II, IIII, NAIA schools, NCCAA schools, and junior colleges. The *National Directory of College Athletics* provided the email addresses of the participants.

The demographic data indicated the majority of men in the study were (a) athletic directors (34.6%), (b) worked at the Division I level (48.7%), and (c) were an average age of 35- 44 (32.5%). The majority of the women in the study were (a) associate athletic directors (37.9%), (b) worked at the Division I level (45.9%), and (c) were an average age of 45-54 (30.2%). Table 1 provides additional demographic information.

Table 1
Demographics

Demographics	Men	Women
Current Athletic Administration Position Title		
Athletic Director	34.6	17.6
Associate Athletic Director	34.5	37.9
Assistant Athletic Director	27.0	29.2
Other	3.9	15.2
Level of Current Athletic Administration Position		
Division I	48.7	45.9
Division II	15.8	19.7
Division III	17.6	24.5
NCCAA	1.2	.6
NAIA	5.8	3.8
Junior College	10.9	5.4
Age		
<25 years	.4	.4
25-30	7.4	8.1
31-34	9.7	13.4
35-44	32.5	29.8
45-54	27.5	30.2
55 or above	22.5	18.2

Table 1 (cont.)

Race/Ethnicity		
Native American	.5	.4
Asian or Pacific Islander	.7	.2
African American	7.8	8.9
Hispanic	2.3	.8
White	87.5	88.4
Other	1.2	1.2
Highest Level of Education		
High School Graduate	0.0	.4
Some college (includes Associate)	.8	1.0
College Graduate	21.4	14.9
Master's	67.1	73.0
Doctoral	5.9	5.8
JD	3.4	3.8
Other	1.4	.8
Approximate Income		
Less than $19,999	.3	.4
$20,000 – $39,999	3.0	6.5
$40,000 – $59,999	22.1	30.7
$60,000 - $79,999	28.3	24.9
$80,000 - $99,999	19.4	18.2
$100,000 - $119,999	13.2	8.4
$120,000 - $139,999	5.8	7.4
$140,000 - $159,999	3.2	.8
$160,000 - $179,999	1.5	1.0
$180,000- $199,999	1.2	.8
$200,000 or higher	2.1	.8

In regard to the mentoring relationship, the participants were asked if their mentor was inside or outside the athletic department and whether their mentor was male or female. Of the male respondents, 30.9% reported that their mentors were in the athletic department and 84.4% of those mentors were male. In addition, 62.9% of the men reported that their mentors were outside the athletic department and 86.3% of

those mentors were males as well. Of the female respondents, 28.7% reported that their mentors were inside the athletic department and 62.3% of those mentors were male. In addition, 64.3% of the women reported that their mentors were outside the athletic department and 64.5% of those mentors were female as well.

Procedures

The researchers sent the Female Sport Manager Career Survey [FSMCS] (Bower & Hums, 2013) to 6134 participants (men = 4318 and women = 1834) via Survey Monkey. After three weeks, a follow-up email was sent to all non-respondents. A total of 1296 surveys were returned for a return rate of 21.1% (518 women and 778 men). The return rate was relatively low as it is very difficult to determine the best time to conduct a survey with intercollegiate athletic administrators given the continuous amount of work year-round. However, one way to determine if respondents are representative of the population is to compare characteristics of the sample to demographics in the literature (Olson, 2006). The male respondents in this study were similar to previous studies in regard to age, ethnicity, and education. For example, the current study supported previous research by Whisnant, Pedersen, and Obenour (2002) who reported the average age of men being appointed as athletic directors was 47 (Division I), 42 (Division II), and 41 (Division III). Lapchick's (2018) Racial and Gender Report Card indicated that 86.1% (Division I), 87.4%% (Division II), and 94.0% (Division III) were white. The men in the study were well-educated which supports previous research (Lumpkin, Achen, & Hyland, 2015). Lumpkin et al. (2015) reported 61.7% (Division I), 70.1% (Division II), and 66.8% (Division III) of the men in their study held a master's degree.

Similarities with the women were also noted with regard to age, ethnicity, education, and income. In the present study, 30.7% of the women were between the ages of 45-54. In addition, 83.2% of the women were white. Both of these statistics are supported in previous research (Machida-Kosuga, Schaubroeck, & Feltz, 2016; Schneider, Stier, Henry, & Wilding, 2010).

Schneider et al. (2010) reported 86.4% of the Senior Woman Administrators were white while Machida-Kosuga et al. (2016) reported 90.24% of female athletic administrators were white. In addition, the women in the study were well-educated, with 73.2% holding master's degrees. The advanced degree information supports previous research on women working in intercollegiate athletic administration. Lumpkin et al. (2015) also reported that most female athletic directors (71.45) held master's degrees.

Instrument

The Female Sport Manager Career Survey was modified for male participants for the current study and will be referred to for purposes of this study as the Male Sport Manager Career Survey. This survey was chosen as it was utilized in a previous study on mentoring women working in intercollegiate athletic administration (Bower & Hums, 2014). Appropriate modifications were made through the survey language to address career and mentoring information for men and their experience as

males working in intercollegiate athletic administration. Although other surveys may have been applicable to the study, the researchers wanted to have an understanding of the participants' career paths, so they could understand where respondents were coming from in terms of their mentoring experiences. This was the first time using the survey to specifically focus on mentoring and to specifically focus on men. The survey questions were developed through extensive research of studies conducted on the career paths of women working in management of different sport segments, including intercollegiate athletics (Bower & Hums, 2014; 2013), campus recreation (Bower & Hums, 2003), professional basketball (Hums & Sutton, 2000), sport for people with disabilities (Hums & Moorman, 1999), and professional baseball (Hums & Sutton, 1999). A panel of experts examined the modified survey for content validity, biased items, and clarity before piloting. The panel of experts included one male athletic director, one male associate athletic director, and two females who conducted extensive research within the area of intercollegiate athletics.

The Male Sport Manager Career Survey elicited quantitative and qualitative responses in several areas including demographic information on age, race/ethnicity, highest level of education, income, and the mentoring relationship. Using open-ended questions, the men were asked to identify career path information, past and current work experiences, family and/or sport connections to intercollegiate athletics, the impact of playing sport on career choice, the most and least enjoyable aspects of their jobs as a man working in intercollegiate athletics, greatest challenges as a man working in intercollegiate athletics, and career advice for men entering the athletic administration job market. More importantly, the survey provided questions focused on identifying mentoring characteristics, and career and psychosocial functions important for career advancement in intercollegiate athletic administration, thus the focus of this study. Questions related to mentoring included "What mentoring characteristics were most frequently identified as important to the success of male athletic administrators?" "What career functions of the mentor were more frequently identified as important to the success of the male intercollegiate athletic administrator?" "What psychosocial functions of the mentor were more frequently identified as important to the success of the male intercollegiate athletic administered?".

Data Analysis

Demographic data frequencies were calculated using SPSS 19.0. A three-step content- analytic procedure was then used to analyze the qualitative data. The researchers organized and condensed the data by uploading the responses into Hyper Researcher 2.7. The investigators independently analyzed and coded the data. The researchers used constant comparative analysis to review the applicable comments from all three content areas (mentoring characteristics, career functions, psychosocial functions) and identified similarities and differences among the data, coding and sorting into appropriate categories (Rossman & Rallis, 2011). Each content area of interest was reviewed, and similar comments were categorized into groups. The researchers used inductive reasoning by examining the categories that emerged from the data rather than placing comments into predefined categories. Once the comments were cate-

gorized, themes were assigned names to capture the meaning of the groups of comments.

Trustworthiness of the Study

The trustworthiness of the study was strengthened by using multiple strategies of analysis introduced by Lincoln and Guba (1985). Credibility (internal validity) was strengthened by the use of constant comparative analysis (Neuman, 2010) to establish categories and develop themes from the open-ended questions. Constant comparative analysis strengthens the credibility of the study by creating authenticity of the data. The authenticity of the data is a "fair, honest, and balanced account of social life from the viewpoint of someone who lives it every day" (Neuman, 2010, p. 31).

The transferability (external validity) of the study was strengthened by examining and tallying comments to establish themes (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). The dependability (reliability) of the study was strengthened by each researcher independently examining the data and debriefing to discuss the themes and categories. Finally, the confirmability (objectivity) of the study was strengthened by limiting bias of making any premature conclusions about the themes and/or categories, by reading and rereading the data, using constant comparative analysis, and research debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Results and Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the mentoring relationship experiences of men and women working in intercollegiate athletic administration. More specifically, the study gathered and compared information from both male and female athletic administrators on mentor characteristics, career benefits, and psychosocial benefits that could guide them in advancing in intercollegiate athletic administration. The themes from the Research Questions are summarized in Table 2.

Research Question #1 – What mentoring characteristics were most frequently identified as important to the success of male and female athletic administrators?

A total of 31.1% of the male participants indicated their mentor worked in the same athletic department. For those participants, 84.4% indicated their mentors were male and 15.6% indicated they were female. In addition, 63.5% of the men reported having a mentor outside the athletic department. Of the 63.5% of the participants identified as mentors outside the athletic department, 86.3% were male and 13.7% were female. The male intercollegiate athletic administrators identified several characteristics of their mentors that developed into the four themes of being (a) trustworthy, (b) supportive, (c) respected, and (d) a good listener.

The male intercollegiate athletic administrators most frequently identified their mentors as being trustworthy. For example, on respondent mentioned, "he [mentor]

Table 2

Research questions and themes

Research Question #1 – What mentoring characteristics were most frequently identified as important to the success of male and female athletic administrators?	
Men	**Women**
Theme 1. Being trustworthy	Theme 1. Being supportive
Theme 2. Being supportive	Theme 2. Being hardworking
Theme 3. Being respected	Theme 3. Being knowledgeable
Theme 4. Being a good listener	
Research Question #2 - What career functions of the mentor were most frequently identified as important to the success of male and female intercollegiate athletic administrators?	
Men	**Women**
Theme 1. Coaching	Theme 1. Exposure and visibility
Theme 2. Challenging assignments	Theme 2. Coaching
Research questions and themes	
Research Question 3. What psychosocial functions of the mentor were most frequently identified as important to the success of male and female intercollegiate athletic administrators?	
Men	**Women**
Theme 1. Counseling	Theme 1. Counseling
Theme 2. Role modeling	Theme 2. Role modeling
Theme 3. Acceptance and confirmation	Theme 3. Acceptance and confirmation

was a very trustworthy person that I have looked up to my entire life." Another man mentioned, "my mentor was a trustworthy person that I have looked up to my entire career."

The second most frequently mentioned mentoring characteristics was being supportive, and one man explained,

> My mentor and close friend has provided guidance and support throughout my intercollegiate athletic career, starting as an assistant coach. He has been invaluable in my professional growth. . . he [mentor] stuck by the employees who work hard and always supported his staff and coaches.

Another man wrote about his mentor being supportive,

> She has provided me with amazing guidance and support. She ultimately is the reason why I got into Collegiate Athletics and have progressed as quickly as I have. She is still very supportive and is someone I can still rely on despite being at different universities.

The third most frequently mentioned mentoring characteristic was respect. One of the male intercollegiate athletic administrators said, "he [mentor] was very well respected throughout the business. Fair and reasonable…he is successful and respected as one of the best AD's in the country." Finally, the men reported their mentor was a good listener. For example, one male respondent explained, "my mentor was a godly man who listens well, offered advice when asked, has greater experience coaching and administration." Another man stated, "he was always there to listen and provide advice even when I do not want to hear it. Cares about me much more as a person."

A total of 28.7% of the female participants indicated their mentor worked in the same athletic department. The female participants identified 62.3% of their mentors as male and 37.7% as female. In addition, 64.3% of the women identified a mentor outside the athletic department. Of the 64.3% of the women who identified as mentors outside the athletic department, 35.5% were male and 64.5% were female. The female intercollegiate athletic administrators identified several characteristics of their mentors which developed into the three themes of being (a) supportive, (b) hardworking, and (c) knowledgeable.

The female intercollegiate athletic administrators most frequently described their mentors as being supportive. For example, one respondent mentioned, "he [mentor] is incredibly supportive and encouraging. He is always there to bounce off ideas; he never tries to 'solve' my issues, and he constantly makes me question what and why!" Another woman mentioned, "my work mentor knows me the best. She ALWAYS challenges me and is supportive of my desire to do something different."

The second most frequently mentioned mentoring characteristic was hard working. One woman explained, "I actually have three mentors, two females and one male. All three are incredibly helpful, intelligent, hard-working and excellent in every way and they guide/push/pull and inspire me daily." Another woman said, "my

female mentor works on campus in administration. She is extremely hard worker and always does the right thing."

The third most frequently reported characteristic was knowledgeable. One of the female intercollegiate athletic administrators said, "[my mentor is a] strong individual who is knowledgeable and who also balances family with her career." Another woman stated, "I have the opportunity to work in a conference with very seasoned, knowledgeable AD's."

Comparison of Mentoring Characteristics. The mentoring characteristics identified by the men and women as important to the success of an intercollegiate athletic administrator were predominately related to psychosocial functions - acceptance and confirmation and role modeling. For the men, role modeling was represented by being trustworthy and respected while acceptance and confirmation were illustrated by being supportive and a good listener. For the women, acceptance and confirmation, as well as role modelling, were represented by being supportive. The psychosocial functions of acceptance and confirmation and role modeling are highly related to the protégé's satisfaction with the mentor. A deeper more intense relationship may evolve and enhance the quality of the mentoring relationship (Kram, 1985).

In addition, the women mentioned being knowledgeable which is supported by the career function of coaching. The mentoring behavior of coaching often leads to the enhancement of task-related aspects of work that facilitate objective career success (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004). If the coaching facilitation is successful, the protégé may enhance abilities in performing work-related roles (Weaver & Chelladurai, 2002).

The results of the mentoring characteristics for the women partially support social role theory (Bem, 1974). The women in the study discussed more psychosocial characteristics related to acceptance and confirmation, caring, and nurturing. They also reported the knowledgeable characteristic related to career functions of coaching which is typically seen in men according to social role theory. However, the men's responses were opposite and did not support social role theory. In this study, the men did not discuss career-related characteristics, but rather their responses more strongly reflected the psychosocial characteristics of acceptance and confirmation and role modeling.

Research Question #2 - What career functions of the mentor were most frequently identified as important to the success of male and female intercollegiate athletic administrators?

The men most frequently identified the career functions of (a) coaching and (b) challenging assignments as important. The male participants explained how they acquired knowledge and expertise as they were "coached" toward pursuing a position in intercollegiate athletic administration. For example, one man said, "My mentor has driven me mentally as well as ethically. They have taught me to be patient and to delegate responsibility. They have taught me to be professional and prepared."

The men were also provided opportunities to learn and grow by being placed in challenging situations by mentors to support their growth. For example, one man's

mentor, "was someone who was willing to allow me to have ownership of projects and let me really learn while working. . . he helped me along the career path, given me great experiences and included me in major decisions." Another man stated, "I pick my mentors based on their ability to motivate me and challenge me in all areas of my life, not just athletics."

The women most frequently identified career functions which included (a) exposure and visibility and (b) coaching. A woman shared, "it is essential to have people who you can learn from in this business and who can connect you with others." Another woman stated, "I have both male and female mentors invested in assisting me in setting up a network for the future of my career in intercollegiate athletic administration."

The women also acquired knowledge, skills, and productive feedback as they were "coached" by their mentor. For example, a woman stated, "he [mentor] has had a long successful career in athletics and shares his lessons with me and gives corrective feedback." Another woman spoke about her mentor by saying, "[she is a] role model, outstanding and successful coach, with commitment to student-athlete, program and love for institution. Ability to provide constructive and honest feedback."

Comparison of Career Functions. The men identified mentors providing challenging assignments as the most important career function in becoming a successful intercollegiate athletic administrator. By providing challenging assignments, the mentor prepares the protégé for greater responsibility. During this time, the protégé is allowed to develop the technical and managerial skills necessary for a career in intercollegiate athletic administration. The women identified exposure and visibility as their most important career functions in becoming a successful intercollegiate athletic administrator. Exposure and visibility assists with developing relationships in order to be more recognizable to people within the organization. Exposure and visibility also facilitates contact with key leaders who may be useful in securing a future intercollegiate athletic administrative position.

Exposure and visibility may not be as important to the men as they could develop a network and been introduced to key players within this male dominated profession. In other words, the presence of the "old boys network" may come into play here (Wright & Wright, 1987). Research has shown that women often lack the ability to develop informal networks and therefore may not be as visible to upper level decision makers. Having the opportunity to display talent and competence to senior management and to acquire important information through informal networks is likely to enhance career success (Kram, 1985). The men may already have had the opportunity to establish a network and can begin "getting ahead" by being provided "challenging assignments" while the women are still trying to get to "know" the key leaders in order to be successful.

Both the men and the women identified coaching as important to success in becoming an intercollegiate athletic administrator. Coaching includes transmitting knowledge, offering feedback, providing relevant information, and providing strategies to succeed (Kram, 1985). This type of transmission can be best described through the lens of a constructivist theorist (Kerka, 1998) where learning is most effective

when knowledge and skills are used to construct meaning for both the protégé and the mentor. The mentor gradually provides less assistance as the protégé internalizes and constructs his/her own knowledge and understanding of what is necessary to be successful as an intercollegiate athletic administrator.

Research Question 3. What psychosocial functions of the mentor were most frequently identified as important to the success of male and female intercollegiate athletic administrators?

The men most frequently identified psychosocial functions that included (a) counseling, (b) role modeling, and (c) acceptance and confirmation. The first theme identified was counseling. For example, one of the men said, "my mentor is always there to listen and provide advice even when I don't want to hear it. Cares about me much more as a person." Another man stated, "he [mentor] understood the challenges and listens to both sides of an issue before making decisions. He cares about people."

The second theme the men most often mentioned related to psychosocial functions was role modeling. One of the participants said, "I actually have both male and female mentors and they are great role models that are honest. They share all the positives, negatives, etc. that help me about with my career and life." Another man added, "my mentor is my role model for life, not just work."

The third theme the men most commonly mentioned was acceptance and confirmation. One of the men spoke about his mentor by saying, "…listens well, offers advice when asked…he understood challenges and listens to both sides of an issue before making decision. He cares about people." Another man focused on the confidence aspect of acceptance and confirmation and explained,

> I learned so many things from my mentor. He taught me how to be a leader and what qualities a leader has and how to carry myself that lends confidence. Not to get too high or too low and never let your subordinates see you lose your cool. He taught to be patient and don't be in a hurry and to do things right. Sweat the little details and use your time wisely.

The women most frequently identified psychosocial functions that included (a) counseling, (b) role modeling, and (c) acceptance and confirmation. These themes were identical to the men.

For example, the women described how their mentors assisted in solving personal conflicts which may have distracted them from performing their job effectively. A woman conveyed,

> My mentor helps me to analyze situations that I may have issues with and how to overcome them…he is incredibility supportive and encouraging. He is always there to bounce off ideas. He never tries to "solve" my issues and he constantly makes me question what and why!

Another woman stated,

> My mentor has been there to bounce things off of. Good or bad, she guides me but overall allows me to come to the decision. . . she is very supportive and open to conversation. She is not judgmental. She is a resource for many things and has an outside perspective to many athletic related tasks.

The second theme the women most frequently mentioned was role modeling. An intercollegiate athletic administrator spoke about how her mentor acts as a role model,

> My female Athletic Director is my greatest mentor, serving as a professional role model, wise sage to my questions, and compassion and understanding with my short comings and learning curve. My external mentors are intra-conference colleagues, who are always happy to answer my questions and share their best practices.

Another woman mentioned her mentor was a "role model, outstanding and successful coach, committed to student-athletes, program and love for institution." Finally, another individual stated,

> I use my athletic director as a mentor. I watch how she handles situations and interacts with student athletes, coaches, faculty, and administrators. She is very organized and is always ahead of deadlines. I try to emulate this behavior whenever possible. I try to keep very open lines of communication with her, so I can seek assistance and guidance when needed. She is very good at interacting with people and finding solutions, so I try to learn from her experiences and interactions whenever possible. This has helped me to become more polished and a better administrator.The third theme the women most frequently mentioned was acceptance and confirmation.

For example, one female participant talked about her mentor saying,

> Someone that I played for/coached with, that provides support, advice and friendship. Is a role model for women working in the athletic field, always been true to herself, looking to help other females in many roles, not just athletics?

Another woman spoke about her mentors,

> The male is a colleague who has provided support to me while achieving promotions from Assistant to A.D., Assistant A.D., Associate A.D. and finally Senior Associate A.D. The female has been a positive influence on my career since the beginning of my employment and is always available for questions, concerns or just reinforcement of the impact I continue to make on my institution.

Comparison of Psychosocial Functions. Both the men and women identified the same psychosocial functions as important in becoming a successful intercollegiate athletic administrator. The first theme identified was counseling where the mentor was someone who would listen and serve as a sounding board to assist in solving potential internal conflicts (Kram, 1985). Supporting research has established that the more psychosocial support (listening, sharing, caring, emotional support) a protégé receives, the more confident that individual would be in his or her abilities (Kram, 1985).

The second psychosocial theme most frequently identified by the men and women was role modeling. Role modeling provides the protégé with the opportunity to see the mentor in action, efficiently performing organizational tasks while effectively interacting with superiors, peers, and subordinates (Kram, 1985). According to social learning theorists, the protégé acquires important managerial skills by observing an effective senior manager (Bandura, 1977). This psychosocial function is likely to affect the career outcomes through a positive effect on the learning process.

The third theme most often identified was acceptance and confirmation. Acceptance and confirmation focused on the support the mentor provided by expressing confidence, creating mutual trust, confirming individual abilities, and lending encouragement and support.

Implications

The results of the study provided implications for intercollegiate athletic administrators who wish to advance in their careers and are considering how working with a mentor could assist them. First, a potential protégé needs to reflect on whether a mentor has the characteristics and career and/or psychosocial skills necessary to help him/her achieve the goal of advancing in intercollegiate athletic administration. For example, the Athletic Director in the protégé's athletic department may be a well-known industry professional but may not be the best match as mentor. If this is the case, the protégé needs to look elsewhere to find someone who can help with the necessary career and psychosocial functions to assist in his/her career advancement. That person may or may not even work in intercollegiate athletics as a number of respondents in the study indicated their mentors did not. People outside of the athletics realm can still provide useful career information, and as matter of fact, having someone removed from the daily life in athletics may actually provide the protégé with a different outlook on career advancement. Second, learning about career and psychosocial functions is an important element in any mentoring relationship (Kram, 1985). Third, the study provided information on the career and psychosocial functions useful in becoming an intercollegiate athletic administrator. These career and psychosocial functions may be useful to help protégés excel in the profession. Fourth, career and psychosocial functions were important to the development of the mentoring relationship. Thus, sport organizations may benefit from implementing formal mentoring programs that integrate career and psychosocial functions fostering career development for becoming an intercollegiate athletic administrator. These

formal mentoring programs may provide insight on helping both the mentor and protégé develop tactics for facilitating a prolonged and useful relationship.

Limitations

There were a couple of limitations to the study. The researchers already addressed the low return rate and provided justification and support of why the number was low. However, an increase in the number of participants may provide additional insight and representation not provided within this study. In addition, the participants provided limited responses when it came to answer the open-ended questions. The researchers expected the data might have provided more fulfilling insights with respect to characteristics, career and psychosocial functions.

Future Research

The results provided direction for future research. Men and women from other segments of the sport industry may be examined to see if there are similarities or differences in the role of characteristics and functions. For example, professional sport or recreational sport may be studied. Are the characteristics, career, and psychosocial functions identified by the male and female participants in this study similar to those in other segments of the sport industry? This study also laid out some baseline information on the specific career experiences of men working in intercollegiate athletics. We have seen a good number of researchers examining women's career experiences, but the men's experiences need to be further examined. By doing so, researchers can better understand some of the dynamics of career development not only for the men, but how those experiences compare to the experience of women working in intercollegiate athletic administration. Results of studies such as these could help athletic administrators remove barriers to women's advancement in this segment of the sport industry. The investigations that result from this study should not be limited to the sport industry. Perhaps similar investigations into mentoring and career advancement could take place in industries such as accounting, marketing, or film, where the exploration of mentoring experiences of men and women have not yet been undertaken. So often, Sport Management researchers base our work on theories and studies from other disciplines. Perhaps this work could provide the opportunity for researchers in other industries to look to the Sport Management literature for guidance. While comparisons by race or ethnicity would provide valuable information, the low number of minority group respondents would make any comparison in this study problematic. Future phenomenological qualitative research with minority athletic administrators utilizing in-depth interviews will provide a more robust examination of the impact of mentoring relationships on their careers. A study using a similar methodology where participants from NCAA Division I, II, or III are interviewed could also address whether mentoring relationships vary depending on the division in which one works. Further inquiry should be made to examine the gender of the mentor to determine if

there is a significant difference on career advancement for women who have same-sex and opposite-sex mentoring relationships. Does the gender of the mentor make a difference in the success of a female intercollegiate athletic administrator?

Conclusion

The intercollegiate athletic administrators in this study provided insights into how effective mentoring relationships are essential to the advancement of men and women working in intercollegiate athletic administration. The study identified valuable characteristics, career functions, and psychosocial functions that were helpful in developing effective mentoring relationships. Having a mentor may balance the career and psychosocial functions and is beneficial to the growth of athletic administrators at various career levels.

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Budgeting for Success: Comparing Finances Between Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Predominantly White Institutions

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There has been little research into the comparison of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) to predominantly white institutions (PWIs) in recent years. With growing athletic department budgets, it is important to understand how HBCUs financially compare to their PWI counterparts. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to determine how HBCU athletic departments compare to their peer PWIs in terms of athletic department spending and to conduct a budgetary analysis of HBCU athletic departments. To examine differences in athletics budgets, data were collected from the U.S. Department of Education's Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act (EADA) Survey. NCAA member institution peer groups with HBCU members were selected for this study. Institutional data include salary, recruitment, operation, and scholarship expenses and revenue for peer groups. An ANOVA was conducted to compare peer institutions, institutions in the same region, by division, and overall. The results indicated HBCU peer groups are spending significantly less compared to their PWI counterparts. Additionally, among HBCU institutions, most athletic programs are spending the most on athletic aid expenses. Similarly, HBCUs are earning significantly less revenue compared to their peers. Athletic department administrators can use the results of this study to help create budgets comparable to peer institutions.

Keywords: HBCU, finances, college athletics

In recent years, a number of historically black colleges and university (HBCU) athletic departments have undergone significant changes. For example, in 2015, NCAA Division II institution Paine College dropped its football program (Logue, 2016). A year later, Stillman College moved from an NCAA institution to an NAIA institution and cut all but four sport programs. In 2017, Savannah State University announced plans to drop from a Division I institution to Division II. When major changes like those highlighted above occur at HBCUs, a lack of resources and fiscal responsibility are often the reasons given to dissatisfied students, alumni, and fans. For example, Paine College's suspension of its football team was explained as a strategy to "firmly establish the financial health of the college" (Davis, 2015,

para. 3); similarly, Savannah State's move to Division II came because "it wasn't financially feasible to continue playing in NCAA Division I" (Heath, 2017, para. 2). HBCU administrators cite funding university programs as the top challenges facing their universities (Arnett, 2014).

Much of the research on the differences in HBCU athletic departments has occurred in the past 20 years. HBCU athletic contests are more than just athletic events; they are overarching social experiences including events such as battle of the bands, parades, and college fairs (Cianfrone, Pitts, Zhang, Byrd, & Drane, 2010). As an example of the spectacle often associated with HBCU sporting events, many HBCUs attribute a large portion of their annual revenues to the "football classics" held yearly at neutral sites against rival teams. An example of this profitable endeavor is the oldest HBCU classic, the Tuskegee Morehouse Classic, featuring Tuskegee University and Morehouse College and held annually in Columbus, Georgia. This classic has been played every year since 1902, and the success of the classic has generated revenue that helps support the rest of the schools' athletic department budgets for the year (Seymour, 2006). Despite the economic windfall that some of these events provide, many HBCU athletic departments have reported budget shortages (Trahan, 2012).

With the limited budgets at HBCU athletic departments, many coaches in these departments have reported high levels of stress. Job security and lack of resources are cited as two main factors that caused stress for coaches in HBCU athletic departments (Robbins, Gilbert, & Clifton, 2015). Additionally, the financial strain at HBCUs can be problematic for athletic administrators when trying to attract the best coaches and student-athletes (Cooper & Hawkins, 2002; Robbins et al., 2015).

As noted by Jones and Bell (2016), research on intercollegiate athletics specifically focused on HBCUs has been "noticeably absent" (p. 49). Furthermore, consumers of HBCU athletic teams are rarely studied (Cianfrone et al., 2010; Stone, Cort, & Nkonge, 2012). In light of the challenges currently facing many HBCU athletic administrators, the purpose of this study was to conduct a budgetary analysis of HBCU athletic departments. As part of this examination, we endeavored to identify major disparities that could constrain HBCU programs from maintaining competitiveness with other athletic programs at the Division I level. Below, we highlight the existing literature on HBCU funding and athletic administration.

Literature Review

History of HBCUs

The Higher Education Act of 1965 defined HBCUs as "institutions of higher learning established before 1964, whose principal mission is the education of Black Americans" (Albritton, 2012, p. 311). Originally, HBCUs opened their doors with the mission to "provide access to higher education for African Americans, who were previously enslaved and later segregated in the United States" (Clement & Lidsky, 2011, p. 150). In the southern US, many HBCUs became prevalent with the aid of northern U.S. religious institutions following the Morrill Act of 1862 (and second Morrill Act of 1890), which required states to either admit black students to pre-ex-

isting state funded institutions (i.e., land grant funded) or finance schools for black students to enroll (Bracey, 2017). With the racial tensions in the south at the time of this legislation, many states decided to open separate institutions for black students, initiating the financial disparities between HBCUs and their peer PWIs. With this newly passed legislation, Alcorn State University opened in 1871, becoming the first HBCU to use the legislation. However, an unintended consequence of the legislation resulted from the government still having control over the allocation of funds to both the original institution and the supposed "separate but equal" HBCU established to satisfy the Morrill Act. This meant states were still able to control how funds were allocated to the PWIs and HBCUs.

As black men gained access to institutions of higher education, they fought to earn seats of leadership and decision making within their institutions (Albritton, 2012). As these institutions gained financial footing, HBCU alumni and black Americans wanted to take the roles of teachers, deans, presidents, and trustees. This meant that seats originally held by church missionaries (typically from northern religious institutions) were asked to step aside so the HBCUs could run themselves. During the height of HBCU enrollment (prior to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision), 90% of all black college students attended HBCUs, demonstrating the original purpose of these institutions was being met.

Despite the internal push for successes amongst HBCUs, since the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, enrollment at HBCUs has continued to decrease as more black college students were given the opportunity to enroll in PWIs. This trend has resulted in HBCUs receiving fewer tuition dollars. Aiding in the decrease in enrollment at HBCUs, the Education Act of 1965 required PWIs to increase minority enrollment, resulting in additional competition for HBCUs to maintain enrollment.

Current Financial State of HBCUs

HBCU are facing painful financial struggles as enrollment continues to decrease and fears of dwindling support from the government administration increase (Camera, 2017). Decreasing enrollment proves problematic for these institutions specifically because they are "heavily dependent on tuition income" (Stewart, 2017, p. 11). HBCUs only receive a small percentage of overall grants from the federal government and the dollar amount allocated to HBCUs has been decreasing (Arnett, 2014). HBCUs continue to find themselves in trouble with accreditation issues that could cause the historic and important institutions to shut down permanently. In a 2014 study, HBCU administrators stated financing university programs as their top challenge (Arnett, 2014). Financial volatility may be especially problematic for HBCUs because they have traditionally been a home for many first generation and low-income students (Camera, 2017). Many of these students rely on tuition assistance like Pell grants and direct loans, but these forms of financial aid are becoming less common at HBCUs (Arnett, 2014). The need for HBCUs in the country is validated by the increasing number of testimonies from HBCU graduates claiming they would not be where they are today if not for their four years at an HBCU (Camera, 2017).

These testimonies affirm the need for HBCUs, but their financial state does not look promising.

One strategy many HBCUs have implemented in response to these budgeting issues is to increase their focus on fundraising and alumni relations. Despite this effort, the last major gift to an HBCU was in the 1980s, indicating that potential donors are not making the investment in HBCUs (Stuart, 2017). With the limited external funding to HBCUs, it has been suggested that they earmark funds for academics and remove funding for athletic programs (Savage, 2017). This will ensure survival of the institution but could also take away from the student experience in college. Suggestions also call for a reevaluation of the academic programs offered on campus at HBCUs. The consolidation of academic programs should ensure only the programs that prepare students for work after graduation are offered (Savage, 2017).

A recent example of an HBCU that was forced to close its doors is Morris Brown College. The historic HBCU was established in Atlanta in 1881. However, as the college sought to grow its public profile through promotional campaigns, replacement funds were not raised and the institution was forced to make cuts, eventually leading to the school's loss of accreditation in the early 2000s (Wheatley, 2017). Losing accreditation proved fatal as institutions with no accreditation are not able to award federal financial aid. As mentioned previously, many students with interest in attending HBCUs rely on this type of funding as they come from low income families. The unfortunate example of Morris Brown College seems to foreshadow the possibilities for other HBCUs as enrollment is dropping and the tuition dollars are not coming into the institutions. Today, many of the buildings have fallen into disrepair, including Alonzo Herndon Stadium, the college's football stadium and a competition venue for the 1996 Centennial Olympic Games. With the example from Morris Brown College, a college that invested heavily on athletic programs and facilities, comes the need to reevaluate where HBCUs are allocating money and if the allocation to athletics can hurt the institution.

Financing HBCU Athletic Programs

Over the past 10 years, expenditures have increased significantly among HBCUs, however there has been little research on exactly how expenditures in HBCU athletics have increased. (Jones & Bell, 2016). Specifically, Jones and Bell (2016) called for more research on specific reasons HBCUs are spending more on athletics in areas such as coach salaries, scholarships, athletic aid, and operating expenses. Further understanding of those expenses could help HBCU athletic administrators better understand how to allocate funds. With the increased expenses comes the challenge for athletic department administration to secure revenue sources. As discussed above, signature events like the Tuskegee Morehouse Classic can generate significant revenues used to subsidize a large portion of competing teams' athletic budgets. However, despite the success of some classic games, not all teams competing in neutral-site competitions have realized increased revenue. New classics are proving to be less profitable, as they cannot draw the attendance of the more well-known classics (Seymour, 2006).

An additional factor causing the downfall of these neutral-site classics is the increasing popularity of guarantee games against top Division I programs, in which institutions are choosing to play instead of HBCU classics because they receive a large payout (Greenlee, 2012). For example, in 2013, Florida A&M University was paid $900,000 (more than one-half of its annual football budget) to play Ohio State in football; they lost the game, 76–0 (Hruby, 2017). Despite the physical risks of playing these guarantee games, exposure for student-athletes, the ability for coaches to get a better understanding of their team's performance, and the revenue generated from these games can outweigh these risks (Nocera, 2016).

Despite the popularity of the classics and the guarantee games HBCU programs play in annually, it is widely reported that HBCUs struggle in athletic department funding (Nocera, 2016). For example, after announcing her university's move from Division I to Division II, Savannah State President Cheryl Dozier cited the decision will help maintain fiscal responsibility for the students and institution (Suggs, 2017). Originally a Division II NCAA institution, Savannah State University was not able to capitalize on football revenue in Division I as they failed to field a competitive program. Their history as a Division I institution left a dismal overall football program record of 22-140 (Suggs, 2017). This is not surprising as Savannah State University allocated the least funds to football expenses when compared to all other institutions in their Division I conference (EADA, 2017). Move over, they spent the second lowest amount in total expenses at their previous Division I conference. Their lack of funding prevented success and pushed them back to Division II where they can be move competitive financially.

One way to drive additional revenue is through a dedicated marketing strategy. However, as reported by Li and Burden (2009), the majority of HBCUs do not employ a marketing or external relations employee in their athletic department. Although research has shown employing a marketing or external relations employee in athletics is crucial to securing sponsorships, most HBCUs do not have a designated employee for this task (Li & Burden, 2009). A lack of funding is preventing many of these institutions from hiring the needed personnel. Similarly, Jackson, Lyons, and Gooden (2001) found that most HBCU athletic departments are not putting effort into developing a marketing department or employees to put themselves in a better position to solicit corporate sponsors. Although past studies have focused on the lack of financial resources at HBCUs, it remains unclear how HBCUs specifically compare financially to their peer institutions and the extent, if any, to which a financial deficit exists.

Attracting Coaches and Student-Athletes to HBCUs

Minority head coaches at all levels of collegiate football are reportedly underrepresented (Bozeman & Fay, 2013), despite a reported positive increase in Black collegiate football coaches (Bopp & Sagas, 2012). Consequently, it is important to look at HBCU football programs and understand some stressors for these coaches and why they are not moving on to higher sought after collegiate football coaching positions. One reason reported by Auerbach (2016) is that the overall record of many HBCU

coaches may suffer from participating in guarantee games that, while important for the program's financial picture, nearly always results in lopsided losses. In other words, after piling up losses as the coach of a small-budget Division I and II football programs competing against Division I FBS programs, these coaches might be overlooked by hiring committees focused on overall records.

At the student-athlete level, Cooper and Hawkins (2002) interviewed male, Black student-athletes at HBCUs and found most of the student-athletes' primary college choices were predominantly white institutions (PWIs). The authors hypothesized that the higher visibility of and resources available at PWIs contributed to student preference. During their interviews, the student-athletes admitted they had a challenging time balancing academic and athletic responsibility at HBCUs (Cooper & Hawkins, 2002). This research is consistent with later work by Robbins, Gilbert, and Clifton (2015), who found the lack of funding at HBCUs caused teams to travel by bus on long rides, typically across state lines. Furthermore, coaches at HBCUs typically have to monitor study hours on these long trips, adding responsibilities to their already long list of duties (Robbins et al., 2015). The financial strain at HBCUs is noticeable and can be an issue when trying to attract the best coaches and student-athletes.

There has also been a decline in first-generation college students-athletes competing at NCAA institutions (Farrey, 2017). With this decrease in the overall student-athlete population, the number of first-generation college student-athletes at HBCUs is growing. This reality is based on coaches having to recruit certain student-athletes based on the prediction of the student-athlete having the ability to balance athletics with coursework, ensuing a good academic performance (Farrey, 2017). With the added stress for coaches to not only recruit great athletes but also students that can perform well in the classroom, comes the need for institutions to make their athletic programs desirable for incoming student-athletes. Given that HBCUs are enrolling first-generation college students at an increasing rate, there is growing demand for academic support services that can aid in maximizing students' chances for success.

Divisional Analysis

The number of participants attending an event has surfaced as a factor leading to sponsorship success (Berrett & Slack, 2001). As noted previously, many HBCU athletic contests are highly attended; for example, the SIAC has led Division II in football attendance for 13 consecutive seasons (Reddick, 2017). Thus, with the number of fans attending HBCU athletic contests, they become an ideal candidate for corporate sponsorship. Even with crowds attending these games, athletic administrators at HBCUs have not capitalized on the value of their fans to increase revenue (Armstrong, 2001).

Despite the highly attended HBCU Division II football games, questions have been raised about why Division I HBCU athletic programs remain under the Division I classification when they are not stacking up financially (Trahan, 2012). However, history and pride have been cited as two reasons for HBCU Division I

institutions to remain under the Division I classification (Trahan, 2012). It is not only the HBCU Division I institutions that find trouble competing against their peer institutions, HBCU Division II institutions experience the same financial woes in comparison to their peer institutions on their competition schedule. Two examples of institutions that had to recently make cuts are Paine College and Stillman College, both of which originally played football in the Division II athletic conference, the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference. Stillman College not only cut football, but also cut every other sport program in their athletic program except for men's and women's basketball. Although the cuts seem dramatic, the president of Stillman College claimed athletics were still important to the institution historically, and men's and women's basketball were kept at the institution in the hopes of rebuilding the athletic department in the future (Logue, 2016).

Recently, on the Division I landscape, Howard University made the decision to leave the Middle Eastern Athletic Conference (MEAC) to join the Big South Conference. The MEAC is one of two HBCU conferences made up of mostly HBCUs. One of the reasons stated by Howard University in their decision to switch conferences was the travel cost for the institution as well as the travel time for the student-athletes at Howard University (Carter, 2017). It is important to note, Howard University was a successful member institution of the MEAC, consistently winning football and basketball conference championships. This move was cited as a financial decision, thus proving the need to analyze financial reporting and expenditures by HBCU athletic departments.

Athletic Scholarships

In Division I and II institutions, institutions are permitted to offer scholarships to student-athletes and over the years, athletic aid expenditures by institutions have been growing (Wolverton, 2016). Although the scholarships given by institutions are growing, only between 1–2 percent of students at colleges and universities receive athletically related financial aid, totaling one billion dollars a year (Ziff, 2017). With the amount of scholarships increasing, this can be an opportunity for the power institutions that have the revenue and financial resources to further pull away and create a bigger divide from the lower funded institutions. Specifically, in this study, the difference between HBCU athletic programs and their peer institutions will be analyzed to see if this growth in scholarship spending at institutions is creating the divide between HBCUs and PWIs.

Despite the scholarship potential, not all athletes are benefiting at HBCUs, especially the female athletes (Theune, 2016). That is, while Title IX legislation has increased opportunities to participate at HBCUs, Black female student-athletes are receiving fewer scholarships at HBCUs than in previous years. This can be attributed to the growth in non-Black student-athletes at HBCUs receiving scholarships. Overall, the number of Black student-athletes participating at HBCUs has decreased with the increase in white student-athletes (Bell & Jones, 2016). Based on this current trend, additional research into the differences in scholarship spending at HBCUs may

help identify inefficiencies that can be corrected to prevent the closing of doors for Black women student-athletes and work to increase athletic aid opportunity.

Conflict Theory and HBCUs

Conflict theory is based on the struggle that occurs between groups competing for limited resources. When such conflict occurs, cultural values, including economic, political, and social interests, are supported by the dominant group (i.e., those with the most resources; Sage & Eitzen, 2015). An unfortunate consequence of society viewed through this perspective is that the group with limited resources continues to fall to the rules set by the "haves" of society. This means some views, especially those of the most under-resourced groups, are not heard, thereby creating unequal social classes.

Confirmation of conflict theory in practice can be observed in intercollegiate athletics, particularly under the NCAA structure. In the NCAA structure, schools in the Power Five, elite conferences continue to generate more revenues, while smaller schools like those in Divisions II and III lose resources yearly to the big-name institutions. Strictly looking at overall NCAA revenue redistributed to each member institution, Division II only receives 4.37% of the total revenue pie ("Division II Finances," 2018). Moreover, Division III institutions only receive 3.18% of the total revenue generated by the NCAA. This is a staggeringly low percentage, as Division III institutions make up the largest membership of the NCAA; in other words, the institutions that make up a small portion of the NCAA but have the most resources are able to direct the culture of the entire membership. Evidence of these influential members' control can be observed in their lucrative television contracts, media deals, and overarching revenue streams, all of which are able to redirect these revenue back to themselves. Meanwhile, HBCUs and other limited resource institutions continue to struggle financially. With the lack of large revenue sources, internal conflict has grown in HBCU athletic departments over their placement in the NCAA structure and whether they should try and compete in Division I or move to a different division (Trahan, 2012).

With the conflict that currently exists in the NCAA structure, the membership has worked on developing programs and grants to give the underserved members an opportunity to grow in the structure. As conflict theorists surmise, eliminating the inequality in society can bring about harmony (Sage & Eitzen, 2015). One stride taken by the NCAA membership is the current NCAA Presidential Pledge. Under this campaign, presidents across all three NCAA divisions are asked to sign a pledge "promoting diversity and gender equity in intercollegiate athletics" (ncaa.org, 2018). This pledge campaign was created in response to the lack of racial and gender diversity in leadership positions in all divisions of the NCAA structure. Although this pledge might be seen as a step in the right direction by key leaders in the NCAA Presidents Council, the results of the pledge might not have a direct impact on giving institutions with limited resources the ability to hire additional staff. This leads to the overarching problem of the "haves" in the community of intercollegiate athletics creating programs that still ensure they have the control of the membership.

Although conflict can be seen as having a negative connotation, not all conflict should be viewed with a negative light (Bartos & Wehr, 2002). Conflict can be used by organizations to better themselves and make the organization stronger. In the case of the NCAA, although conflict is inevitable with the growing membership body, it should not necessarily be cause for concern by the power elites to keep their prestigious role in the membership, but rather an opportunity to strengthen the entire membership body. Moreover, as Bartos and Wehr (2002) contend, there are three major categories of contested resources: power, prestige, and wealth. In the NCAA structure, all three of these resources play a role in creating a divide between institutions with the most resources and those with the least. Therefore, until significant reforms are made, athletically rich institutions will continue to enjoy good fortune and increasing distance from institutions with more limited resources like HBCUs.

Until an analysis on the perceptions, experiences, and opinions of the underserved members of the NCAA structure, little progress can be made to help the under resourced colleges and universities climb the ranks of the NCAA and to effect change at the institutional level. Research into athletic resources at smaller NCAA institutions, especially HBCUs, has been notably absent in recent literature, and further study in this area can help identify equitable solutions to the current conflict (Jones & Bell, 2016). Conflict will always exist among NCAA members because of the competition to gain more money, prestige, and power. However, this conflict does not have to be a negative result for the membership. Instead, NCAA administrators should look for ways to incorporate the interests of all members of the association when making decisions, especially in the allocation of financial resources.

Research Questions

Given the limited institutional financial resources made available for HBCUs, research in this area can not only provide insight into the understudied finances of HBCUs compared to their peer institutions, but it can also provide evidence for the need for a strategic plan at HBCUs to compete on an equal playing field. As it stands now, HBCUs are largely putting greater emphasis on sales and promotions than on marketing research. As stated by Jackson et al. (2001), "Without change, innovation, and more effective leadership in athletics, and good business sense, HBCU programs will continue to miss out on the substantial revenue generated by intercollegiate athletics" (p. 145). In other words, with limited support for robust marketing initiatives, HBCU athletic departments must be strategic and well-informed in order to compete for corporate sponsors. This study provides a financial snapshot of where HBCUs are in comparison to their peers; such information can be used to evaluate strategies designed to drive revenue.

The purpose of this study was to determine how HBCU athletic departments compare and contrast to their peer PWIs in terms of athletic department spending. The following research questions were used to guide the study:

RQ1: How do athletic department expenses differ between PWIs and HBCUs?

RQ2: What are the largest sources of athletic department expense at HBCUs?
RQ3: What athletic department expenses statistically compare and differ between peer groups of PWIs and HBCUs?
RQ4: How do athletic department expenses compare between Division I and Division II HBCUs?
RQ5: How do athletic department revenues compare and differ between peer groups of PWIs and HBCUs?

As detailed further in the following section, data consisting of information on scholarships, salaries, operating expenses, and recruiting expenses are compared between HBCU and PWI athletic departments institutions to determine areas of deficit and where there might be opportunities for improvement.

Method

Data were collected and analyzed from the U.S. Department of Education's Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act (EADA) Survey. According to the EADA, all co-educational postsecondary institutions that receive Title IV funding and have intercollegiate athletics are required to submit athletic data for public access. All NCAA Division I FCS institutions, Division I no-football institutions and Division II regions with an HBCU member were selected for this study. For Division I, FCS institutions and Division I non-football schools were analyzed as there are no HBCUs competing in the FBS classification. For Division II institutions, institutions in regions that have HBCUs were analyzed. There were no HBCUs competing in the Division III classification. The researchers analyzed data on salary, recruitment, operation, and scholarship expenses for each institution. Data were then compared between HBCUs and their respective peer institutions: Division I FCS institutions, Division I no-football institutions, and Division II institutions in regions with HBCU membership.

Descriptive statistics were computed to illustrate sources of parity (and disparity) in the expenses and revenues between HBCUs and PWIs. An ANOVA analysis was conducted to determine if the means of the expenses and revenues for HBCUs statistically differed from their peer PWIs. To understand the relationships between HBCUs and PWIs, the data collected were compared across several classifications, including between peer institutions, between institutions in the same region, and between divisions.

Results

The results from this study indicate athletic departments at HBCUs spend significantly less on all expense categories when compared to their PWI counterparts. Table 1 provides the means in each expense category of data with indication of the statistical significance.

Table 1
Averages for Expenses and Revenues Between all HBCUs and PWIs.

	Athletic Aid	Recruiting Expenses	Operating Expenses	Total Expenses	Head Coach Salary	Revenue
Total						
HBCU	$2,017,406.84	$70,547.62	$825,112.79	$6,251,928.48	$556,053.03	$6,137,573.15
PWI	$4,043,471.83	$220,739.63	$1,827,771.96	$13,194,833.27	$1,182,698.63	$14,019,499.56
	$F(1, 380) = 7.87, p < .001$	$F(1, 380) = 26.20, p < .001$	$F(1, 380) = 31.53, p < .001$	$F(1, 380) = 34.63, p < .001$	$F(1, 380) = 29.61, p < .001$	$F(1, 380) = 39.41, p < .001$
DI FCS						
HBCU	$3,267,285.73	$130,336.45	$506,475.71	$10,529,306.91	$854,080.68	$10,011,122.27
PWI	$5,583,352.72	$378,861.92	$2,779,005.86	$19,664,240.54	$1,609,738.02	$20,923,723.82
	$F(1, 122) = 13.64, p < .001$	$F(1, 122) = 26.16, p < .001$	$F(1, 122) = 27.88, p < .001$	$F(1, 122) = 29.51, p < .001$	$F(1, 122) = 16.92, p < .001$	$F(1, 122) = 35.90, p < .001$
DI No FB						
HBCU	$1,500,418.50	$82,409.50	$946,368.00	$4,908,912.50	$552,537.00	$4,706,859.00
PWI	$4,892,775.95	$279,083.22	$223,6874.20	$16,282,489.21	$1,532,774.54	$17,208,903.18
	$F(1, 92) = 3.41, p =$ n.s.	$F(1, 92) = 2.490, p =$ n.s.	$F(1, 92) = 2.78, p =$ n.s.	$F(1, 92) = 5.63, p < .05$	$F(1, 92) = 2.78, p =$ n.s.	$F(1, 92) = 6.07, p = .05$
DII						
HBCU	$1,072,286.89	$22,723.39	$393,247.79	$2,987,060.86	$322,139.61	$3,196,264.14
PWI	$2,314,031.92	$62,680.20	$837,600.90	$6,276,772.75	$625,603.03	$6,653,079.49
	$F(1, 162) = 22.04, p < .001$	$F(1, 162) = 21.26, p < .001$	$F(1, 162) = 29.61, p < .001$	$F(1, 162) = 40.68, p < .001$	$F(1, 162) = 24.82, p < .001$	$F(1, 162) = 38.87, p < .001$

To answer RQ1, ANOVA analysis was conducted to test if the means of athletic aid, recruiting, operating, total expenses, and head coach salaries compared or differed between HBCUs and PWIs. Beginning with athletic aid, PWIs spent significantly more when compared to their HBCU counterparts, $F(1, 380) = 7.87$, $p < .001$. This suggests HBCU athletic departments are not spending as much athletic scholarship funds on student-athletes, potentially preventing them from attracting the best student-athletes. Likewise, PWIs spent significantly more on recruiting when compared to their HBCU counterparts, $F(1, 380) = 26.20$, $p < .001$. This further suggests HBCUs are not investing in the resources to remain competitive with their peers to attract the best student-athletes for their athletic programs. Additionally, HBCUs are spending significantly less on operating expenses, $F(1, 380) = 31.53$, $p < .001$. This result indicates HBCUs are not putting as much funds toward travel, facilities, and game day expenses, potentially not giving their student-athletes the same experiences as their peer institutions. Head coach compensation at HBCUs is also significantly lower compared to their PWI peers, $F(1, 380) = 29.61$, $p < .001$. This could indicate HBCUs might lose quality coaches to institutions willing to pay more for the same position. Overall, HBCUs are spending much less than their PWI peers in total expenses, $F(1, 380) = 34.63$, $p < .001$. This disparity can lead to a competitive disadvantage.

To answer RQ2, means of all HBCU athletic department expenses were compared between athletic aid, recruiting expenses, operating expenses, and head coach salaries. Overall, HBCUs spent the most on athletic aid (M = \$2,017,406.85, SD = \$1,390,492.13), with the least amount of funds being spent on recruiting (M = \$70,547.62, SD = \$81,453.45). Likewise, for Division I FCS institutions, HBCUs spent the most money on athletic aid (M = \$3,267,285.73, SD = \$1,170,468.50) and the least on recruiting (M = \$130,336.40, SD = \$90,282.477). Division I no football analysis reported the same results with HBCUs spending the least on recruiting (M = \$82,409.50, SD = \$76,222.58), and spending the most on athletic aid expenses (M = \$1,500,418.50, SD = \$494,908.99). Division II institutional analysis also reported the same results with institutions spending the most on athletic aid (M = \$1,072,286.89, SD = \$598,704.90).

For RQ3, an ANOVA was conducted in the three comparison groups, Division I FCS, Division I no football, and Division II institutions. Comparing only Division I FCS institutions, PWIs spent significantly more in athletic aid, recruiting, operating expenses, and head coach salaries. Overall, Division I FCS HBCUs spent significantly less in total expenses when compared to their PWI counterparts, $F(1, 122) = 29.51$, $p < .001$. Likewise, comparing only Division II institutions, PWIs spent more in each expense category leaving HBCUs at a financial disadvantage in overall athletic expenses, $F(1, 92) = 5.63$, $p < .05$. The only category with no statistically different spending in all expense categories was the group of Division I no football institutions. Comparing Division I no football institutions, PWIs spent statistically more on total expenses, $F(1, 92) = 5.63$, $p < .05$, however, all individual expense categories showed no difference.

RQ4 was analyzed by comparing expenses in each of the five expenses categories, athletic aid, recruiting, operation, total expenses, and head coach salaries between all Division I HBCUs and all Division II HBCUs. In all expense categories, Division I HBCUs spent significantly more in total expenses compared to Division II HBCUs, $F(1, 50) = 97.35$, $p < .001$. This indicates there is still a divide in expenses for HBCUs classified in Division I and Division II, and there is rational for HBCU institutions to classify in each division. For HBCUs in both Division I and Division II, the majority of expenses were in athletic aid (Division I M = \$3,120,046.79; Division II M = \$1,072,286.89). Additionally, both Division I (M = \$126,342.54, SD = \$88,757.23) and Division II (M = \$22,723.39, SD = \$26,121.70) HBCUs spent the least on recruiting expenses.

For RQ5, an ANOVA was conducted in the three comparison groups, Division I FCS, Division I no football, and Division II institutions. Overall, PWIs generated significantly more revenue compared to their peer HBCUs. Division I FCS HBCUs earned significantly less in revenue compared to their PWI counterparts, $F(1, 122) = 35.90$, $p < .001$. Likewise, comparing only Division II institutions, PWIs earned more revenue compared to HBCUs, $F(1, 162) = 38.87$, $p < .001$. Comparing Division I no football institutions, PWIs earned significantly more revenue as well, $F(1, 92) = 6.07$, $p < .05$. This indicates in all peer groups, HBCUs are earning significantly less revenue compared to their peer institutions, consequently putting them on path to limited resources and a financial disadvantage. Although the results of this study indicate HBCU peer groups are earning significantly less compared to their peers, it is important to note that in the majority of cases analyzed, institutions had similar revenues and expenses. In other words, most institutions are not reporting a major loss financially on athletic programs. With this result, additional research is needed to analyze revenue streams to understand from where institutions are generating money to fund their athletic programs. For example, the EADA data includes direct institutional support as revenue for the athletic department. Further analysis can consider if the revenue reported by athletics comes from athletics-related operations, or if it originates elsewhere.

Discussion

With the empirical data collected in this survey, athletic administrators at HBCUs can use the information to better understand the expenses at peer institutions and structure themselves financially for success. Specially, athletic administrators at HBCUs should understand peer institutions are spending most in athletic aid and least in recruiting. In some cases, this strategy may reflect the contrasting goals across institutions; in other cases, institutions struggling competitively can try and follow this model and allocate their funds for success. The data from this study can help HBCU athletic administrators understand how their institutions financially differ from peer institutions in terms of recruiting, coaching salaries, scholarships, operating expenses, and overall expenses. This research found in all peer groups, HBCUs are not spending as much in each expense category—athletic aid, recruiting, oper-

ation expenses, total expenses, and head coach salaries—as their PWI peers. If desired, administrators can use these differences to understand where the biggest gaps in funding are to target revenue streams to be more competitive financially. For example, as most institutions in this study spent the most funds on athletic aid, HBCU athletic administrators should target revenue streams that will specifically benefit growth in athletic aid expenses. This can mean creating publications and increasing donor relationships for a better understanding about how HBCUs are lacking in that area and how support can help.

The results of this study indicate HBCU institutions are structured as the "have nots" of the NCAA membership. As conflict theory suggests, HBCUs will stay stagnant in their place in the NCAA structure unless more discussion and research are put into place to help these institutions. At some administrative levels, strategies for reform have already been put into place, including the Minority Opportunities Athletic Association, established under the National Association of Collegiate Directors of Athletics umbrella and designed to help advance the careers of minority applicants. Through constructive and positive discussions, these programs can be used to make decisions that are more inclusive and representative of the entire NCAA membership. This consequently will help HBCUs communicate the needs of their institutions.

There are HBCU institutions in Division I and Division II groups of the NCAA membership structure, and in both groups, HBCUs fall behind their peers in available financial resources. This inequity inevitably leads to conflict, especially at the Division I level, where institutions receive significant financial benefits from securing a bid to the annual basketball tournament. If Division I HBCUs do not have the funds to compete with fully funded Division I programs, their ability to make the tournament becomes bleak and the institutions do not realize the revenue the NCAA earns from the television contracts and sponsorships associated with the tournament. This cycle furthers ability of the rich institutions to get richer, leaving the under resourced institutions stuck in "their place" in the NCAA structure.

Additionally, the gap in overall expenses might call for HBCUs to reevaluate their position in the NCAA structure. As the results of this study indicate, HBCUs are not on level financial footing with their peer institutions, but there may be other options to consider. One such example is the so-called HBCU College Basketball League, a proposed league whose athletes—all full-time students—would earn $50,000–$100,000 per year and "be allowed to endorse products, sell autographs, sign with agents, accept gifts from boosters, declare for the NBA draft, and event be drafted by NBA teams without losing their eligibility" (Hruby, 2017, para. 8). In addition to providing competition with the NCAA, the league would "boost the flagging fortunes of the nation's [HBCUs]" (para. 1). While a proposal like the HBCU League is unlikely to be adopted in the immediate future, HBCUs may be led to realign by moving to divisions and leagues that are more economically equitable. Some have questioned if Division I HBCUs, struggling to maintain equal financial footing, should continue to compete against other Division I PWIs (Trahan, 2012). The results of this study indicate HBCU athletic departments are spending signifi-

cantly less on all areas of athletic department expenses. Athletic department administrators should understand these gaps and determine if they are competing in a division that is best for their institution financially and competitively.

One interesting note in this study is the lack of HBCU representation in NCAA Division III membership. In the Division III structure, there are no athletic aid expenses, as student-athletes are not eligible to receive athletic grants-in-aid. The results of this study indicate HBCUs are spending the most dollars on grant-in-aid expenses when compared to recruiting, operations, or coaching salaries. Further research should look to understand why HBCUs continue to compete at the Division II level, where they are expected to give student-athletes scholarships. Those funds could be spent in other areas that could produce more competitive teams.

Limitations and Future Research

The data used in this study did not include specific spending in each of the expense categories (i.e., athletic aid, recruiting, coaching salaries, scholarships, operating expenses). Therefore, it remains unclear the specific areas in which institutions are spending. For example, institutions allocate the majority of funds to revenue generating sports, basketball and football. Specifically, coaching salaries and operating expenses could be higher in the revenue generating sports compared to Olympic sports. Further studies can analyze if competitive funding in the areas of athletic aid, recruiting, coaching salaries, scholarships, operating expenses, and overall expenses really do produce successful athletic teams among peer institutions. This can further help HBCU athletic administrators budget for competitive programs while potentially helping their respective institutions cut wasteful spending that might not be proving successful at other institutions.

Two additional factors not addressed in this study were travel distance and expenses. As noted in the literature review, coaches and student-athletes competing at HBCUs noted travel as a demand on their experience. Further research can compare travel distances and expenses of HBCUs and peer institutions to see if HBCUs are at a disadvantage in their current peer groups. Research in this area can further help decision makers at HBCUs evaluate their current athletic division and determine if they are in the best position for their institution.

A more in-depth evaluation of revenue streams in HBCU athletic departments can also help determine if HBCUs are generating income comparable to their peer institutions. This study examined only total revenue earned; however, without understanding how individual revenue streams differ between HBCUs and their peer groups, it is not possible to receive a complete financial picture. As noted in the literature review, it is suggested that HBCUs continue to increase fundraising and alumni relations (Stuart, 2017). HBCU athletic programs have a rich history and there is potential for revenue streams from both alumni and the community. However, it is critical that further research evaluate how much HBCUs are raking in to offset costs when compared to their peer institutions.

Overall, it is clear that HBCUs are at a financial disadvantage when compared to their peer institutions. Further research to evaluate the entire financial picture rather than simply expenses is needed to ensure administers have all of the information necessary to make decisions regarding their athletic programs. As mentioned in the literature review, there have been recommendations for HBCUs to cut funding to athletic programs to ensure financial stability for the institution's purpose, academics (Savage, 2017). With the recommendation to cut funding and the findings in this research, HBCU athletic administrators need to decide how to maneuver their athletic programs in the best way for their respective institutions.

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Individual-Level Explanations of Corruption Within an Intercollegiate Context

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Understanding why individuals engage in sport corruption is an emerging topic of research. Micro-level accounts of corruption have generally used a single disciplinary approach toward understanding why actors commit corruption (e.g., doping and match-fixing) in specific sports. The purpose of this study was to first examine individual-level explanations of corruption in the context of intercollegiate athletics; and, second, to generate an interdisciplinary framework. A multi-case analysis was conducted of 20 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) major infractions (corruption) reports that occurred between 2005 and 2015. The findings showed that actors' explanations were based on psychological factors—motivations (social relationship and self-interest) and personal norms, professional factors (abuse of power and failure of responsibilities), and justification factors (rationalizing strategies). This research builds on existing scholarship by generating an interdisciplinary framework of micro-level accounts of sport corruption in intercollegiate athletics.

Keywords: causes sport corruption, micro-level accounts, rule violations, interdisciplinary corruption framework

The engagement of corrupt acts, by individual sport actors and renegade groups is one of the principle threats to the integrity of the sport industry. Causes of corruption in college sports have been extensively discussed (e.g., Lopiano, 2016; Nixon, 2014; Yost, 2009; Zimbalist, 2018), yet are under-theorized and limited empirical research has examined micro-level (individual) explanations of sport corruption occurring across National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) sports. Intercollegiate athletic sport corruption ranges from significant/severe breach of conduct and/or major infractions to incidental issues/breaches of conduct (secondary violations) committed by individuals (e.g., athletes, coaches, administrators, staff, faculty, organizational representatives) and/or referent groups (e.g., coaches, apparel representatives, agents) (NCAA, 2016). From 2005to 2015, the NCAA reported 126 major/severe infractions cases that involved three different forms of corruption (i.e., fraud, bribery and unethical conduct) and their respective types (e.g., academic, impermissible inducements, knowingly influencing others to furnish false or misleading information) (NCAA, 2016). Albeit minimal, research on the engagement of intercollegiate athletic corruption has focused almost exclusively on meso-level (i.e., program and/or institutional) explanations (e.g., university characteristics, and lead-

ership, conference rivals, pressure to win) in the context of revenue sports (football and men's basketball) (e.g., Clark & Batista, 2009; Fizel & Brown, 2014). However, this research does not offer micro-level explanations of the persons (e.g., athletes, coaches, administrators, staff or organizational representatives) and their collective groups who actually engage in corrupt acts. Given the NCAA's extensive compliance system, research should focus on examining "contextual determinants of corruption and interactional processes whereby people come to develop and/or share corrupt-favorable acts" (Zaloznaya, 2014, p. 193). To contribute to our understanding of factors that contribute to corrupt behavior, requires more contextually-based research on corruption (De Graff, 2009; Pertiwi, 2018), "for which we need a theoretical model" (De Graff, 2009, p. 42). This research aims to respond to these scholars' calls by examining individuals' explanations of engaging in corrupt acts within the context of intercollegiate sports.

In the broader sport corruption literature the individual explanations of corruption have drawn from different academic disciplines including economics, sociology, criminology, and psychology where the vast majority has focused on explanations within the context of understanding how and why match fixing (e.g., Bag & Saha, 2011; Hill, 2009a; Manoli & Antonopoulos, 2015; Numerato, 2015) and doping occur (e.g., Bell, Ten Have, & Lauchs, 2016; Engelberg, Moston, & Skinner, 2015). Given that the factors contributing to corruption are multifarious (Caiden, Dwivedi, & Jabbra, 2001), we would be wrong to assume that individual explanations for match fixing and doping are solely responsible for corrupt practices in college sport; or that deviance or financial motivations are the central causes of all NCAA corruption (Cullen, Latessa, & Jonson, 2012). For example, the aforesaid reasons do not explain why a faculty member or academic staff person would commit academic fraud. In the case of University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill academic fraud, a department staff member was motivated to assist student-athletes to pass courses because of empathy and wanting to help them succeed (Wainstein, Jay, & Kukowski, 2014). To accurately depict the range of factors that contribute to NCAA sport actors engaging in corrupt behaviours warrants an interdisciplinary investigation to help chart its complexity.

The NCAA provides a rich setting for generating an integrated theoretical framework of micro-level explanations for intercollegiate sport actors' engagement in corruption (Humphreys, 2012). First, the NCAA setting affords a local context to uncover how group interactions in organizations, peer groups, and sport programs affect people's propensity to abuse the relationships of trust and violate rules. Second, the NCAA context permits cross-case analysis that is particularly useful in understanding the process of corruption (Langseth, 2016), that is, individuals' courses of thoughts and actions leading to corrupt behaviors. Third, NCAA cases allow for the examination of individual explanations of corruption across numerous sports (e.g., baseball, women's rowing, volleyball, football, men's and women's basketball, men's and women's golf), ranges in intensity (i.e., gravity and quantity), and hierarchies (i.e. acts and levels of organizational involvement) thus allowing cross comparisons of explanations of severity and by different sports. A conglomerate of

social, economic, sociological, and psychological factors can be used to explain why sport actors engage in intercollegiate corruption and thus the need for contextual-related research that can ultimately yield an interdisciplinary framework (Collins, Uhlenbruck, & Rodriguez, 2009; Gorsira, Denkers, & Huisman, 2016). Last, intercollegiate athletics offers a context where the forms and their types of corruption are unique to the setting (e.g., academic fraud, impermissible benefits, knowingly influencing others to furnish false information). The NCAA has a distinct self-monitoring compliance system where the majority of forms and types of corruption are not illegal. The findings therefore afford the opportunity for future comparative analysis of factors contributing to other sport industry forms and types of corruption (e.g., international betting match fixing, host bribery, tanking, salary cap abuses).

This study seeks to accomplish this aim by examining individual-level explanations of corruption in the context of intercollegiate athletics. The study was guided by two research questions: (1) who are the actors engaging in NCAA corruption; and (2) what factors influence athletic department stakeholders in deciding to engage in NCAA corruption. By conducting a multi-case analysis of individual-level explanations in this NCAA context, the contribution of this work is fourfold. First, it generates an interdisciplinary framework that includes micro-level factors that explain individuals' decisions to commit corruption within intercollegiate athletics. Second, empirical understandings are gained as to why a range of athletic department actors engage in corruption. Third, in practice, management strategies are ascertained that can address personal and/or micro-level corruption. Fourth, individual-level norms that can lead to corruption and, therefore, inform reform efforts become better understood.

Defining sport corruption

Across the literature the definition of corruption is a contested concept. To date, corruption scholars continue to wrestle with defining and conceptualizing corruption (Collins et al., 2009; Masters, 2015) and have yet to accept a universal definition of corruption (Langseth, 2016). In the management literature, a broad, rational-choice definition of corruption is generally used, that is, the abuse of power for personal, subunit, and/or organizational gain (Anand, Ashford, & Joshi, 2004; Zaloznaya, 2014; Zyglidopoulos, Fleming, & Rothenberg, 2009). A wide array of unethical and criminal acts fall under this definition including, fraud, bribery, conflicts of interest, embezzlement, and nepotism. Whilst the rational-choice approach to defining corruption is well accepted in the broader literature and, to some degree, in the sport literature, it narrowly assumes that all corruption is "purely instrumental and premeditated" that is, based on maximizing personal and/or group benefits (Zaloznaya, 2014, p. 190). Zaloznaya (2014) argues that such an assumption that all explanations for carrying out corruption are fixed and thus do not warrant further investigation. I am arguing that Zaloznaya's assumption is incorrect because it insinuates that individual accounts of corruption should be understood solely on explaining motivations for personal gain rather than exploring other factors that individuals' might take into account in deciding to engage in corrupt acts. Rationalizations and motivations for

sport corruption are multiple and influenced by a range of informal norms (e.g., loyalty, secrecy) and social contexts (e.g., sport, educational institutions). Thus, a definition of sport corruption should incorporate these interactional influences.

Sport management scholars have also yet to agree on a single, common definition of corruption that is applicable across contexts within the sport industry (Bricknell, 2015; Masters, 2015). Maennig (2005, 2008) provided one of the first demarcations of sport corruption by distinguishing competition (e.g., athlete behaviors, intentionally not trying to win) and non-competition corruption (e.g., sporting officials' behaviors who neglect their expected positional tasks). Gorse and Chadwick (2010) suggested an alternative definition, "involving any illegal, immoral or unethical activity that attempts to deliberately distort the result of a sporting contest for the personal material gain of one or more parties involved in that activity" (p. 42). However, both of these definitions fail to capture the scope of corrupt behaviors evident in the NCAA. Maennig's (2005) non-competition definition has some applicability to the NCAA context (officials who neglect positional tasks) but does not encompass the range of malfeasance prohibited by the NCAA rules. In addition, his competition definition is focused on match manipulation, which is too narrow for an intercollegiate setting. Gorse and Chadwick's (2010) conception is limited to match manipulation of sporting contests, which has limited applicability to the range of standards of behavior required by NCAA regulations.

The delivery of NCAA athletics programs operate within higher education. The required standard of conduct expected of organizational stakeholders is based on "the integrity of the NCAA Collegiate Model" as stated in the association's constitution and bylaws (NCAA, 2016, para. 1). NCAA regulations apply to a range of stakeholders (e.g., athletes, coaching staff, athletic administrators, support staff, institutional administrators and staff, faculty, athletic representatives) and involve a wide-reaching standard of behaviors (e.g., institutional control, permissible offers and inducements, sportsmanship and ethical conduct, and permissible awards, benefits and expenses) in the administration of athletic departments, sports programs, sports rules and competitions, and academic programs. A severe breach of conduct (i.e., corrupt act) as defined in the association's constitution and bylaws is considered a major violation and in the revised structure a "level 1 violation" (National Collegiate Athletic Association, 2016, para. 1). It is noteworthy that certain standards and the different levels of infractions are specific to an intercollegiate setting (e.g., academic eligibility, institutional control, amateurism) that create complexities in seeking an understanding of individual accounts of rule breaking in a higher education setting. Sport corruption in this study is defined as "acts of appropriation and exchange that undermine, subvert, or repudiate the collectively agreed-upon organizational missions or institutional roles for non-collective ends and purposes" (Zaloznaya, 2014, p. 194). Based on the NCAA manual and existing literature (e.g., Kihl, Ndiaye, & Fink, 2018), these acts include fraud, defined as "involving some form of trickery, swindle or deceit" that can involve "a manipulation or distortion of information, facts and expertise" (Andvig & Fjeldstad, 2001, p. 9).

Examples of types of fraud in the NCAA include academic misconduct, impermissible financial aid, and impermissible recruiting, tryouts and workouts. Bribery refers to either actively offering a bribe or passively receiving a bribe that includes such behaviors as offering or receiving improper gifts, peddling privileges, bribery to supporting unfair competition, and securing confidential information (Langseth, 2016, pp. 25–26). Unethical conduct is defined as "a set of guiding principles with which each person follows the letter and spirit of the rules" (NCAA, 2018, para. 5). Example prohibited behaviors are impeding an investigation, failing to cooperate during an investigation, or refusing to provide all relevant or requested information during an investigation.

Zaloznaya's (2014) definition goes beyond the traditional rational choice definition of corruption (corruption as abuse of entrusted power for private gain) as it is founded in social psychology traditions acknowledging that corruption is context determinant and people's social interactions with rules influence how and why individuals decide to engage in corruption. Such a definition is the foundation for creating an interdisciplinary framework that reflects how NCAA actors make sense of the rules system and the context influencing factors that guide their decision making. This definition also demarcates corrupt behaviors from other forms of organizational wrongdoing or misconduct (e.g., bullying, sexual harassment) by emphasizing misappropriation of the association's mission and guiding principles.

Literature Review

Moral disengagement

Moral disengagement theory explains how individuals deactivate their internal self-regulatory capabilities (e.g., guilt, shame, and self-condemnation) that typically stop them from violating their moral standards. Moral engagement mechanisms disable the self-regulatory processes and as a result, individuals participate in wrongdoing without feeling personal distress (Bandura, 1999, 2002; Bandura, Caprara, & Zsolnai, 2000). Moore, Detert, Trevino, Baker, and Mayer (2011) argued the moral disengagement process plays an important role in explaining how individuals are able to "engage in corruption without apparent cognitive distress" (p. 4). Athletes have used several moral disengagement mechanisms to justify doping including advantageous comparison (comparing detrimental acts with more harmful ones, and making appear less worse), minimizing consequences, and diffusing responsibility (Bell et al., 2016; Engelberg et al., 2015; Kirby, Moran, & Guerin, 2011). Athletes who doped believed their behavior was not as bad in comparison to athletes committing serious crimes such as sexual assault or murder (e.g., Engelberg et al., 2015). Athletes also justified doping by arguing that minimal health side effects were found in using drugs and the immense pressure teammates placed on them to conform (Bell et al., 2016; Engelberg et al., 2015; Kirby et al., 2011). Furthermore, Pappa and Kenney (2013) reported doping was standard practice in competitive sport, specifically track and field. Athletes perceived that doping was a common secret that went unquestioned, was rationalized as normal, routine, everyone is doing it, and

a necessary activity if one wanted to compete at a higher level (Kirby et al., 2011; Lentillon-Kaestner & Carstairs, 2010; Pappa & Kenney, 2013). Given the "social nature of moral disengagement", how intercollegiate actors justify corruption and the influencing factors "may be quite specific to particular environments" (Boardley & Kavussanu, 2011, p. 104). Moral disengagement has yet to be examined in understanding individual accounts of corruption in intercollegiate athletics. Intercollegiate actors may or may not justify corrupt acts based on advantageous comparison, minimizing consequences, and diffusing responsibility.

Rational choice

Rational choice theory contends that individuals engage in corruption through calculating the cost versus the benefits and thus make a decision when they believe the benefits outweigh the costs (Lastra, Bell, & Bond, *in press*; Numerato, 2015; Palmer, 2012). Corruption is, therefore, deemed as an instrumental premeditated action that is motivated by maximizing personal benefits at the expense of an organization, or public or private goods (Jancsics, 2014). Rational choice explanations of individuals engaging in sport corruption specifically match-fixing, doping, and NCAA corruption are motivated by goal orientations (achievement/performance and winning) and financial gains.

In the context of match-fixing, gambling-motivated fixing seeks to achieve "economic gain indirectly from manipulating field activities for a complete or partial result through betting activity" and non-gambling motivated fixes aim to "achieve a sporting advantage directly from its result" (KEA, 2012, p. 10). Players, coaches, and officials who fix matches for financial gain primarily due to low salaries or delayed salaries (Carpenter, 2012; Hill, 2015), duress (Carpenter, 2012; Forrest, McHale, & McAuley, 2008; Hill, 2010; Spapens & Olfers, 2015), career advancement (Boeri & Severgnini, 2011), and older players nearing retirement (Hill, 2015). Individuals (players/officials) spot fix (a specific aspect of a game, unrelated to the final result, is fixed for financial gain) because they experience less guilt and believe there is less risk associated with manipulating aspects of a game, therefore, such individuals are more prone to agreeing to spot fix (Carpenter, 2012). Furthermore, in assessing the risks and benefits, research has shown that individuals in certain countries (i.e., Greece and Lebanon) generally believe accountability for match-fixing is nonexistent because they feel politicians protect corrupt actors (Manoli & Antopoulos, 2014; Nassif, 2014).

Goal orientation explanations suggest that in the context of doping, athletes dope to achieve their high standard goals of performance and winning (Engelberg et al., 2015; Ehrnborg & Rosén, 2009; Kirby et al., 2011; Pappa & Kennedy, 2013); which is arguably a narrow rationale for explaining doping. Over time, athlete motivations to dope have evolved where critical incidents lead to more pragmatic factors such as injury recovery, time off from sport, a series of poor performances, and to sustain participation (Engelberg et al., 2015; Kirby et al., 2011). In comparison, Feustel and Rodenberg (2015) found match-fixing was motivated within the promotion/relegation model where asymmetric incentives influence teams seeking promotion (or

avoiding relegation), will approach opponents with little incentive to win (or need to avoid relegation) to fix a match.

Studies investigating factors contributing to corruption within intercollegiate athletics is minimal and has mostly used meso and macro-economic rational models and/or environment forces (Clark & Batista, 2009) influencing corruption. Fizel and Brown's (2014) economics-based model of the multi-institutional aspects of a NCAA major football program found that university characteristics (i.e., Win-Loss record and stadium capacity), leadership (coaches tenure), conference rivals, public/private university status, and different enforcement regimes were all significant influencing factors that lead to corruption. Balsdon, Fong, & Thayer (2007) found evidence of ''tanking'' of games by college basketball teams in conference tournaments to place an additional team in the national tournament, to generate revenue. Scholars have also examined environmental forces that lead to NCAA violations. Clark and Batista (2009) showed that sports programs at the highest competition level—BCS-affiliated conferences—commit more recruiting infractions than in the lower competition non-BCS conferences. Whereas, Davis (1999) found major violations occurred equally in both BCS and non-BCS affiliated programs and violations were committed by both revenue and non-revenue sports programs. Rational choice approaches to examining NCAA corruption focuses on macro-level analysis that do not address why individuals engage in corrupt practices in this context or if similar rational choice factors in deciding to dope or engage in match fixing would be observed in NCAA malfeasance.

Relational model: Social networks

Relational approaches concentrate on networks of social relationships (Jancsics, 2014) in understanding corruption. Individuals form sustainable networks with the aim of profiting from the relationship through informal exchanges (Blau, 1964). Two types of corrupt network models exist: horizontal networks involving trust-based and intimate relationships; and vertical networks comprised of asymmetrical actors that use power to influence exchanges. Relationships range from weak to strong. The "strength" of an interpersonal tie is based on the frequency of interactions, emotional intensity, and intimacy of the relationship (Brass, Butterfield & Skaggs, 1998; Granovetter, 1973). Research shows that social networks are factors that contribute to doping (Bell et al., 2016; Pappa & Kenney, 2013). An athlete's social network contains referent groups that place considerable pressure on athletes to dope (Bell et al., 2016; Engelberg et al., 2015; Kirby et al., 2011; Paoli & Donati, 2014). An athlete's social network can be comprised of athletes, coaches, doctors, and/or administrators, any of whom may rationalize and normalize doping, and/or may apply pressure to athletes to conform, perform and/or win, or maintain a code of silence. Bell et al. (2016) reported that "[The] Lance Armstrong—UPS Team network inflicted harm through methods such as bribery, bullying, and threats of physical assault" (p. 4) to ensure athletes conformed. In contrast, Kirby et al. (2011) found athletes felt pressured to dope to gain their teammates' trust.

Match-fixing can also be understood in the context of relational models or social networks (Hill, 2013; Lee, 2017). Individuals involved in match-fixing activities typically occur through networks that are "fluid and dynamic social systems that consist of patterns of relationships among people and/or actors" (Manoli & Antonopoulos, 2015, p. 207). Numerato (2015) argued social networks operate in a climate of secrecy where match-fixing is normalized and reinforced by a compromising complicity of social actors (i.e., players, teams, referees, sport association officials or journalists). Match-fixing in Taiwanese professional baseball was attributed to Confucian ideology where the values and symbols of Confucianism have a profound influence on an individual's place in the hierarchy of social and familial relationships (Lee, 2017). In this system, Lee (2017) argues that athletes are required to display strict obedience, collective harmony, and loyalty to their coaches and thus do not question directions to fix matches Hill (2010) argued social mechanisms of strong illegal gambling networks, a high degree of player exploitation, and an expectation of complicity by corrupted officials lead to high levels of corruption.

Match-fixing social networks can range from highly organized and structured global criminal betting syndicates such as found in certain gambling fixes to less structured and dyadic in nature observed in locally arranged fixes (Hill, 2013). Global criminal networks organize around betting syndicates in different national contexts where they can influence athletes, coaches, referees, and /or administrators to pursue their illegal interests (e.g. Hill, 2010; 2013, 2015). Dyadic and/or less organized social networks generally occur as a result of either threats or reward by club administrators (Manoli & Antopoulos, 2015), coaches (Lee, 2017), or gamblers (Hill, 2009a, 2009b, 2010). The motivations behind the rewards or threats are mostly financially related where they approach individuals who they believe can be bribed and/or intimidated (Hill, 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Manoli & Antopoulos, 2014).

In review, previous research suggests a range of social mechanisms influence match-fixing as shown by various case studies of different countries (e.g., Hill, 2010; Lee, 2017; Numerato, 2015; Manoli & Antopoulos, 2015). Sports match-fixing involves the cooperation between different actors that range from a simple group to a systematic network. Unclear in the sport corruption literature is if different types of corruption (e.g., fraud, bribery) carried out by individuals in amateur sport (e.g., intercollegiate athletics) involves such social networks to commit malfeasance or an understanding of the nature of the networks.

Criminology approach

To date, Cullen et al.'s (2012) research is one of the few studies that have performed a micro-level empirical analysis of why intercollegiate athletes' (football and men's basketball) violated NCAA rules. Framed from criminology theory, they found namely, differential association, propensity, and social control significantly predicted rules violations. In particular, both football and basketball athletes were more than likely to engage in malfeasance when they associated with friends who violated rules, were highly recruited athletes and/or transfer athletes, and athletes that identified as religious fundamentalists. Framing individual-level explanations NCAA violations

from a criminology perspective is based on the assumption that NCAA violations are crimes. Furthermore, only sampling athletes fails to acknowledge how social interactions influenced corrupt behaviors. Ridpath, Gurney, and Snyder's (2015) examination of academic fraud in NCAA Division I Men's basketball and football built on Cullen et al. (2012) and found a variety of internal (athletic administrators, staff, coaches, student tutors, graduate Assistants) and external (faculty, athletic boosters, university administrators) athletic department actors were involved. Thus, showing some evidence of the need to understand which sport actors are involved in specific forms and types of NCAA corruption. Individual-level explanations of sport corruption are understudied, especially in NCAA context, where a wide array of sports, actors, and forms of corruption exists. Regrettably, we lack an interdisciplinary framework that incorporates micro-level factors theorized by different disciplines that could explain factors that contribute to corruption within the context of intercollegiate athletics. Furthermore, the field is absent of such a framework that is based on empirical research, thus further demonstrating the importance of this research.

Methods

A multiple-case sampling technique (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014) was used to address the study's twofold aim of examining individual-level explanations for engaging in corruption in NCAA Division I athletics and generating a subsequent interdisciplinary framework. Multi-case sampling is a suitable approach to gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon (Miles et al., 2014; Stake, 1995) and for generating theory (Eisenhardt, 1989). Examining a range of cases for similarities and differences helps gain new knowledge and/or strengthens existing theory (Miles et al., 2014); in this context, seeking insights in what ways and reasons NCAA athletic department stakeholders commit corruption. Multiple-case sampling also strengthens the confidence and overall trustworthiness of the findings through investigating how, where, and why phenomena occur across cases (e.g., Miles et al., 2014, Strike, 1994).

A purposive sampling technique was first employed where instrumental case selection was based on addressing the study's aim and included the following criteria: a) a Division I member category; b) the institution had violated one or more major infractions legislation (as defined by the NCAA and corresponded with the study's operational definition of NCAA corruption); c) the availability of gaining access to detailed infractions reports; and d) cases that occurred within a 10 year time period from 2005-2015. The decade time period was selected to gain a contemporary cross analysis of individual-level explanations within NCAA corrupt cases. The NCAA does not maintain public records of secondary infractions. Thus, secondary infractions cases did not meet the inclusion criteria and where not included in the study. Based on the purposive sampling criteria, data were collected from the NCAA's Legislative Services Database (LSDBi) website (NCAA, 2016). The LSDBi contains reports on each case of major infractions. Case reports document the actors who were involved, the circumstances that lead to the corruption, the types of corruption

that occurred, the extent of the corruption, investigative evidence that supported the reasons for engaging in corruption, and sanctions.

During the decade time span, a total of 126 cases of corruption were documented in the LSDBi (NCAA, 2016). From the 126 instrumental cases, a random sample (through a random sample generator) of 20 case reports were selected for analysis. A multiple case study design reflects replication logic similar to using multiple experiments when seeking to replicate results (Yin, 2014). Rather than adopting a sampling logic that seeks a representative sample, Yin (2014) argues that multi-cases aims for theoretical replication where selected cases in the aggregate can support the initial research proposition. Thus, in relation to this case, replication logic was used for selecting the 20 cases to propose an interdisciplinary framework of micro-level accounts of sport corruption in intercollegiate athletics as well as to enhance credibility of the study (Marshall & Rossman, 2014; Maxwell, 2013; Patton, 2002). Random purposeful sampling is commonly used to promote confidence in accurately recording the phenomena under study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and to ensure "characteristics of similarity, dissimilarity, redundancy and variety, are sought in order to gain greater knowledge of a wider sample" (Stake 1994, p. 240). Miles et al. (2014) also assert that the number of cases included in a multiple-case study is based on a conceptual argument, that is, "the number of cases that provide confidence in the findings, the richness and complexity of the cases, and the feasibility of collecting and managing the amount of data" (p. 34). Thus, there are no hard rules on sample size but guidelines to use based on the research purpose and context. Patton (2002), in particular, argues that the aim of a random sample is "credibility not representativeness. A small, purposeful random sample aims to reduce suspicion about why certain cases were selected for study" (p. 241). He further argued "the credibility of systematic and randomly selected case examples is considerably greater than the personal, ad hoc selection of cases ..." (p. 241). Since the reports were secondary data, it was also deemed appropriate to randomly select 20 cases in the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002). The case reports averaged 22.45 single pages in length, ranged from 12-58 pages, and totaled 449 pages of raw data. Bell et al. (2017) maintain that case reports are an acceptable data collection method for studying sport corruption because of the challenges associated with collecting field data and gaining access to participants who actually engaged in malfeasant behavior.

Data analysis was guided by Miles et al.'s (2014) qualitative cross-case data analysis process involving first cycle (open coding) and second cycle coding (pattern coding) that was carried out by two researchers. First, the 20 major infractions reports were downloaded, read and re-read for familiarity. Codes were then deductively created from the corruption literature (e.g., Cullen et al., 2012; Engelberg et al., 2015; Frost & Tischer, 2014; Hill, 2010; Lee, 2017; Numerato, 2015; Peurala, 2013). Third, using the qualitative software ATLAS ti. (Scientific Software Development, 2016) the reports were deductively and inductively openly coded. Open coding is a process of tagging data and organizing it into conceptual categories that represented who, what, how, and why individuals committed corruption. An example deductive code included motivation—financial— meant an individual participated in corrup-

tion for financial reasons**.** Inductive open coding was also carried out where in vivo codes were created from the reports and respectively tagged. An example in vivo code was rationalization—neutralizing—humanitarian—represented an individual justifying committing a violation because he/she wanted to help the welfare of a student-athlete. Fourth, pattern coding was then performed to identify common themes in terms of understanding how and what factors influenced individuals in their decisions to violate the rules (Miles et al., 2004). Within these two coding processes, cross-case analysis was performed to compare and contrast similar and different characteristics among the cases in terms of who was involved in the rule violations, the events that led up to the violations, and what factors were attributed to their decisions to commit rule violations. Conceptual saturation was achieved as each pattern and theme was fully developed (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). The two researchers who carried out this open and pattern coding process discussed and sought agreement on code development, tagging of the data, and pattern identification. Last, content analysis summary tables were created for each case, followed by the generation of a meta-analysis matrix where all the data was condensed into one table organized by key concepts related to addressing the research questions.

Findings and Discussion

The findings are organized around two main themes. First, a summary of the multi-case demographic information. Second, individual-level explanations of athletic department actors engaging in corruption. The findings are discussed in relation to relevant corruption literature, where the contribution of this work is accentuated.

Multi-case demographics

Table 1 shows a variety of athletic department stakeholders (e.g., athletes, recruited athletes, academic counselors, compliance staff, athletic representatives, and coaches' relatives) were involved in corruption, however, the majority of actors were head coaches or assistant coaches. The sports of football (n=10) and men's basketball (n=9) reported the most violations (see table 2) yet men's and women's non-revenue/Olympic sports (i.e., men's track and field, men's and women's cross country, men's and women's tennis, volleyball, women's basketball, women's swimming and diving) also reported violations. One case reported corruption in eight sports and one reported violations across all sports. Fraud was the most frequent form of corrupt act committed by athletic department stakeholders with 30 violation types (e.g., academic, impermissible benefits, impermissible financial aid, impermissible contacts, and ineligible participants) reported, followed by 13 unethical conduct violations, and five bribery violations. Table 2, documents the forms and example types of corrupt activities that occurred in each sport. Within each case analyzed, more than one violation was reported.

Critics of intercollegiate athletics have argued that corruption is rife across revenue sports because of rational choice motivations of winning and financial gains (e.g., Fizel & Brown, 2014), however, the demographic data showed that corruption was prevalent across both revenue and non-revenue/Olympic sports. The motiva-

Table 1. Athletic Department Actors Involved in Major Violation

Actors	Violations (n)
Academic Advisor	2
AD	2
Family of Athletic Staff	2
Assistant Coaches	16
Athletic Representative	2
Compliance Assistant	1
Compliance Director	1
Football Support Staff*	6
Head Coach	24
Institution	4
Academics in Institution	2
Promotor	1
Student Workers	1

*External relations, operations, player personnel, program, strength & conditioning, and graduate assistant each were involved in a major violation case.

tions and pressures to win in relation to job security, salary increases, status/prestige, were displayed across all sports. Furthermore, the findings demonstrated the predominance of fraud and unethical conduct violations were committed by a range of athletic department actors. Individual level explanations of NCAA violations have focused solely on athlete motivations (Cullen et al., 2012), thus these findings contribute to the literature by demonstrating the scope of individuals involved in NCAA violations and the form of corruption committed.

Individual-level explanations of corruption

The findings are organized into three main interrelated themes of individual explanations for engaging in NCAA corruption: 1) psychological motivations (social relationship and self-interest, and personal norms), 2) professional (abuse of power and failure of responsibilities), and 3) justifications (rationalizing strategies). The respective influencing factors are explained in more detail next.

Table 2. Sports, Number of Major Violations, Form, and Types

Sports	Violations (n)	Form	Types (examples)
All sports	1	Fraud (n=1)	Failure to meet eligibility requirements (n=)
			Participation by ineligible SA (n=1)
8 sports	1	Fraud (n=1)	Impermissible texts and phone calls (n=1)
Football	10	Fraud (n=10)	Academic (n=2)*
			Impermissible extra benefits (n=5)
		Unethical conduct (n=2)	Failed to meet standards of honesty & sportsmanship (n=2)*
			Knowingly instructing to furnish false/misleading information (n=1)
Men's & women's cross country	1	Fraud (n=1)	Impermissible recruiting benefits (n=1)*
			Impermissible recruiting contacts (n=1)
Men's & women's swimming & diving	1	Fraud (n=1)	Impermissible extra benefits (n=1)
Men's basketball	9	Fraud (n=8)	Impermissible tryouts (n=4)*
			Failure to promote compliance (n=4)
			Impermissible recruiting inducements (n=3)
			Academic (n=2)
		Bribery (n-2)	Impermissible recruiting inducements (n=2)
		Unethical conduct (n=5)	Failed to meet standards of honesty & sportsmanship (n=3)*

Table 2. Sports, Number of Major Violations, Form, and Types (cont.)

Men's tennis	2	Fraud (n=2)	Eligibility legislation violations (n=1)*
			Academic fraud (n=1)
		Bribery (n=1)	Impermissible extra benefits (n=1)
		Unethical conduct (n=1)	Knowingly arranging impermissible benefits & academic fraud (n=1)*
			Knowingly furnishing misleading information (n=1)
			Failed meet standards of honesty & sportsmanship (n=1)
Men's track & field	2	Fraud (n=2)	Impermissible recruiting benefits (n=1)*
			Impermissible recruiting contacts (n=1)
		Unethical conduct (n=2)	Knowingly involved in recruiting violations (n=1)*
			Failed meet standards of honesty & sportsmanship (n=2)
Volleyball	2	Fraud (n=2)	Improper use of correspondence courses for academic progress (n=1)
			Ineligible competition (n=1)
Women's basketball	4	Fraud (n=4)	Impermissible extra benefits (n=2)
			Impermissible tryouts & out of season practice activities (n=1)
		Bribery (n=1)	Impermissible extra benefits (n=1)
Women's tennis	1	Fraud (n=1)	Impermissible recruiting benefits (n=1)* impermissible recruiting contacts (n=1)
		Unethical conduct (n=1)	Knowingly involved in recruiting violations (n=1)*
			Failed meet standards of honesty & sportsmanship (n=1)

*Several types of corruption were reported with one instance but not included in the table

Psychological: Motivations

Individual motives (i.e., reasons) for engaging in NCAA corruption included social relationships and self-interest (winning, competitive advantage, eligibility, and material gain).

Social relationships consisted of horizontal networks (informal personal social networks/friendships) and vertical networks (social relationships that involve asymmetrical power relationships). The NCAA relationships were generally positive (i.e., actors were cooperative and/supportive in the relationship) and entered voluntarily, which was unlike many of the bribery match-fixing cases where relationships were adversarial as crime syndicates engaged in intimidation in relationship development and maintenance. Similar to some match-fixing networks (e.g., Hill, 2009b; Manoli & Antonopoulos, 2014; Numerato, 2015), the relationships in this study were mostly simple and unsophisticated. Relationships were deemed simple and unsophisticated because: a) the actors were linked by one type of relationship (e.g., professional—head coach and a high school coach, a spousal relationship, or an assistant coach and athletic department representatives) versus multiplex relationships (linked by more than one type of relations (e.g., friend, business associate, relative). The simple relationships were in contrast to the corrupt networks reported by Bell et al (2016) and Hill (2013) who found criminal associations (i.e., dark networks) and institutionalized network systems comprised of specialists and team members to sustain corruption. In certain cases the actors were linked through simultaneously by a personal/intimate relationship and a professional relationship; and b) the network of relationships were relatively small in number (e.g., two-four members). The family and/or professional links were similar to the Confucian society family system reported by Lee (2017). Lee (2017) found social norms influenced friends and family members to offer indirect and direct support to "one's own people" (p. 16). In this study, relationships among spouses of coaches of non-revenue sports or coaches and/or athletes' ties with church and cultural community members' assumedly were a factor for the development of simple corrupt networks as they sought to help "family." Recruiting (including recruiting related academic fraud) corrupt behaviors involved small network relationships that were secretive and/or lacked surveillance. Opportunities arose for corrupt practices because small network members failed to question rule violating behaviors and more than likely their behaviors occurred unobserved. Spouses of coaches of non-revenue sports, and church and cultural community members' activities were not under surveillance and thus provided an opportunity for corrupt behavior. Thus, the NCAA's compliance system seems ineffective in controlling these types of family networks corrupt behaviors.

Social relationship strength varied between actors, however, the horizontal nature of the relationship (i.e., personal and professional) was a motivational foundation for committing several different forms of fraud. The strength of a relationship is based on a combination of the extent, the emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocity of a connection (Brass et al., 1998; Granovetter, 1973). In this study, the relationships were generally strong because the ties were direct, involved a person with the authority to influence, and the individuals trusted one another. Frequency of in-

teraction enhances trust and has a positive affect that creates opportunities to engage in corruption and offers a payoff (Granovetter, 1973). For example, assistant coaches used their preexisting professional relationships or developed relationships with high school and club coaches to carryout recruiting fraud (Cases #15 and 16). While a staff person involved in a personal relationship with a student-athlete was motivated to commit fraud for material—economic gain (Case #2). Other horizontal networks between either staff, assistant coaches, and athletic representatives and athletes were motivated to commit fraud (impermissible benefits) to help athletes for humanitarian justifications (e.g., finding employment, paying for tuition, securing housing, travel, government documents, assisting in travel to return home for a family emergency (i.e., childbirth or sick parent)) (e.g., Cases # 4, 9, 10). The following representative quotations show this relation and the range of humanitarian justification themes:

> The former assistant coach characterized his actions on those two occasions as humanitarian because prospect 1 (student-athlete) had no other transportation available. (Case # 15)
>
> My options, I felt were not the best, but of all the options certainly, I'd rather be guilty of an extra benefit violation than have a kid being sent home in a box from getting shot at the border. (Case # 9)
>
> The former head coach described his motive as humanitarian, helping the family of a prospect in war-torn Serbia. (Case #4)

Athletic department representatives who had strong relationships with international student-athletes were also prone to provide impermissible financial support. Despite being advised not to financially assist athletes, representatives had paid athlete's tuition, accommodations, use of credit cards, cash payments, and payment of bills (Cases # 4, 10). For example, case #10 documented a representative learning that an international student-athlete:

> "had returned from her native country, was enrolled in school, but did not have sufficient funds to pay her bills due to additional course work and the necessity to pay out-of-state tuition. The representative contacted student-athlete 1 directly and offered to pay her tuition, an offer the student-athlete accepted."

The athlete representative rationalized the behavior by arguing that the assistance was necessary for successful degree completion because athletic scholarships did not pay out of state tuition. The recruitment of highly skilled international athletes provides an opportunity for fraud by assisting student-athletes with impermissible accommodations and financial support prior to and during their playing eligibility. Many international athletes did not have the financial means to support themselves prior to the start of an academic term. Assistant coaches often utilized their horizontal social networks with athlete representatives and their communities (e.g., church or cultural) to arrange for support, which often led to these representatives devel-

oping strong relationships with the athletes that continued throughout the athletes' playing eligibility.

Interpersonal conflict within a horizontal personal relationship also lead to certain rule breaches in terms of retaliation or a deliberate failure to fulfill responsibilities. For example, staff/assistant coaches' previous conflict with a superior (i.e., head coach or an administrator) weakened vertical relationships between these actors, which led to subordinate staff persons failing to communicate possible and/or report violations. Brass et al. (1998) contend that "lower-level employees feel less obligated to monitor or whistle-blow on higher ups" (p. 24). In this study, however, interpersonal conflict created poor working relationships between these staff members and organizational leaders, and thus staff felt less obliged to approach them about their corrupt activities.

Individual self-interest and/or rational cost/benefit assessment played a role in explaining corrupt behavior. Similar to research in understanding match-fixing and doping (e.g., Carpenter, 2012; Engelberg et al., 2015; Hill, 2013; Pappa & Kennedy, 2013), motivations to commit corrupt acts related to some degree of individual or a small group benefit. The form of corrupt acts was mainly fraud (e.g., academic, impermissible benefits, impermissible contacts) and bribery (e.g., incentives) and occurred in both non-revenue and revenue sports. Violations occurred across sport programs and all three subdivisions. The motivational benefits generally related to the desire to win through gaining a competitive advantage and bribery. For example, a head coach sought to gain a competitive advantage through continued bribery of a talented tennis student-athlete enticing him "with improper offers of cash, a vehicle and assistance with academic problems" (Case #12). Similarly, several cases involved individuals motivated to maintain athlete eligibility by committing fraud including academic, impermissible participation of a talented athlete, and impermissible benefits (i.e., paying travel and accommodation expenses for recruits and their families).

Psychological: Personal norms

Personal norms generally refer to feelings of a "moral obligation to perform or refrain from certain actions" (Schwartz & Howard, 1981, p. 191). Personal norms are activated through problem awareness (the extent to which someone is aware of the adverse consequences of not adhering to the rules) and feeling responsible for the respective consequences (Schwartz & Howard, 1981; Steg & Groot, 2010). Actors' moral obligation lapses influenced corrupt acts (i.e., fraud, bribery, and unethical conduct) in most cases. The corruption was intentional, planned and carried out, and in some instances, despite the advisement against the behavior and awareness the action was wrong. Reports stated, for example, "violations were premeditated, deliberate or committed after substantial planning … persons of authority condoned, participated in or negligently disregarded the violation or related wrongful conduct" (Case #14). Deliberate acts of engaging in corruption ranged from academic fraud to scheduling impermissible works. For instance, Case #12 reported a former women's tennis head coach had scheduled a work out,

> activity … and she went ahead with it even though she had received the compliance director's reminders and had been advised by the head men's tennis coach ("men's tennis coach") before the activity took place that it was impermissible.

A common theme across cases was both the influencing factors of individual motives (specifically, self-interest) and personal norms (disregard for rules). Kish-Gerphart et al (2010) maintain that those who "look out for number one" and/or manipulate others for their own personal gain generally make unethical (corrupt) choices at work (p. 18). In several cases NCAA sport actors who were motivated by self-interest also displayed a flippant disregard for upholding the rules, which was illustrated by an athletic department representative stating "she did not care if her actions violated NCAA rules!" (Case #10). A report summary also specified, "The actions of the former head coach, particularly when considered with her other violations set forth in this report, reveal an alarming disregard for NCAA rules and student-athlete welfare" (case #12). The findings showed that individuals motivated by self-interest also lacked problem awareness of the adverse consequences of committing corrupt acts (e.g., student-athlete welfare), the importance of integrity, and dismissed their ascribed responsibility to abide by the rules.

Professional: Abuse of power

Ashford and Anand (2003) argued leadership plays a vital role in institutionalizing corruption. Corruption was manifested by institutional leaders abusing their power to influence others to participate in corruption or using positional power to break norms. Asymmetrical dyadic relationships between powerful head coaches and athletic representatives raised the likelihood that coaches could use their status to pressure them to engage in corrupt practices (e.g., pressure to make a knowingly unauthorized donation). Individuals in positions of power (head coaches, assistant coaches, academic advisors) also ordered subordinates (assistant coaches, student-athletes, graduate students, and undergraduate student workers) to commit varies forms of fraud or they directed subordinates and/or prospective student-athletes and/or their families to lie about or conceal bribery and/or fraudulent behaviors (e.g., lie about impermissible contacts during unofficial visits, academic fraud). Assistant coaches were also given directives to "take care of things" or circumvent rules at "the direction and ultimately insistence of head coaches." Head coaches "chastised the assistants" if they did not confirm and were placed in a position to "either comply with the demands to break the rules or lose his job" (Case #10). The abuse of power contributed to creating a code of silence (Bell et al., 2016), where subordinates were afraid to confront their superiors or report the inappropriate orders in fear of retribution.

Institutional leaders also concealed corrupt acts to avoid detection and in extreme cases relating to academic fraud head coaches, assistant coaches and/or academic advisors instructed student-athletes to lie and state they did their own coursework or a person proctored their tests when this information was false. The following quotations illustrates this theme,

> The assistant football coach repeatedly told student-athletes to lie about the academic fraud and about proctor A proctoring the exams" (Case #1). The former assistant coach instructed former student-athlete 1 to "deny everything," including the instances of cheating and plagiarism (Case #17).

Individuals in positions of power authorized corruption where "subordinates as a designated role occupant, were expected to execute the authorized acts, and not to second guess" (Ashford & Anand, 2003, p. 7) them. The subordinates demonstrated a normative duty to comply with these directives despite it opposing their personal norms. Noteworthy, actors not formally associated with the organization (i.e., prospective student-athletes and their families) also displayed this normative duty.

Concealment of corruption as well as aggressive behavior toward investigators was also found during NCAA investigations. In most cases individuals in leadership positions (e.g., administrators, coaches, general counsel, and compliance officers) were advised to refrain from speaking to student-athletes prior to their interview with investigators. However, some administrators dismissed the investigators directive and compromised the interviews by sharing information with and/or instructing individuals how to respond to investigators' questions. For example, Case #16 reported "in spite of being instructed by the NCAA investigator not to discuss the matter with anyone else, the former head men's basketball coach made another call to the father of prospect 1." Similarly case #14 conveyed that "the institution, acting contrary to the explicit instructions of the AGA staff, had questioned student-athlete 2 on two occasions prior to his interview and had disclosed to him specific information, which was the subject of the interview." The report went to express the combative attitude of administrators during investigations.

> The former general counsel was not the only person at the institution who conveyed a combative attitude toward the investigation. The NCAA agent, gambling and amateurism
>
> Activities (AGA) investigator assigned to investigate the matter needed supervisory support at some interviews because the attitude of the institution's representatives was so confrontational.

The abuse of power through intimidation, in terms of interfering with investigations and hostility toward investigators is an important finding. This kind of aggressive behavior is strategically used to create feelings of fear, in order to avoid accountability and perhaps future investigations.

Professional: Failure of Responsibility

Failure to fulfill responsibility referred to employees not carrying out assigned enforcement of control mechanisms duties/obligations and was another factor that explained NCAA violations. Corruption is likely to occur in organizations when the "official rules and control systems are not enforced" (Frost & Tischer, 2014, p. 200) because of either the difficulty in monitoring and/or laissez-faire approach to com-

pliance. In the NCAA context, strict compliance control mechanisms are instituted. However, rule violations occurred because individuals neglected their responsibility to implement them (e.g., not engaging in rules compliance, not accurately documenting and reporting activities, and not communicating compliance expectations). For example, head coaches improperly monitored staff in terms of inspecting documentation of recruiting practices (e.g., monitoring text messages or phone calls, prospective student-athlete observations and tryouts) or practice activities (e.g., number of hours, summer workouts). Compliance directors failed to routinely review or cross check coaches' recruiting, practice, and eligibility documentation logs unless something "looked suspicious" (Case #11). Failure to enforce control mechanisms was also found when organizational leaders (coaches, compliance staff, and athletic director) ignored a possible violation, and/or did not report a possible or actual violation. A number of cases described that despite leaders possessing "knowledge about a potential situation" (e.g., a relationship, fraud) the individual "made no effort to interview" the respective parties to determine if a violation had occurred (e.g., Cases #4, 10, 11, 13).

In multiple cases, compliance directors neglected to deliver adequate NCAA rules education, which ultimately manifested into institutional actors' lack of knowledge of the rules and/or a misinterpretation of rules influencing corruption. NCAA rules education and understanding the meaning and intent of the rules is a compliance director's main responsibility, yet numerous instances were reported where institutional personnel (coaches, admissions and financial aid staff, compliance staff) were unaware of the rules, did not understand the rules (e.g., eligible coaches, impermissible benefits, recruiting) and as a result misinterpreted the rules. The following quotation represents this theme, "the head coach had a responsibility to familiarize herself with NCAA legislation regarding playing and practice season activities and also had an obligation to ask questions of the institution's athletics compliance officer regarding the application of NCAA regulations" (Case #7). Respective actors' failures to provide oversight—documentation and reporting—and compliance education illustrates the role of power in creating corrupt practices. Leaders dictate the behavioral expectations within an organization and enable corrupt practices through not suitably educating stakeholders, "enforcing or circumventing rules and controls" (Frost & Tischer, 2014, p. 200).

Justifications: Rationalization

Individual rationalizations justifying corrupt decisions and/or behaviors as acceptable or the right thing to do was the final theme. Rationalizations involved neutralizing strategies where corrupt acts were downplayed, the seriousness minimized, or characterized as insignificant. For example, neutralizing strategies used included "if a violation occurred, it was only secondary" (Case #12), "my back is turned, I didn't see it" (Case #2), and "the $200 offer for the student-athlete to play through the cramps was a "joke"—I didn't mean it" (#17). Neutralizing justifications for engaging in corrupt acts also involved humanitarian justifications where individuals were attempting to promote human welfare such as providing student-athletes impermis-

sible benefits for travel to visit a sick relative or to be present for a childbirth (e.g., Case #12). Several cases involved rationalizing aiding international student-athletes such as a "head coach described his motive as humanitarian, helping the family (by giving them $6,000) of a prospect in war-torn Serbia" (Case #4). Another case reported a compliance officer weighing the options in deciding whether to provide travel for an athlete so he could safely renew his visa. "My options, I felt that was the, not the best, but of all the options certainly, again, I'd rather be guilty of an extra benefit violation than have a kid being sent home in a box from getting shot at the border" (Case #9). Individuals typically do not engage in or perceive themselves as corrupt (Ashford & Anand, 2003), through rationalizing ideologies such as downplaying the magnitude of the act and moral justification of helping people in need actors in this study believed they were acting ethically. Bandura et al. (2000, p. 57) state "detrimental conduct is made personally and socially acceptable by portraying it in the service of valued social and moral purposes". In this study, rationalizations were guised under humanitarian causes because for example, "the prospect had no other transportation available and he needed a ride to complete a course exam." However, in many of these cases, the underlying motivation was a rational choice to promote one's self-interest (e.g., eligibility).

Summary and Implications

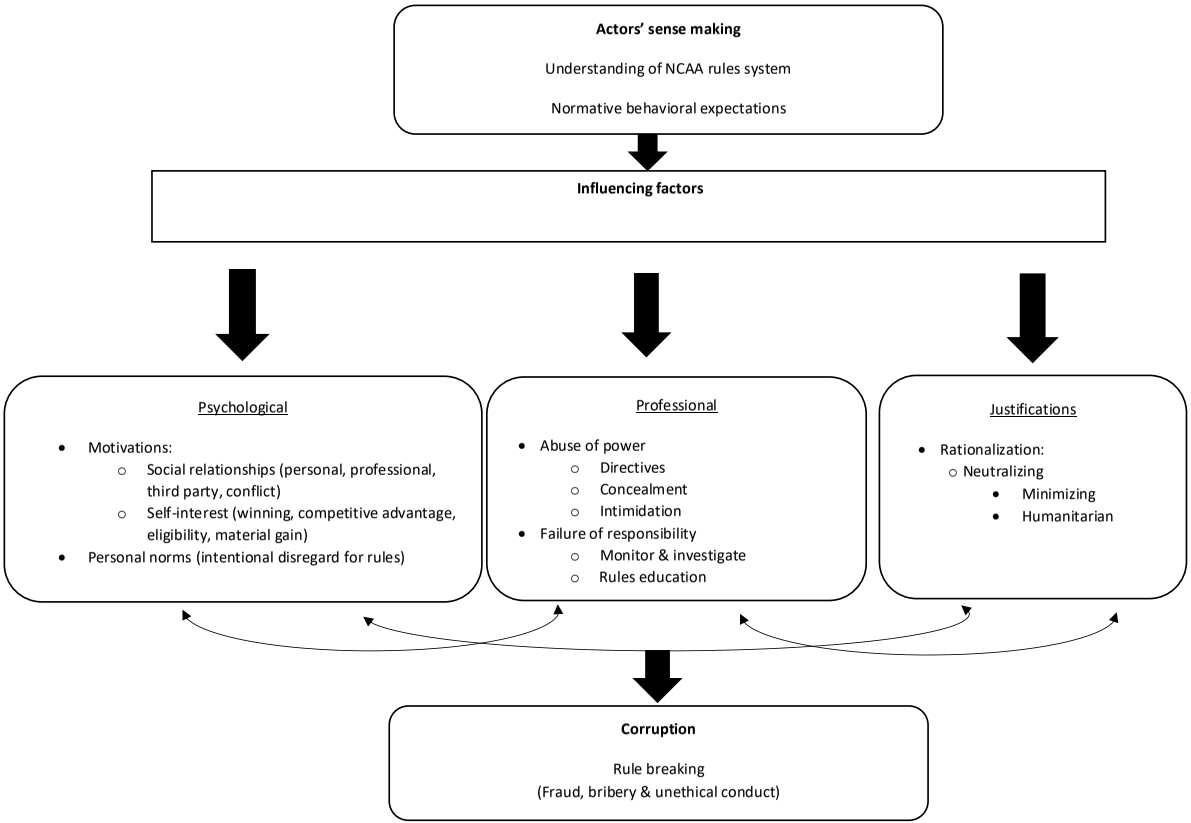
This study aimed at gaining an understanding of factors that contributed to intercollegiate athletic actors' decisions to engage in corruption; and subsequently based on the multi-case analysis generate an interdisciplinary framework conceptualizing the influencing factors. Figure 1 presents such a framework that included themes that represent psychology, economics, and organizational management. To date, no empirical study has generated a context specific interdisciplinary framework that identified concepts for explaining actors' decisions to engage in corrupt behavior in sport. Zaloznaya' (2014) definition of corruption underpins the framework—Corruption is context dependent and individuals' interactions with the rules system and the social environment influence their decisions to commit corruption. The framework proposes that intercollegiate athletic actors make sense of the NCAA rules through the legislative system where they gain an understanding of normative behavioral expectations. The decision to engage in corruption is based on three interrelated influencing factors**:** 1) psychological (motivations (social relationship and self-interest) and personal norms), 2) professional (abuse of power and failure of responsibilities), and 3) justifications (rationalizing strategies). From a psychological perspective, athletic department actors were motivated to break the rules due to different social relationships (e.g., personal, professional, and third party) and self interest (desire to win, gain a competitive advnatge, material gain, and athlete eligiblity). Personal norms influenced actors to engage in corruption as they intentionally disregarded upholding the rules. The psychological factors suggest that individuals belonging to social networks, whose self-interests are focused on matieral gain and winning, and have weak personal norms possess stronger tendancies to act corrupt (Gorsira et al.,

2016). These psychological factors underlie professional influencing factors of abuse of power by using directives, concealment, and intimidation to commit corrupt acts. Actors also failed in their professional responsibility as they neglected to monitor, investigate, and/or provide rules education. An individual's personal norms influences whether they believe it is acceptable to abuse their power and/or the extent that they should carryout their role responsibilities. Lastly, individuals justify corrupt behaviors by rationalizing (i.e., minimizing and promoting human welfare) the behavior as acceptable organizational conduct. Justifications are related to actors' motivations, personal norms and professional behaviors. Motivations and personal norms underpin the nature of actors' justifications (e.g., minimizing the serious of the violation or using humanitarian reasons). Actors' rule breaking behaviors are morally justified by arguing the activities were personally and socially acceptable because they were minor infrigements and helped people in need. Future research examining how rationalizing strategies evolve and become normalized within a group and/or organization could enhance our understanding of how these potent types of justifying behaviors are accepted by intercollegiate actors.

Given the unique context of intercollegiate athletics, the framework provides a starting point that allows for a more suitable assessment of the underlying influencers that lead to corrupt behaviors that may not be relevant in other sport contexts (e.g., professional sport or international sport federations). Based on the findings, one would be remiss to assume that the examination of malfeasance in intercollegiate athletics can appropriately be conducted from a single discipline and/or theoretical lens. Future research could explore if additional explanations of sport corruption exist in different organizational contexts and by integrating interdisciplinary perspectives.

The creation of an interdisciplinary framework of individual-level explanations of corruption within intercollegaite athletics distinguished this study from prior sport corruption studies (e.g., Cullen et al., 2012; Engelberg et al., 2015; Hill, 2009a ; Lee, 2017), and in particular in the context of intercollegiate athletics. The multi-case analysis showed that three forms of corruption (i.e., fraud, bribery, and unethical conduct) and their respective types (e.g., academic fraud, impermissible recruiting inducements, and failure to cooperate) occurred across varying institutions and sports. Of note, NCAA corruption was carried out by a wide range of actors, across many sports, and not solely by revenue sport coaches and players. The intercollegiate athletic context demonstrated interrelated explanations of engaging in corruption that has yet to be theorized and/or empirically examined in other sport contexts thus highlighting the importance and contribution of generating a theoretical framework to assist in analyzing NCAA corruption. For example, department actors lacked problem awareness—weak personal norms—that was demonstrated through their blatant rule violations, abuse of power, and failure to fulfill their responsibilities. Intercollegiate athletic actors also used rationalizing and neutralizing techniques related to humanitarian justifications. Although humanitarian justifications mirror Anand et al. (2004) "appealing to higher loyalties" rationalizing technique, in the intercollegiate athletic context actors' altruistic justifications for committing

Figure 1. NCAA Actors' Individual-Level Explanations of Corruption: An Interdisciplinary Framework.



corruption involved both sincere and disingenuous reasons. Intercollegiate athletic administrators need to be vigilant and question these weak personal norms and reject rationalizing and neutralizing techniques.

Two main practical implications for intercollegiate athletic leaders are evident. First, anti-corruption interventions should incorporate micro-level causes of corruption within the education and compliance systems. To enhance current compliance education and reduce rules violations, it is imperative that administrators understand why individuals engage in corruption. As noted, few studies have investigated causes of rule violations from a multi-case analysis. This study uncovered a variety of interrelated factors explaining athletic department stakeholders corrupt behaviors beyond a cost-benefit analysis. Targeting social relationships, personal norms, abuses of power, and rationalizing strategies might assist with compliance rather than past practices of increasing regulation, which by and large is the anti-corruption strategy of choice. Education and compliance programs should target these root sources of corruption, as identified in this study. Gaining insight into the underlying sources of corruption is important for improving current compliance programs and practices and reducing corrupt behaviors.

Second, despite the NCAA's extensive compliance education and enforcement practices instituted by member institutions, corruption is a persistent feature. The compliance system is based on an integrity model that seeks for members to uphold the values of intercollegiate athletics (National Collegiate Athletic Association, 2016) in creating and fostering a culture of integrity. While this strategy is commendable, it fails to fundamentally address individuals who work within a strong culture and receive rules education, yet blatantly disregard the rules and commit corruption. The NCAA's integrity approach to compliance assumes that individuals with weak personal norms will change their moral values when placed in an organizational culture of integrity, which is inconsistently supported in the literature (e.g., Coombs, 1998). This begs the question of how can sport organizations keep from hiring individuals who possess weak personal norms. Requiring integrity tests (e.g., measurements of irresponsibility, carelessness violation of rules) to all applicants is a strategy that could assist administrators in preventing hiring individuals who are more than likely to engage in corruption (Kish-Gephart et al., 2010; Ones, Viswesvaran, & Schmidt, 1993). However, such a strategy requires athletic department leaders possessing the moral courage to hire people with integrity and resisting pressure to hire individuals who have questionable integrity.

Limitations

The findings of this study should be considered in light of its limitations, which may offer future research opportunities. First, the findings were based on a cross-case analysis, therefore, conclusions regarding causality cannot not be drawn. The strength of multiple-case sampling is adding confidence to the findings through examining the range of similar and contrasting cases to establish how, where, and

where possible, why a phenomenon occurred (Miles et al., 2014). However, it cannot be deciphered if all five themes (motivations, personal norms, abuse of power, failure of responsibility and rationalization) directly contributed to actors' decisions to engage in rule violations in this study. Experimental research could also test to determine the causality of the five factors with corrupt behaviors in intercollegiates. Second, although the study examined factors contributing to NCAA sport actors' decisions to engage in corruption, individual roles and responsibilities associated with each actor might have also been an influencing factor. Future research could examine athletic department actors' roles and responsibilities to potentially expand on the framework of individual-level explanations of NCAA corruption. Third, despite the detailed NCAA reports, multiple data sources (e.g., interviews, surveys) could have also enhanced the breadth and depth of data collected and expanded on the interdisciplinary framework concepts. Gaining access to this type of data is extremely challenging because corrupt actors are either reluctant to participate and/or provide accurate information (Bell et al., 2017; Engelberg et al., 2015).

In conclusion, this study presented a framework outlining individual-level explanations of corruption in the context of intercollegiate athletics where it was argued that to enhance our understanding of why actors engage in sport corruption requires an interdisciplinary approach. The findings contribute to understanding micro-level causes of sport corruption by showing that psychological and professional factors in conjunction with varying justifications contributed to athletic department actors engaging in corruption. Sport administrators and leaders should consider these individual-level explanations in revised compliance education and reform strategies.

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An Examination of the Experiences of Black Football Athletes

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The purpose of this study was to understand the experiences of Black college athletes that played football and graduated from a Division I Power 5 institution. It is well documented that Black football players graduate from Power 5 institutions lower rates than any other student or athlete group, due to a variety of obstacles they face on campus. Despite these obstacles, there are athletes in this group who do graduate from their institution and successfully transition into professional careers. The research conducted for this article is adapted from a dissertation that explores the campus environment that Black college football players must navigate. This article focuses on the impact the social support network has, helping these athletes maneuver through their organizational environment and prepare for life after athletics. Understanding the possible influences of a support network can be a critical strategy for the survival of this group of athletes.

Keywords: Black college athletes; football; academic success; college transition

The foundation of Division I athletic departments largely depends on the success of their football programs. This dependence creates a tremendous amount pressure to win games and further establishes the contradictory pressures placed on college football players. These contradictory pressures include attempting to excel athletically while trying to fulfill the necessary academic requirements required to maintain eligibility and progress towards degree completion (Beamon, 2008; Coakley, 2009; Gatmen, 2011; NCAA, 2015).

Harper, Williams, and Blackman (2012) found that although Black males comprise 6% or less of the entire student population at institutions in the 'Power 5' conferences, Black males are significantly overrepresented in football and comprise the majority of the athletes on the team (Beamon, 2008; Harper, 2006; Reynolds, Fisher, & Cavil, 2012). Black athletes are recruited by universities because of their athletic abilities and it is argued that minimal attention is paid to the academic preparation of these athletes (Beamon, 2008; Donnor, 2005; Sanders & Hildenbrand, 2010; Simiyu, 2012). Once on campus, Black men must contend with a host of other psychosocial factors that impact their overall college experience and academic goals, especially at predominantly White institutions. Some of these factors include racial discrimination, campus isolation, prejudiced faculty, alienation, increased pressure to athlet-

ically perform, and being ill-prepared for college academic requirements (Beamon, 2008; Bimper, Harrison, & Clark, 2012; Comeaux, 2008; Comeaux, 2012; Comeaux & Harrison, 2007; Donnor, 2005; Gragg & Flowers, 2014; Melendez, 2008).

Unlike their White counterparts, Black football players not only have to navigate conflicting academic and athletic pressures, but must also manage the hostile environment that is pervasive on the campuses of predominantly White institutions. Bimper et al. (2012) notes that Black athletes must cope with the racial and 'dumb jock' stereotypes, which are forms of racialized mircoaggressions that "convey racially charged messages to people of color" (Comeaux, 2012, p. 190). The impact of these mircoaggressions has real life effects for the Black athletes. Not only can these stereotypical beliefs lead to an internalization of such beliefs which narrow self-concepts and behavior choices, the stereotypes can lead Black athletes to "self-stereotype as dumb jock and thus develop a perilously heightened sense of athletic identity" (Bimper et al., 2012, p. 110). Simiyu (2012) also notes that Black athletes received lower grades, suspected or accused of academic misconduct, and given a difficult time when requesting accommodations due to athletic travel schedules. Unfortunately, the racial stereotypes and mircoaggressions from the campus community contribute to the reported feelings of isolation and alienation from Black athletes. They view the campus as a hostile environment and they subsequently withdraw from the campus community, making it challenging to fully engage in the active learning process (Bimper et al., 2012; Coakley, 2009; Comeaux, 2012; Simiyu, 2012).

Despite the series of obstacles and structural constraints they must overcome (i.e., campus racism, isolation, faculty stereotypes, poor academic preparation, and excessive emphasis on winning by internal and external constituents), there are Black college athletes that fulfill the necessary academic requirements to graduate from their institutions (Gragg & Flowers, 2014).

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to understand the experiences of Black college athletes that played football and graduated from a Division I Power 5 institution (e.g. ACC, Big Ten, Big 12, Pac-12, & SEC conferences) described as "State University" throughout this study. Much of the current research on Black college athletes has painted a bleak picture of this population by focusing on the lack of academic persistence, disturbing graduation rates, lower GPAs, and below average pre-college academic experiences (Benson, 2000; Harper, 2009; Sellers, 1992), which originates from a deficit perspective. This deficit perspective implies that the lack of academic persistence (i.e., progress towards and completion of bachelor's degree) of this population is primarily the fault of the college athlete (Benson, 2000).

Many Black male college athletes have demonstrated resiliency and subsequently matriculated to graduation, which becomes a point worthy of further exploration. Resilience can best be described as "patterns of positive adaption in the context of significant risk or adversity" (Masten & Powell, 2003, p. 4). Resiliency requires two judgments: (1) a person is 'doing good and (2) that there is now or has been signifi-

cant risk or adversity to or something to overcome" (Masten & Powell, 2003).

There are two clear aspects of the present study that differentiate it from previous research. First, although similar studies undertaken have examined "successful" Black male college athletes (Bimper et al., 2012; Cooper & Cooper, 2015; Martin, Harrison, & Bukstein, 2010), the term "success" is vague and often leaves room for interpretation. Academic success for one college athlete can mean something vastly different for another athlete. To minimize the variety of interpretation from previous research, graduation was the focal point of this research, which is a clear difference between the current study and previous research. Second, Bimper et al. (2012), Cooper & Cooper (2015), and Martin et al. (2010) all examine the experiences of current Black college athletes across several sports. The current study was unique in that it is centrally focused on Black football players that have graduated from their institution. This information provides a reflective examination of their experiences now that they have matriculated beyond the college setting and into their professional life.

To build on the previous literature surrounding this population, to better understand their experiences on the college campus, and what contributed to their graduation within the institutional environment, the central research question that guided this study was: How did Black male football student-athletes manage to graduate while being part of a Division 1 team at a research-intensive institution?

Benson (2000) states, "future research should continue to investigate student athletes' experiences and perspectives so as to add to the body of descriptive literature that may help redesign educational practices" (p. 242), which becomes the final purpose for conducting this study. Although research has been about Black male college students have been conducted, their graduation rates are still some of the lowest rates of any student group on college campuses (see Table 1). When discussing Black football college athletes, researcher often discuss systemic challenges and issues they encounter. However, what makes this study unique is that an organizational framework was applied to the system of intercollegiate athletics, which helps to situate the experiences of these Black football athletes in the proper organizational context.

Literature Review

Before examining the academic performance of college athletes, it is necessary to examine the larger societal context, systemic inequalities, and disadvantages that permeate through every aspect of life for Black Americans. Black Americans 25 years old and over "have higher unemployment rates (4.3% and 8.9% for White and Black males respectively) and longer durations of unemployment than their White counterparts (an average of 12.1 weeks compared to 8.8 weeks)" (Harris, 2010, p. 245). Jones and Schmitt (2014) note that a significant reason for this level of unemployment among Black Americans is due to racial discrimination in the labor markets. Quillian, Pager, Hexel, and Midtbøen (2017) found that on average White applicants received 35% more callbacks than an equally qualified Black applicant and

overall found little reduction in hiring discrimination against Black Americans. Pager, Western, and Bonikowski (2009) found that not only were Black men less likely to receive a call back than an equally qualified White counterpart, Black applicants were placed at the bottom in the racial hierarchy as the employers favored White men. More recently, Reeves (2014) found evidence that supervising lawyers found Black lawyers to be substandard in their writing skills in comparison to their White counterparts, when given the same legal brief. This example identifies racial bias operating in plain sight. Racial disparities are also felt when considering promotions. Smith (2005) found that Black men must work longer periods of time after leaving school than their White counterparts to earn similar promotions. Furthermore, Harris (2010) points out that credentials of Black employees receive more intense scrutiny than their White counterparts when in contention for promotions.

The socioeconomic status of Black Americans also has a direct effect on the education their children receive. Aud, Fox, and Kewal-Ramani (2010) found that Black children are more likely to attend high poverty schools than their Asian and White counterparts. Approximately 50% of Black children will attend low-income high schools (as compared to 11% of White students) that have drop-out rates that average 50% or greater and 60% of students that live below the poverty line (Hughes, 2013). School districts that contain a disproportionate number of minorities receive less funding per students compared to school districts that have less minority students (Berliner, 2013; Green, 2008; Palmer, Davis, Moore, & Hilton, 2010), which is one critical way in which the systemic imbalances take form. The fact is that political power of a neighborhood and property taxes, which are a key source of funding for schools, have established systems of schooling that resemble apartheid like systems. Berliner (2013) further notes that 48% of high poverty schools receive less funding in their district compared to low-poverty schools and that schools that exceed a 75% poverty rates score significantly lower than their wealthier counterparts.

Another area in educational systems in which systemic racial imbalances is on full display is the interaction between the teachers and students. Research suggests that it is common for Black students to experience racial discrimination due to the negative stereotypes of being dangerous and threatening projected onto them (Hope, Skoog, & Jagers, 2015). Black youth are consistently viewed as suspicious and subjected to constant surveillance, which have very real consequences for these students. Hope et al. (2015) found that Black students faced verbal abuse, psychological and physical mistreatment, were subjected to receiving lower grades by teachers, and harsher disciplinary punishments as compared to their White counterparts (Warikoo, Sinclair, Fei1, & Jacoby-Senghor, 2016). Hope et al. (2015) further establishes that "the experience of teacher discrimination has a negative effect on academic performance, while peer discrimination contributes to psychological adjustment problems" (p. 85).

Azzam (2008) found that high – achieving Black students may be exposed to less rigorous curriculums, attend schools with fewer resources, and have teachers that expect less out of them academically compared to their White counterparts. Warikoo et al. (2016) indicated that compared to White students, Black students were referred

less to gifted-and-talented programs and more to special-needs testing by teachers who used less positive language when speaking to Black students (Palmer et al., 2010; Whiting, 2009). Not only are Black male disproportionately concentrated in special-needs or special education programs, they are more likely to be classified as having intellectual disabilities or labeled as having learning disabilites (Palmer et al., 2010). These structural inequalities are key contributors to the significant underrepresentation of Black students in gifted education programs and are stifled by a deeply ingrained bias of equating White and whiteness with superiority (Ford, 2014).

Unfortunately, teachers (and counselors) play a vital role in these structural inequalities experienced by Black men. It is commonplace for teachers and counselors to impose low or negative expectations on Black males, which can have damaging effects on their expectations for academic success in the future and deter them from pursuing college or advanced degrees (Hayes, Cunningham, & Courseault, 2006; Palmer et al., 2010). Harris (2010) found that "by age 17 the average Black student is four years behind the average White student; Black 12th graders score lower than White 8th graders in United States (U.S.) history and geography" (p. 247). This information demonstrates that Black males are at a "disadvantage beginning in their earliest schooling experiences" (p. 126) and even though teachers and counselors have low expectations of Black males, these same students have "high academic and career aspirations" (p. 126). Regardless of the perceptions imposed upon these students, they still have a passion to learn and achieve (Hayes et al., 2006).

Considering the systemic imbalances that occur in elementary and secondary schooling, it should come as no surprise that these trends continue throughout college. Harper (2006) found that nationwide, 67.6% of Black men who start college do not graduate within six years, which is the lowest completion rate of any group and between both sexes (Owens, Lacey, Rawls, Holbert-Quince, 2010). Owens et al. (2010) also notes that Black students have been found to be less academically prepared for college level academia, have less information about the college process, and typically Black students face a hostile environment upon their entry into higher education. In addition to encountering a hostile environment and not being academically prepared for college, Palmer et al. (2010) says that minority students are more likely to encounter problems with completing their degree due to the large share of financial aid that goes unmet. Low-income students have the "greatest disparity between their aid packages and cost of attendance" (p. 113). All this works together to inhibit Black students from matriculating to graduation.

Any conversation about the current status of Black men would be incomplete without exploring the effects of the criminal justice system. Recent attention has centered on the school-to-prison pipeline which can be best be described as a national trend in which children are funneled out of public school and into the criminal justice system (Dancy, 2014). The school-to-prison pipeline disproportionately affects Black males. Palmer et al. (2010) notes that Black males are disciplined, face more expulsions, and suspended for longer periods of time as compared to their White counterparts. According to the U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, Black students represent 27% of students referred to law enforcement and 31% of

students subjected to school-related arrest (2014).

The school-to-prison pipeline effectively becomes a series of discipline techniques, that includes out of school suspension, designed to alienate Black males from the learning environment by navigating them away from the classroom and toward the criminal justice system (Darensbourg, Perez, & Blake, 2010). Statistics about the criminal justice system further underscores that point. A 2013 report from The Sentencing Project found that although Black Americans comprise approximately 12% of the United States population, in 2011 Black Americans constituted 30% of people arrested for a property offense and 38% of people arrested for a violent offense. In addition, Black males are six times more likely to be incarcerated than White males and if current trends continue, one in three Black men can expect to go to prison in their lifetime. This report also notes that the common adjectives associated with Black Americans are "dangerous," "aggressive," "violent," and "criminal" (The Sentencing Project, 2013, p. 4). These characterizations and "subconscious racial associations influence the way officers perform their jobs" (The Sentencing Project, 2013, p. 4). Butler (2012) states that prosecutors "coerce guilty pleas by threatening defendants with vastly disproportionate punishment if they go to trial" (p. 2184). According to Carson (2014), "non-Hispanic Blacks (37%) comprised the largest portion of male inmates under state or federal jurisdiction in 2013" (p. 1). These factors combined, create significant challenges that Black Americans must overcome daily in order to survive in the United States.

Academic preparation of Black college athletes

Sellers' (1992) foundational work on Black college athletes, which is often referred to in current literature, finds that in general Black athletes tend to matriculate from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and are less academically prepared for college academia compared to their White counterparts (Bimper et al., 2012; Owens, Lacey, Rawls, & Holbert-Quince, 2010). Like their non-athlete counterparts, Black college athletes typically come from environments that have inferior academic resources to adequately prepare the prospective college athlete for college academia (Comeaux, 2008; Cooper, 2012; Palmer et al., 2010). This information is critical because the previous research on academic success of college athletes has found that a key predictor of academic success is largely dependent on their high school GPAs and students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds tend to have lower GPAs compared to those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds (Astin, 1993; Chen, Mason, Middleton, Salazar, 2013; Simiyu, 2012; Sellers, 1992). Therefore, if the foundation of college athlete research suggests that high school GPA is the single most consistent and important factor for predicting academic success in college, it should then come as no surprise that Black football athletes have some of the overall lowest GPAs and subsequent graduation rates of any student group on campus.

There are two schools of thought that explain why this population of students has not performed well academically and why they are continuously graduating at lower rates compared to all other groups on campus. Benson (2000) and Palmer et al. (2010) note that one school of thought is that poor academic performance

is primarily the fault of the students in question because they are deficient in some aspect and as Ogbu (2004) suggests, that academic achievement can be perceived as "acting White" (p. 2). This perspective is commonly known as the deficit model or deficit perspective, which asserts that minority groups do not perform as well as their White counterparts in school and in life because their cultural environment is perceived to be dysfunctional and lacking important characteristics (Salkind, 2008). This perspective further suggests that Black students do not aspire to or strive to get good grades because it can be perceived by members of that community as acting White and thus, abandoning their community and their culture (Ogbu, 2004; Palmer et al., 2010).

The counter narrative however, suggests that the poor academic performances of Black college athletes is not attributed to their lack of ability or actions but is the result of difficulty trying to navigate the different technical functions of the athletic and academic environments (Benson, 2000; Simiyu, 2012). Unfortunately, contending with the organizational culture present at PWI's, Black college athletes also reported being singled out and treated differently as compared to their counterparts (Cooper & Hawkins, 2014; Bimper et al., 2012). Black college athletes often experience little control over their academic planning, being placed into classes that can potentially have adverse effects towards overall degree completion (Bimper et al., 2012; Singer, 2005), and are advised to focus less on class and academic related activities and spend more time dedicated to sport – related activities.

On campus experiences

Black college athletes, especially those in the revenue – producing sports, often experience double standards, value differences, separation, stigma from faculty and classmates, and unwritten rules placed on Black college athletes. White college athlete counterparts also did not experience the same racial stigmas and often received more favorable treatment from the campus compared to the Black college athletes (Beamon, 2014; Melendez, 2008). In addition, during their time on campus, Black football athletes reported feeling unfairly judged by classmates, White teammates, and coaches (Bimper et al. 2012; Harrison, 2001; Melendez, 2008).

Simons et al. (2007) found that faculty held negative perceptions of Black college athletes and would make comments supporting these stereotypes and attitudes towards the Black athletes (Beamon, 2014; Bimper et al., 2012; Comeaux, 2008). Comeaux (2008) found that there is a stigma associated with Black college athletes as academically inferior not only by faculty, but by the campus community (Simiyu, 2012). Simons et al., (2007) states that, "there is an understandable resentment of athletes who are admitted with lower academic qualifications by non-athlete students who worked so hard to gain admission to the university" (p. 267). Sanders and Hildenbrand (2010) found that in such cases, Black college athletes face a double stigma (i.e., being Black and an athlete), which portrays them as "inferior academically by the campus community" (Comeaux, 2008, p. 8). Specifically, the 'dumb jock' stereotype is routinely associated with college athletes but resonates heavily with Black athletes in particular (Bimper et al., 2012; Sailes, 1993). Although an older

study, Sailes (1993) provided foundational work about the 'dumb jock' stereotype and found that "white and males felt more strongly that the African American athlete was not as academically prepared to be in college" (p. 95). The premise of this stereotype is that Black males are academically inferior but athletically superior to their White counterparts (Cooper, 2012; Martin, Harrison, Stone, & Lawrence, 2010; Sailes, 2010).

In the same manner, preconceived notions, stereotypes, and stigmas about Black college athletes propagate the plantation system in terms of the demographic imagery on college campuses (Hawkins, 2010). An article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reports that Black college athletes often feel that professors think they are there simply to play a sport without any intention to learn, are not taken seriously by professors, receive lack of interest from the professors, and are the subjects of nasty or subtle racial comments made by professors (Perlmutter, 2003). Therefore, the campus community treats these Black athletes, not as equal members but as commodities to be used for the advancement of the university's national profile.

Negative perceptions from campus and faculty members about college athletes is the cause for the creation of a discriminatory campus climate and one that is perceived as hostile by the college athletes (Comeaux, 2012). Comeaux (2012) further states that these college athletes routinely experience microaggressions and microassaults, which are the results of stereotypes and assumptions made about the intellectual ability of the college athletes. One of the underlying components when discussing the hostile campus environment has to do with race. Black college athletes not only have to manage the stereotypes of being an athlete but also being Black, which compounds their experience (Beamon, 2014). The racism that Black football players experience not only comes from the campus and faculty members but also from fans, which only exacerbates the already hostile environment (Beamon, 2014).

Cooper (2012) found that Black college athletes also contend with a lack of leadership opportunities within their teams and being treated differently than their White counterparts. Singer (2008) found that Black college athletes are often shut out from certain positions that are perceived as leadership positions (e.g., quarterback). Along with the lack of leadership positions, Singer (2008) also found that Black college athletes experienced differential treatment between themselves and their White counterparts from coaches.

Each college athlete must, at some level, battle their conflicting roles of being a college student and a college athlete. Cooper and Cooper (2015) use role theory to discuss this phenomenon whereas Potuto and O'Hanlon (2007) tend to focus on identity. Either way, the fact remains that Black college athletes are more influenced by their sport participation (Potuto & O'Hanlon, 2007) and feel more pressure to "develop an athletic identity and an academic identity" (Bimper et al., 2012). Cooper and Cooper (2015) found that athlete stereotypes, athletic schedules and the athletic business contributed to the athletes' role conflict. Potuto and O'Hanlon (2007) found that a larger portion of Black athletes "seem more likely to focus on and be influenced by athletics" (p. 961). Prospective Black college athletes are more susceptible to the allure of an athletic scholarship and subsequently confront their conflicting

role identity because the scholarship provides them with a means to attend a university they may not have otherwise been able to afford (Duderstadt, 2000).

Impact of commercialism on college athletics

Davis' (1994) work is often cited and lays a critical foundation regarding the history of Black athletes in intercollegiate athletics. Cooper (2012) says that during the early 1900s, the few Black athletes that did compete for White institutions were funneled into sports such as track and field and to a lesser extent football, since these sports were viewed as "not involving the type of intimate physical contact required by basketball and swimming" (Davis, 1994, p. 632). During and post-World War II, college athletic programs had to search for talented athletes from previously untapped sources to maintain the competitiveness of their teams (Davis, 1994; McCormick & McCormick, 2012; Spivey, 1983). The war, combined with the increased commercialization and professionalization of collegiate athletics, drastically increased the number of Black student-athletes attending PWIs (McCormick & McCormick, 2012). This increased commercialization of football in particular provided Black athletes with greater access to these White institutions that previously prohibited their access (McCormick & McCormick, 2012). As a result of the increased commercialization of college athletics, athletic departments were now faced with more pressure to win and to "field winning teams" (Davis, 1994, p. 634). Davis (1994) notes that after World War II, Black athletes were now being funneled into the revenue-producing sports (p. 635). This passion to win amongst the institutions, fans, and students created an atmosphere that put aside blatant discriminatory practices to reap the economic benefits associated with the commercialism of college athletics (McCormick & McCormick, 2012). The expanding commercialization of college athletics only seems to further establish the role conflict for the college athletics. The commercialization of college football places added pressure on the coach to field winning teams and sends conflicting messages to the players about where the academic priorities lie in the context of their sport participation (Simiyu, 2012). Comeaux (2008) discussed the current impact of the increased commercialization of college athletics by stating that "college athletics have become more commercialized with a greater urgency to produce winning seasons and secure corporate sponsors at the expense of the student-athletes' academic future" (p. 1). This is one of the key systemic factors that has had a devastating effect on the academic pursuits of Black college athletes and only reinforces the plantation system perception.

Overrepresentation

Although a minority in the United States, Black men are overrepresented among football players in the 'Power 5' conferences. According to data from the NCAA (2015), across the Power Five conferences Black college athletes comprised the majority (48%) of the football teams (see Table 5 & 6) during the last two academic years (2013/14 and 2014/15), while Black males (during the same time period) comprise no more than six percent of the entire undergraduate population (Harper, 2012; Sellers, 2000; Simiyu, 2012). Because Black college athletes are needed to maintain

a high level of team performance, the idea that they are doing all the work while the other predominately White college athletes are reaping all the rewards, strengthens the plantation system perception (Beamon, 2008). It also suggests that Black males are not good enough to attend predominantly White institutions without being put to work on the field.

Harper et al. (2012) found that across four cohorts of college athletes (i.e., students who entered college in the same academic year), Black college athletes graduated at a rate of 50.2% within six years, compared to 66.9% of overall college athletes, 72.8% of all undergraduate students and 55.5% of Black male undergraduate non–athletes. Table 1 breaks down the major college athlete groups and sports for the 2008 cohort and compares both the GSR (created by the NCAA) and the FGR. Regardless of the statistical measured used, Black college athletes that play football graduate at some of the lowest rates of any student group on college campuses.

Theoretical Framework

There are two conceptual frameworks that helped to guide the present study. The first was Comeaux and Harrison's (2011) work that builds upon previous literature focused on cognitive and non-cognitive variables predicting academic success. The contribution of Comeaux and Harrison (2011) is that they approached the examination of college athlete academic success from a qualitative tradition, calling attention to the necessity to explore the environment of the college athletes in order to understand how they navigate college towards academic success.

Table 1

Comparing Graduation Success Rates vs. Federal Graduation Rates (2008 Cohort)

Student-Athlete Group	2008 (Cohort) GSR (%)	2008 (Cohort) FGR (%)
Men's Basketball	77	47
White Men's Basketball	90	57
African American Men's Basketball	72	41
Football (FBS)	75	61
White Football (FBS)	84	71
African American Football (FBS)	69	56
Women's Basketball	89	62
White Women's Basketball	95	68
African American Women's Basketball	84	58

National Collegiate Athletic Association. (2014). *Trends in graduation success rates and federal graduation rates at NCAA Division I institutions*. NCAA.

Comeaux and Harrison's (2011) model "presumes that a student-athletes' academic success will be based primarily on a set of individual characteristics and dispositions, with effects from the social and academic systems within which the student-athlete operates" (p. 237). Their model is segmented into several parts that illustrate how the various aspects fit together into a cumulative model. The first aspect of this model begins with pre-college variables that include family background (i.e., parental/guardian education, parental/guardian support), individual attributes (i.e., race, gender, academic motivation), and educational experiences (i.e., high school). Student-athletes' initial commitments make up the next stage of the model. Student-athletes' commitments include: goal, sport, and institutional. The next stage examines the academic and social environments of the university. The ability of the student-athletes to assimilate into the various environments is an important factor in their collective experiences. The social environment includes faculty and peer interactions, along with sport and coaches' demands. The academic environment includes grade performance and intellectual development, whereas grade performance is more explicit and the intellectual development is an intrinsic reward. The model concludes with an examination of student-athlete commitments (e.g., goal, sport, and institutional) leading to academic success.

Consistently being incorporated into research, Comeaux and Harrison's (2011) model offers guidance into helping understand and improve academic outcomes for college athletes (Comeaux, 2013; Cooper; 2016; Cooper & Dougherty, 2015; Grandy, Lough, & Miller, 2016). This model supposes that as college athletes become more integrated into the social and academic environments, they have a better chance for academic success (Comeaux, 2013; Comeaux, Bachman, Burton, & Aliyeva, 2017; Comeaux & Harrison, 2011; Cooper; 2016; Cooper & Dougherty, 2015; Grandy et al., 2016). However, a critique of this model is that it combines the college athlete experience into just the academic and social systems but does not adequately call out sport participation. According to the Comeaux and Harrison's (2011) model, sport participation becomes part of the social system. The "sport participation" (early on in the model) refers to the time athlete dedicated to their sport prior to entering the college environment. In addition, Comeaux and Harrison's (2011) model does not segment or illustrate the potential growth and development that athletes experience from their freshman to senior year. As the model currently stands, freshman to senior year are reduced to academic and social systems.

Notwithstanding the criticisms, Comeaux and Harrison's (2011) model helps to inform this study in two critical areas. First, the model calls out the pre-college experiences and factors that contribute to academic performance (Cooper, 2016). These experiences cannot be overlooked because they are the foundation which athletes enter into the college environment with, especially for Black athletes. Second, Comeaux and Harrison's model considers the importance of the integration into the social and academic systems as a pivotal component which directly impacts the academic success of the college athletes. Black athletes often feel socially isolated and alienated on the college campus (Carter-Francique, Hart, & Steward, 2013), which can make it challenging to fully engage with the campus community. Therefore, this

model helps underscore the importance of campus (e.g. academic & social) engagement on academic success.

To better understand the system of intercollegiate athletics (within the higher education system), the second conceptual framework that helped to inform this study is Muwonge's (2012) model of organizational rationality that expanded upon the work of Parson (1960), Thompson (1967), and Scott (2003) (See figure 1).

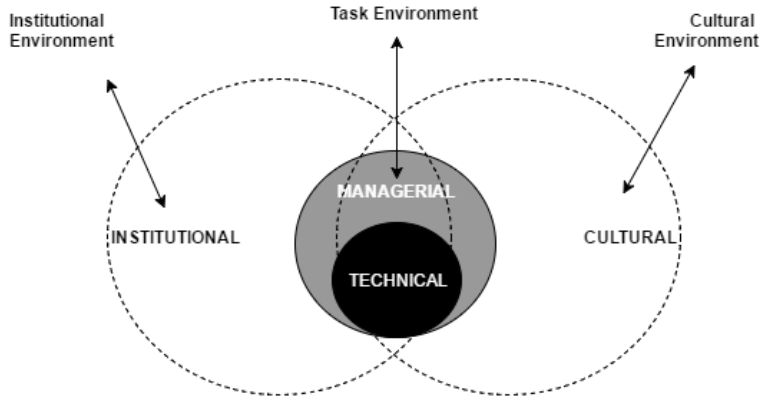

Figure 1. Levels of organizational activities.

The technical level deals with the core function, or production, of the organization, essentially changing inputs into outputs (Thompson, 1967, 2003). The managerial level of the organization is responsible for designing procedures, procuring resources, and allocating personnel to perform different functions (Scott, 2003; Thompson, 1967, 2003). The institutional level is concerned with the organization and its larger environment, or social system, which determines its meaning or legitimacy and the boundaries of the organization (Scott, 2003; Thompson, 1967, 2003). Lastly, the cultural environment is concerned with constructing meaning or establishing the organization's right to exist. Organizations transmit culture to its members while engaging in specific tasks to ensure its survival. As a result, the people within the organization create norms, values, rules, and symbols to demonstrate how things are done that help people survive within the organization (Morgan, 1997). Table 2 illustrates how this organizational model applies to college athletic departments and to the academic side present at State University. By examining both the academic and athletic organizational context in which the Black college athlete must contend, the challenges they face become even more apparent due to the conflicting primary functions of the academic and athletic entities.

The limitation with this framework is that it is only useful to in helping to understand the organizational context, which the college athlete experience is situated. Because of this limitation, it cannot stand-alone to examine the actual lived experiences of the college athletes. Using this model, however frames the intercollegiate athletics environment in such a way to better understand the college athletes' perspectives in proper context of the environment in which it is situated.

Table 2

Organizational Environment Summary (Athletics & Academics)

	Academics	**Athletics (Football)**
Technical Core	Produce Graduate Students	Produce Football Games
Task/Resource Environment	Grants	Spectator Tickets & Conference Media Contracts
Task/Resource Environment (Students)	Predominantly White	Predominantly Black
Cultural Environment (Meaning Construction)	57% of students come from in-state; average family income greater than $100K	Larger percentage of student-athletes are from mid-west; much more variability in home state & SES
Institutional Environment	Federal Agencies; State Agencies; Higher Learning Commission (HLC)	NCAA; Power 5 Conference
Managerial Activities	Housed within the university	Housed within the Athletic Department

Methods

A qualitative case study approach was utilized for this study, as described by Merriam (2009). The Power 5 Conference institution that serves as the unit of analysis (referred to from here on as State University or SU to protect the identity of the institution) has a student population of over 30,000 students (both graduate and undergraduate). State University has been considered one of the premier research universities in the world for several decades and has a nationally recognized college football program that ranks as one of the best all-time. The Black student population when these former college athletes attended was just below 10% and according to the participants, the campus overall was not overly welcoming but not overly hostile. Data was collected from individual interviews (with 5 former student-athletes and 7 faculty and staff members), and document collection (e.g., alumni profiles, media guides, & student-athlete questionnaires).

Participant Criteria

Purposeful sampling was utilized in selecting qualified participants for this study because it used a predetermined set of criteria for inclusion in this study (Patton, 2002).

Therefore, the target population for this study were former Black college athletes that received an athletic scholarship, participated in football between 2003 and 2010, and graduated from State University. This study primarily focused on Black male student-athletes who received athletic scholarships to participate in football because these athletes are recruited by coaches because of their athletic ability and potential to immediately contribute to the team (Beamon, 2008).

Participant Selection

The researcher began the study by scheduling interviews with the associate athletic director and the football academic counselor. These interviews informed the researcher of other faculty and staff members that met the selection criteria. Two faculty members, one (football) position coach, one former academic advisor, and one assistant athletic director agreed to be interviewed.

Eight athlete interviews were completed, transcribed, replayed for accuracy, and sent back to the participants to verify their comments, each transcription was reviewed in significant detail. By the time the eighth interview occurred, no additional information was being uncovered. The researcher continued interviewing participants when the saturation point was close to being achieved as Patton (2002) recommends to sample until the point of redundancy. Of the eight athletes that were initially interviewed, five were selected as part of this study because these five participants provided what Patton (2002) describes as information – rich cases in which a thorough analysis can be performed. Table 3 illustrates a brief overview of the academic profile and current career placement of the participants.

Table 3

Former College Athlete Major, Current Career & Letter winner Status

	GPA	Major	Current Career	Letter-winner Status
FSA 1	2.4-2.9	General Studies	Affordable Real Estate Developer	4x
FSA 2	2.4-2.9	Sport Management	College Football Coach	4x
FSA 3	2.4-2.9	Sociology	HS Associate AD/ Head Football Coach	4x
FSA 4	2.4-2.9	Communications	College Football Coach	4x
FSA 5	3.0-3.4	General Studies	NFL Free Agent	4x

Data Analysis

Constant comparison was that analysis technique utilized for this study. Merriam's (2009) standpoint is that all qualitative data analysis is inductive and comparative and subsequently draws heavily from the constant comparative method originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1965) as a method for developing grounded theory. Coding was done according the inductive analysis method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This method allows researchers to identify, create, and see relationships among parts of the data when constructing a theme. This method was utilized because it (a) builds theory, (b) provides tools for researchers to analyze data, (c) aids researchers in understanding multiple meanings from their data, and (d) provides researchers with a systematic process for analyzing data.

Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, the primary research instrument for data collection and interpretation is the researcher (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Pyett, 2003), which causes concerns with validity and reliability. Because qualitative researchers concentrate on discovering truth, credibility and reliability have been replaced with trustworthiness as Johnson (1997) suggests, it can be defended and creates a level of assurance in the findings (Golafshani, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To mitigate those concerns, a series of methods were used to strengthen the trustworthiness of this study that include: triangulation, peer debriefing, member checks, and the search for the negative case. Triangulation was achieved through the use of the interview data, analysis of media guides, interviewer notes, and analysis of the completed participant demographic questionnaires. Peer debriefing was achieved throughout the data collection process because the researcher acquired the assistance of peers to examine questions and review findings and supporting documentation in order to uncover any potential flaws, biases, or other shortcomings of this research that might detract from the credibility of this study. After each interview was conducted and transcribed, participants received a draft of their answers from the interview. The participants were allowed to clarify any remarks they felt did not adequately represent their ideas. Lastly, negative cases were sought out during the data collection process and explored to learn what factors contributed to student-athlete graduation.

Results

Stemming from the findings in this study, the researcher developed a conceptual framework to provide additional insight into the experiences of Black football athletes at State University. Eisenhardt (1989) and Baxter and Jack (2008) both established that qualitative case study research could lead to the development of theoretical frameworks that further enhance our understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore, Figure 2 depicts this conceptual model, which is introduced throughout the following sections incorporating findings and relying on data analysis to better understand the experiences of the participants. The model is divided into five phases:

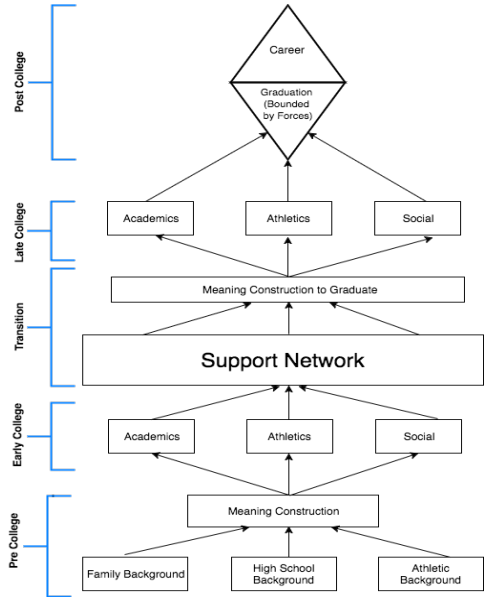

Figure 2. Model: Conceptual framework for football college athlete academic success

Table 4

Former Student-Athlete Family (FSA) Background Information

	State	Family Income	Family Background	Community	1 Gen. College
FSA 1	NC	25K-35K	Single Mom	Small City	Y
FSA 2	OH	100K-200K	Two-Parent	Small City	N
FSA 3	MI	50K-75K	Divorced Parents	Suburb	Y
FSA 4	OH	50K-75K	Two-Parent	Small City	Y
FSA 5	IL	25K-35K	Grandparent	Large Urban City	Y

Pre-College, Early College, Transition, Late College, and Post College. Each stage represents five distinct but intrinsically connected phases that capture the experiences of the former college athletes in this study. Following qualitative research methods, pertinent themes that emerged from data analysis that contributed to the creation of this model are presented and summarized in detail with rich participant accounts across each of the identified five phases.

Pre-College

The pre-college phase denotes the experiences and background of the college athletes before beginning their collegiate career. Drawing from the findings of this study, the pre-college phase includes three components: family background (e.g., family socioeconomic status, family composition, and educational level), high school background (e.g., high school location, resources, diversity, and college academic background), athletic background (e.g., coaching experience, playing experience, and performance) and meaning construction components.

A key finding from this study is that not all Black football athletes originate from similar family or socioeconomic backgrounds. While it is true that many do come from single – parent households, this study reveals that other family compositions are also present. For example, FSA 5 was raised by his grandparents and discusses his family background by stating

> [My] family upbringing was real rough. I grew up in a house with twelve, fourteen people in it…Mom wasn't around and my grandmother raised me…so [I come from] just a broken family…Dad [was] in and out but not consistently there. Growing up [I] didn't have much and had to learn how to survive from an early age.

FSA 1 presents a somewhat similar description regarding his family background by saying, "[I] grew up in a single – parent home [with] two older brothers…It was a tough neighborhood but I felt like that was typical for people of my ethnicity." These experiences reinforce the notion that many Black football players come from non-traditional, single – parent families and backgrounds that are not viewed as conducive for high educational attainment.

The single – parent and non-traditional family backgrounds are only one part of the story however. At least two of the participants came from a traditional two-parent household and another came from a family in which both parents were divorced and remarried. In speaking about his family background, FSA 2 mentioned, "We were middle-class in a middle-class economy. Probably income was $130,000 between the two parents. We weren't wealthy by any stretch of the imagination, but we didn't really struggle for a whole lot and had a pretty comfortable upbringing." Even though FSA 2 came from a traditional two-parent household, he wanted to "get out of his environment…[because] nothing positive happened [where I'm from]." FSA 2 also stated, "Listen, I didn't come from a broken household…like both my father and mother were in my life…it was just that I didn't want to stay in [my hometown]."Even though the family backgrounds of the participants varied, each of them discussed wanting to get beyond their hometowns and achieve a greater level of success than the underachievement, which was the norm in their communities.

Not all the participants attended a high school in their home district. Some went to schools outside their district or attended a private school before transferring. For example, FSA 3 began his scholastic career at an all-boys private school and transferred to another private school before finishing his scholastic education at a high

school in his hometown. The reason he eventually left the private schools was, as he stated, "I got tired of [the private schools] because they really weren't a good fit for me." When asked to elaborate on the reasoning why he felt that the private schools were no longer a good fit for him, he responded, "I just got tired of going to an all-White boy's private school…I didn't fit in there."

The data revealed that the athletic background played a major role in the pre-college phase for college athletes, considering the amount of time and significance they attributed to playing football. FSA 2 clearly pointed out that "the goal in high school was to put yourself in the best position to earn a college [football] scholarship. Period. For me, that's why I put the amount of time I did in playing football." The academic rigor for most of the participants was not overly challenging and many of the choices made (e.g., high schools attended, time spent playing football, and classes taken) were driven by the possibility of earning a scholarship to play college football. Therefore, the participants dedicated a significant amount of time to participate in football – related activities (e.g., weight lifting, physical conditioning, film study, and practice) as compared to their academic pursuits.

Meaning construction denotes how individuals view and make sense of their world. This concept was developed by the social constructivist theory that understands the mind as an instrument that seeks to comprehend an objective knowledge, thus filtering input from the world in order to interpret the environment (Jonassen et al., 1995; Leahey & Harris, 1985). It is important to note how the participants constructed meaning during the pre-college phase because that was the lens used to interpret their college experience, especially early on.

Early College

Based on the findings of this research, the early college phase as the next logical step because it encompasses the first two years on campus for the college athletes. The participants spent time trying to adapt to their new environment and responsibilities, which consists of three main parts: academics, athletics and social.

One of the key findings regarding academics, results indicated that participant's interactions with faculty members fell into one of three distinct categories: (a) faculty that were advocates/fans of athletics, (b) faculty that essentially did not care about athletics, or (c) faculty members that despised athletics. FSA 5 captured his interaction with faculty members in the following manner:

> When you're black, first of all you know you're probably going to be an athlete. It's a high chance because you're Black at [State University], the numbers don't lie. One out of two [black male students], one out of three [black male students] are going to be athletes…there's going to be professors that don't like you because of that, because they don't feel like you were qualified in order to get into school, it was just your athletic prowess and then there are other professors that are football fans that want to see you succeed and will do anything for you [within the rules to help] because they know [or assume] that you're unprepared but they want to see you overcome.

A significant athletic challenge the participants in this study encountered when they first arrived on campus was balancing their academic course work and athletic requirements. Spending over 40 hours weekly on sport related activities, while trying to adjust to the academic expectations proved to be a major challenge for the participants, especially during this phase of their college experience. FSA 3 stated, "When I first arrived at [SU] I felt that the academic work was something that I could manage but the real challenge was budgeting my time and teaching myself how to study." FSA 1 articulated it best when he stated, "I think I was prepared for the level of academics that State University was going to present me with. I wasn't necessarily prepared for the load and the time management that was required to handle the load."

With regards to the social aspect of the early college phase, one of the more significant emerging themes was that the environment initially proved to be hostile and unwelcoming for the participants as supported in the literature (Davis, 1994; Simiyu, 2012; Singer, 2005). FSA 2 captured this experience the best:

> Many of [the students at State University] thought [we] were stupid…that's just plain and simple. And sometimes [the students] would talk to [me] in particular, like I was stupid and like [I] needed all the help that I could get…I felt like certain students thought that …like I basically wasn't qualified [to attend State University].

Some of the animosity that FSA 3 experienced from his student peers in the context of their academic interactions centered on the fact that he was receiving a full scholarship to an institution that he was, in the students' minds, not qualified to attend.

Transition Phase

Between the early and late college phases lies the transition phase, which typically occurs between the end of the sophomore academic year and the beginning of the junior academic year. During the transition phase the participants interacted with and developed a network of people to aid in their adjustment to the college environment. These interactions with the support network ultimately helped to influence and refocus the meaning construction to graduate for the participants. The data revealed that the participants began to use their support networks to help find balance and manage the variety of stressors they encounter. FSA 4 initially established his support network because he was homesick when he first arrived on campus. He stated, "I'd just go into [the assistant athletic director's office] and just talk. I was home. I felt like being away from home, I was at home because I could talk to [them] about anything." Participants undeniably needed this support throughout their college careers when dealing with on and off the field challenges.

After college athletes have spent approximately two academic years on campus, interacted with faculty and staff members, been exposed to his football responsibilities, and has established their support networks, their sense of meaning becomes more refined and focused. The addition of meaning construction in the football athlete success model is a unique aspect because it explores how the football players

interpret their environment. For some participants, being the first in their families to graduate from college was a significant milestone. FSA 2 mentioned that he did not want to be one of those former football players that went back to their hometown without having graduated from college. He mentioned:

> What scares me the most and still scares me to this day is, you go back to [my hometown] and they're like, 'Oh, what's up? What you doing these days?' I'm like, 'Oh I'm back in [my hometown], and I'm not doing anything.' I did not want to go back to [my hometown] at all. Still don't to this day. Didn't want to go back to 'Damn you played for 4 years and you didn't graduate? What the hell did you do up there?' I think that scared me to death. I didn't want to do that.

This meaning construction is important because this is when they realize that graduation is not only a possibility, but a reality and a necessity.

Late College

Encountering the support network further helps to refine and establish how the participants interpreted the world around them. This refinement was critical for helping the college athletes manage their social, academic and athletic experiences more effectively at the late college phase compared to the early college phase.

As the participants were able to take control of their academic responsibilities once they had a better understanding of their environment and academic requirements. The participants in this study discussed were better equipped to handle their academic responsibilities because: (a) they passed the first two years of prerequisite courses and were able to choose a path that more closely aligned with their interest and, (b) knew how to handle their football and academic schedules. FSA 3, who mentioned that things began to "click" for him as he was able to get beyond his core courses, also noted, "after I was in college for a couple years, [I] realized how to do the work the professors wanted [me] to do…it really wasn't that hard." FSA 3 alluded to his development as he concluded by saying, "I easily got better grades during my junior and senior year…it wasn't even close." Participants were better able to manage their relationships with faculty members and create a more conducive learning environment at this stage. FSA 1 specifically mentioned that he did not seek out higher-level faculty members, "but just lower level faculty members that I could just go and talk to and get some good interesting insights…That only came after I felt comfortable with football."

One factor that guided the development of participants' time management was learning from older teammates. When asked how they learned to manage their time during the late college phase, FSA 3 mentioned, "I learned by experience…and watching some of the older guys…they really showed [me] how much time [I] really had." When dealing with faculty members, the participants indicated that they were able to find, interact with, and develop relationships with faculty members that were willing to help and share perspectives. After having experienced both the hostile and welcoming environments at SU, the participants were able to adjust to these

distinct types of environments in the late college phase. The participants began to venture away from their teammates and discovered peers that shared similar beliefs or interests.

Post College

Findings suggested that graduation and career selection were especially important components in the overall experiences. According to the findings, the football related obligations influenced both matriculation and academic schedules. Further, majors and career choices of these participants were directly and indirectly influenced by football because most of the participants recognized that they enjoyed football enough to integrate it into their career path. Although during the late college phase, the participants articulated experiences of being able to better manage their athletic and academic requirements, football was still an influential force. FSA 2 had one of the most profound comments regarding this topic. He stated:

> As I think about it now…yeah my senior year I knew what I needed to do in the classroom and I wasn't stressin' about anything football related…but no matter how much [I] tried to get away from it…football controlled damn near everything…like if I wanted to get another major…could I really? I don't think so…well…as along as it didn't conflict with practice.

In a similar manner, FSA 3 commented, "Yeah, many of [my teammates and I graduated] but we still didn't have the [flexibility] that everyone else has…and it's like even when we graduate football was still there controlling everything."

Four of the five participants are currently engaged in careers that involve football despite concentrating on different majors. This was a new finding and was not related to any previous literature concerned with the experiences of college athletes. Although football is not an active part of FSA 1's current career, football was still used as a means to be introduced to and meet his current employer. Therefore, whether directly or indirectly, football played a role in the graduation and on the current career choices of all participants.

Discussion

The results from this research supports, in part Comeaux and Harrison's (2011) assertation that academic success depends on the college athletes' ability to integrate with the social and academic environment. However, the Comeaux and Harrison (2011) model only segments the college athlete experience into two parts: Social and Academic System. The present research found that the experience of college athletes can be segmented into different phases (e.g. early college, transition, and late college phases) and that athletics participation needs to be called out into its own category. Wolverton (2008) says that college football players spend over 40 hours per week on football related activities, which leaves little time for anything else. Therefore, the ability of these college athletes to manage their athletic participation and balance

their academic requirements is vital to all other aspects of their experience on campus. How the college athletes interpreted and managed their academic, athletic, and social environments became more refined the longer they were involved in the intercollegiate athletics system as compared to when they entered college as freshmen, which serves to fill in the gaps of the Comeaux and Harrison (2011) model.

Muwonge's (2012) organizational framework helps to clearly see the differences in the technical functions of the academic and athletic entities present at State University (see Table 2). This framework also showcases one fundamental challenge; the system of intercollegiate athletics does not change from the early college to the late college phase. College athletes, although better equipped to handle environmental challenges at the late college phase, recognize that they are still part of the system and the inherent conflict between academic and athletic responsibilities remains. This research found that it was not the level of academic rigor that provided the most significant challenge for these college athletes; it was the volume from both the football and academic requirements they had to manage. The system of intercollegiate athletics does not change and it is the ability of the college athletes to adapt and maneuver through their conflicting responsibilities that will help them in their academic pursuits.

Referring back to the original research question: How did Black football athletes manage to graduate while being part of a Division 1 team at a research-intensive institution? This study reveals that the most important factor in their experience was the relationship and interactions with people who provided them with a non-academic social support to navigate the college environment. Carter-Francique, Hart, and Cheeks (2015) conceptualize social support in four distinct components: (a) appraisal support, (b) emotional support, (c) informational support, and (d) instrumental support. Participants undeniably needed and utilized this kind of social support throughout their time on campus. Regardless of who the participants selected to be part of their support network, it is clear that this network itself was paramount for the participants' overall wellbeing. The participants selected their social network based on who they believed could help them navigate the college systems and had their best interest in mind, which supports Bimper et al., (2012) and Carter-Francique et al., (2013) findings that suggest college athletes will seek individuals who they can trust and seek advice and support. The present research also supports Bimper et al., (2012) and Cooper and Hawkins' (2014) research which found that Black college athletes routinely report being treated differently, isolated, inferior, and unfairly judged by their faculty, campus peers, and even teammates. The football field seems to have been the only place where Black athletes were embraced, which continues to propagate what Hawkins (2010) describes as the plantation system. Because of their experience on campus, developing their social support network ended up being vital to their overall matriculation through graduation, which supports Carter-Francique et al. (2013) research.

Another key finding emerging from this research suggests that the meaning construction the college athletes developed during the pre-college phase is the lens that they initially interpreted and viewed their college experiences when they first arrived

on campus. As the college athletes managed their conflicting roles and interacted with their environments, they soon began to figure out how to best navigate their college environment, which further helped them to refine their meaning construction to graduate. The present research identified that a higher level of meaning construction occurred later on the college experience of the college athletes, which helped them to realize the importance for obtaining a college degree.

The present findings support Beamon's (2008) study in that football influences the priorities of the college athletes, which inhibits their ability to reap the full benefits (e.g. ability to engage in more campus events, internships, and travel abroad programs) associated with being a college student. Beamon (2008) further establishes that the reason football exerts a significant level of control over the lives of their athletes is two-fold. First, participating in football helped the athletes gain acceptance into the institution and second, football provided the financial assistance necessary for them to pay for school. The level of influence football exercises and the unique pressure on coaches to produce winning teams (Navarro & Malvaso, 2016) creates an environment where football dictates the majors and how most of their time is spent during college, regardless of the adaptability of the athletes.

The resiliency the participants demonstrated to navigate their obstacles and matriculate to graduation was another significant finding. When the participants arrived on campus, they believed that playing college football afforded them opportunities that simply were not available in their hometowns. These participants wanted to use college athletics as a mechanism to achieve more than they initially believed possible, which also supports Bimper et al., (2012) notion about academics being "viewed as a tool for liberation" (p. 124). It is important to note that four of the five participants were first – generation college students, which helped to solidify the importance of obtaining a college degree which confirms Sellers' (1992) findings that Black college athletes recognize the value of a college education and degree.

In addition, previous research has consistently established that athletes with a strong athletic identity are more unprepared to manage their career transition out of their sport (Tyrance et al., 2013). However, the experiences of the college athletes indicate that as they were working through their career transition when their playing careers ended, most still enjoyed football and found ways to be involved with it in their career. Navarro (2014) establishes that career construction is a dynamic process, which is not neatly defined, but is an evolutionary process that considers the life experiences of students. It is not unreasonable to consider that because these athletes spent a significant amount of time on football – related activities over the course of their college careers (Tyrance et al., 2013) that they might enjoy being involved with football after their playing days have concluded.

Several implications emerge from the present study. The research found that the conflict between the academic and athletic enterprises within the university system remains consistent and college athletes have to figure out how to navigate both systems. Higher education professionals working with this population should help college athletes create a time management plan once they arrive on campus. This plan should consist of class schedules and football related activities but also groups/

events that might be of interest. A time management plan is the first and simplest thing to do which helps ensure that the college athletics can manage their conflicting roles.

Findings from this study demonstrate that having a support network was pivotal for college athletes and therefore higher education professionals should not only encourage college athletes to develop a support network of people they can trust but create a forum for the athlete to do so. Not only encouraging the college athletes to meet with faculty members but encouraging them to meet other staff members on-campus that share similar interest, could prove extremely valuable for the athletes. College athletic departments should also create a mandatory mentorship program for the first year and transfer students with mentors and faculty that understand their challenges.

The influence and impact of the coaches cannot be understated. Beside teammates, college athletes spend a large majority of their time with the coaches. Considering the time spent and a large majority of college football coaches are White, higher education professionals should require annual bias and cultural competency training for these coaches and staff. Another recommendation is to implement assessments and training to address mircoaggressions that faculty, staff, and coaches may exhibit when dealing with Black athletes. Training and assessments will be the best way to fully unearth the treatment of their Black players by the groups of people they encounter most often.

The lived experiences of college athletes demonstrate that many of them may want to pursue a career in athletics. College athletes have spent countless hours on their sports and subsequently may want to develop a career related to this industry. Therefore, athletic departments should consider creating programming or internships for these college athletes to gain some insight and experience working in different areas of the athletic departments.

Lastly, having introductory assessments for college athletes when they arrive on campus in the fall should be mandatory. These assessments should be tailored to: assess their interest, identity scale, goals at the university, importance of obtaining a degree, and family background. Each athlete brings their own baggage with them to campus and those working with them must understand this. Having this level of understanding will prove vital in understanding how the athletes construct meaning and better understand how to address their needs.

Exploring the experiences of college athletes both from revenue and non—revenue generating sports that did not graduate from their institutions or were delayed in their completion is the next logical step for future research. This research may be extremely useful in capturing a wide range of experiences that both positively and negatively impact their graduation. Future research should also seek to determine if injuries, lack of playing time, or an abundance of playing time effects their matriculation and persistence to degree completion. Lastly, Black female athletes are often excluded when discussing the experiences of Black athletes. This particular group of athletes has their own series of challenges that are vastly different than their male

counterparts. It would be a disservice if researchers continued to discuss the experiences of Black athletes while leaving out those of the Black women.

Despite the variety of barriers imposed by intercollegiate athletics system, Black football players are provided with an opportunity to attend and graduate from a Division I research-intensive institution. This opportunity may not have been afforded to these individuals without their participation in athletics. The key factor in this opportunity is to ensure that these college athletes have a legitimate opportunity to reap the benefits of the education they were sold while being recruited by the coaches. Without providing a legitimate opportunity to reap the benefits of a world – class education, as Sellers (2000) says, the university would essentially be giving these college athletes a check that they cannot cash.

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Crossing Goal Lines and Borders: Engaging Black Male Student-Athletes in Education Abroad

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Many Black male student-athletes suffer from identity foreclosure at rates higher than their white peers as they fail to develop salient aspects of their identity outside of the athlete role (Murphy, Petitpas, & Brewer, 1996; Beamon, 2012). Education abroad offers the opportunity to take advantage of a holistic collegiate experience, which impedes the detrimental effects of the athletic identity foreclosure process. International educational opportunities can positively influence Black male student-athletes' personal, academic, and professional development as they come to see the world beyond the gym and campus. This article examines the significance and value of creating education abroad opportunities for Black male student-athletes as a means of providing meaningful educational opportunities in the realm of higher education.

Keywords: student-athletes, identity foreclosure, race, international education, education abroad, study abroad, student development, Black male student-athletes

Athletics play an integral role at most colleges and universities across the United States. For a majority of these institutions of higher education, sports serve as a critical component to their economic survival. Interestingly, Black male student-athletes have played a major role in the vitality of intercollegiate athletic competition. At many Division I, II, and III schools, they are often the most widely recognized faces of their institutions, due to the importance athletic competition is given as well as their overrepresentation in the televised and revenue-producing sports of college football and basketball. Interestingly, they are a small percentage of the overall non-athletic student body which poses greater problems. While these student-athletes generate millions of dollars of revenue for their respective institutions (especially at the Division I level), they are rarely presented with opportunities to engage in academically enriching programs like education abroad that serve to expand their personal and professional identities. While all students (student-athletes included), can benefit from education abroad experiences, this article focuses specifically on Black male student-athletes as they comprise the majority of both football teams (46.8%) and men's basketball teams (54.8%) within the 65 schools of the Power 5 conferences (NCAA, 2018). However, Black men are only 2.4% of the total under-

graduate student population at these same schools (Howard, 2018). Given their sheer overrepresentation within a multi-billion-dollar industry, Black male student-athletes are more susceptible to academic exploitation and face unique challenges on college campuses that lead to a prevalence of athletic identity foreclosure (Adler, 1991; Beamon, 2012; Bimper & Harrison, 2011; Brewer, Van Raalte, & Linder, 1993; Murphy, Petitpas, & Brewer, 1996; Sinclair & Bennett, 2015; Singer, 2008).

Marcia (1966) coined the term identity foreclosure as a process where one becomes defined by a specific identity role without giving proper attention to the wide range of possibilities available to them. Beamon (2012) suggests athletic identity foreclosure, an over-reliance on the role of athlete in one's overall conception of self, could lead to delayed identity development, a decreased academic identity, lower graduation rates, and career immaturity in student-athletes (Beamon, 2012; Bimper & Harrison, 2011; Brewer et al., 1993). While not all Black male student-athletes suffer, or will suffer, from athletic identity foreclosure, Bimper and Harrison (2011) suggest for many Black male student-athletes, "sports is more than merely a game to play, rather it's a means of defining self" (p. 275), and the role of athlete "may dominate their alternative social and personal identities" (p. 278), particularly within the context of a Primarily White Institutions (PWI), where they are readily recognized as only athletes. The pitfalls of athletic identity foreclosure leave student-athletes "vulnerable to emotional difficulties upon termination of his or [their] sport career" (Brewer et al., 1993, p. 241). Further, Black male student-athletes may in some ways contribute to their perceived social status by not capitalizing on other opportunities due to their own overreliance on sport and their desire to become professional athletes (Singer, 2011). Notably, Beamon (2012) found 70% of Black male student-athletes expected to have a career in professional sports. Even more troubling, she found the higher the students' classification in school, the more they were likely to believe sports served as the best possibility of success for them. These findings suggest Black participants in athletics struggle to develop a sense of self and future orientation that does not involve athletics. Future orientation refers to the degree to which individuals are able to conceptualize what their life will look like in the future (McAdams, 2013). For too many Black male student-athletes, the environments they occupy in college limit opportunities for identity exploration outside of athletics and what they see as possible for their future self.

To counter the effects of identity foreclosure, Comeaux and Harrison (2011) designed a conceptual model for working with student-athletes that addressed many of these specific needs. When developing intervention approaches, these research practitioners note it is important not to alienate student-athletes by suggesting they rid themselves of the vehicle (athletic identity) that facilitated their arrival to the university community. Instead, student-athletes need spaces and experiences where they can develop other salient identities without directly minimizing their athletic identities. We argue education abroad can provide Black male student-athletes with a multidimensional opportunity to author aspects of their identities that are challenging to access within the figured worlds of college campuses, in a way that does not posit their athletic identity through a deficit-oriented lens.

Relatedly, there is a growing body of research that focuses on the benefits of education abroad for Black students such as academic engagement (Redden, 2013; Sutton, & Rubin, 2004/2010), identity negotiation and development (Dinani, 2016; Wick, 2011; Young, Natrajan-Tyagi & Platt, 2015), and career maturity and readiness (Norris & Gillespie, 2005; Posey, 2003; Potts, 2015; Preston, 2012). While these studies are not specifically about Black male student-athletes, the recorded benefits at the broader Black student level suggest education abroad programming might effectively offset the deficits of identity foreclosure disproportionately impacting the collegiate experiences of Black male student-athletes. Considering the growing global nature of sport, inclusion of meaningful international experiences for Black male student-athletes may provide the space and opportunities needed for identity exploration, negotiation, and expansion.

We argue education abroad opportunities offer Black male student-athletes the chance to take advantage of a holistic collegiate experience, which can impede the detrimental effects of the athletic identity foreclosure process. Thus, we explore the academic, personal, and career-oriented benefits of education abroad, followed by a discussion on these same issues in the context of the literature that focuses on the experiences of Black male student-athletes. To further ground the arguments presented in this article, we utilize the theoretical concept of figured worlds to highlight the contextualized nature of identity development and self-authoring for Black male student-athletes (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998). In doing so, we argue education abroad is a co-curricular experience that could positively impact the academic, personal and professional trajectories of Black male student-athletes and disrupt their perceived expendability on college campuses (Hawkins, 2011; Logan, 2017).

Literature Review

Education Abroad

While scholars have challenged the idea that international education experiences have positive outcomes for students (Willis, 2012, 2016; Zemach-Bersin, 2010), overwhelmingly, they are widely regarded as a high impact collegiate experiences that positively influence student development and career orientation (Redden, 2013; Harder, Andenoro, Roberts, Stedman, Newberry, Parker & Rodriguez, 2015; Posey, 2003; Dinani, 2016; Wick, 2011; Young, Natrajan-Tyagi, & Platt, 2015). Many institutions of higher education, educational associations, foundations, and governmental agencies recommend participation in education abroad programs as a means to develop the personal and professional knowledge needed to compete in today's globalized job market (Preston, 2012; Obst, Bhandari & Witherell, 2007, Harder et al., 2015). In addition to global competitiveness in the labor market, literature suggests the benefits of international education programs include academic engagement (Redden, 2013; Sutton & Rubin, 2004/2010), and identity negotiation and development (Wick, 2011; Young et al., 2015). Some scholars argue those who lack global skills of flexibility and intercultural communication would be, in fact, at a disadvantage (Harder et al., 2015; Trooboff, Vande Berg, Rayman, 2008).

Academic Engagement

Research has shown studying abroad can have a positive influence on a student's academic identity (Posey, 2003; Norris & Gillespie, 2005), which suggests potential avenues for expanding Black male student-athlete's academic outcomes. The Georgia Learning Outcomes of Students Studying Abroad Research Initiative (GLOSSARI) (Sutton & Rubin, 2004/2010) conducted a longitudinal study that examined international education data by race. They found education abroad impacts Black student's educational attainment at higher rates than other students. Sutton and Rubin (2004) found Black students who studied abroad had a 31.2% higher four-year graduation rate than Black students who did not study abroad. Furthermore, participation in education abroad programs seemingly alleviated the 6-year graduation gap between Black and White students, as both groups who studied abroad graduated respectively at rates of 84.4% and 88.6%. While graduation rates for Black male student-athletes have risen in recent years, they are still less likely to graduate than their White student-athlete peers (Harper, 2018).

Conversely, education abroad experiences also influence students' decisions to pursue graduate education. For instance, Norris and Gillespie (2005) found students who studied abroad were 20% more likely than students who did not study abroad to attain a graduate degree. While all of the cited research indicates an interconnectedness between education abroad and positive academic factors, it is recognized that these are not causal studies. However, based on the suggested academic advantages of studying abroad, research indicates similar patterns of academic achievement might emerge if Black male student-athletes were given more opportunities for education abroad.

Identity Development and Negotiation

In 2003, the National Association of International Educators (NAFSA) issued a special report entitled *Securing America's Future*. This release examined the importance of studying abroad and its relationship to student identity development. NAFSA stated, "In their struggle to learn among other people in distant places, students learn about themselves in ways that simply cannot be replicated in the comforting and familiar confines of an American campus" (NAFSA, 2003, p. 6). With the new and often times dramatically different environments in which students find themselves, identity appears to be highly malleable while studying abroad (Angulo, 2008; Day-Vines, Barker & Exum, 1998; Young et al., 2015). Students develop an increased self-awareness and vested concern for the well-being of others (Spiering & Erickson, 2006). Furthermore, individuals develop more self-efficacy, a transformation in their sense of self, and gain a deeper understanding of the nuances and heterogeneity of their own culture (Milstein, 2005).

When forced to navigate a new country, students better understand the 'other' and themselves (Dolby, 2004). Students of color specifically have the opportunity to reflect upon and re-examine their national, ethnic, and racial identification, and the competing perceptions that come with them (Wick, 2011). According to Wick (2011), studying abroad gave students of color an opportunity "to leverage and build

capital, negotiate their intersecting identities, and develop agency that guided them in their future" (p. 166). Negotiating racial expectations in a global context for students of color led to a renewed self-awareness while adding to their social and cultural capital (Jackson, 2008).

Career Maturity and Readiness

Many institutions of higher education, scholastic associations, foundations, and governmental agencies recommend participation in education abroad programs as a means to develop the intercultural competence needed to compete in today's globalized job market (Harder et al., 2015; Obst, Bhandari & Witherell, 2007; Preston, 2012). The Institute for International Education of Students (IES), a national academic consortium, found studying abroad positively affected student's career paths. IES reported 84% of alumni believed studying internationally helped them build valuable skills for their careers including language proficiency, cultural training, adaptability and communication. They found 97% of participants secured employment within one year of graduation as compared to 49% of the general college graduate population. Furthermore, the alumni from IES abroad programs earn on average, in starting salaries, $7,000 more than the general recent college graduate population (Preston, 2012).

While it is difficult to pin point the exact correlation between studying abroad and career trajectory, existing research suggests education abroad positively influences career development (Norris & Gillespie, 2005; Potts, 2015). Potts found increased employability skills such as interpersonal and communication skills, teamwork, problem solving, analytical skills, and motivation were rated as the greatest perceived benefits by early career professionals who had education abroad experiences. Since a very small number of Black student-athletes have the opportunity to make a living in professional sports (NCAA, 2017), it is incumbent on educational institutions to provide opportunities for them to get exposure in other areas that can improve employment opportunities as they transition out of their athletic career.

Barriers to Black Students and International Education

While demand for education abroad has increased, and resources have been put in place to engage students from diverse backgrounds, the majority of those who do study abroad are white and female. Black students are one of the least likely groups to participate, representing just 5% of study abroad participants (Lu, Reddick, Dean & Pecero, 2015; Witherall, 2016), let alone Black male student-athletes. Such barriers have been identified as a lack of finances, fear of racism abroad, a lack of familial support, and a lack of knowledge surrounding education abroad opportunities (Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; Salisbury, Paulsen & Pascarella, 2011). Given the disparities in education abroad participation for Black students (Witherall, 2016), the benefits of education abroad are not reaching certain student populations whom have been historically low participants and continue to lack access to educational benefits on and off campus. In moving towards developing more inclusive and intentional study abroad opportunities, it is imperative more research highlight the experiences of Black students whom have studied abroad during their undergraduate experience.

The authors of this paper argue the lack of experiential knowledge and study abroad programming catered to diverse student populations, specifically Black students, inadvertently discourage Black students from studying abroad. A problem fueled, at least in part, by the lack of research focused on Black students abroad. More specifically, by focusing on the experiences of Black male student-athletes we fill a twofold gap in literature- student-athlete development and international education.

Black Male Student-Athletes and Academic Outcomes

One of the most cited scholars on Black males in higher education, Dr. Shaun Harper suggests, "perhaps nowhere in higher education is the disenfranchisement of Black male students more insidious than in college athletics" (2006, p. 6). These students are part of a billion-dollar industry for which they are the product sold, and in turn are unable to garner any of the financial benefits from their labor. As a result, many of them are denied full access to the educational opportunities that come with attending a four-year university (Sinclair & Bennett, 2015). In a 2013 report, Harper, Williams, and Blackman conducted a comprehensive study that analyzed the graduation rates of 76 higher education institutions belonging to the six major athletic conferences: ACC, Big East, Big Ten, Big Twelve and the SEC. Harper and colleagues (2013), found "an average of 49.8% of Black male student-athletes on these campuses do not graduate within six years" (p. 7). The findings suggest Black male student-athletes, who compete at the best and most competitive programs across the United States, also have the lowest graduation rates. This is less a reflection of these students' academic potential, but more closely connected to the value institutions place on the academic development of Black male student-athletes.

Similarly, Comeaux and Harrison (2011) argued, "the college educational experiences of Black student-athletes at predominately White institutions are often times hindered as a result of feelings of social isolation, racial discrimination, limited support and lack of integration" (p. 208). On college campuses, Black male student-athletes resist deficit-oriented narratives that position them as one-dimensional, suggesting athletic superiority and intellectual inferiority (Logan, 2017; Sailes, 2017; Singer, 2008). They are inundated with messaging that glorifies a future in athletics, while simultaneously positioned as "threats" whom have to prove their worth within academic settings (Martin, Harrison, Stone and Lawrence, 2010). In a study focused on faculty perceptions of student-athletes, Comeaux (2010) found faculty questioned the merits of Black student-athlete's academic accomplishments while White student-athlete's accomplishments were deemed "normal" (p. 390). However, instead of embracing such stereotypes, Black student-athletes "worked extremely hard to prove they were capable of epitomizing their roles both as students and athletes" (Martin et al., 2010, p. 140). Their findings maintain Black male student-athletes want to excel athletically and in the classroom. Yet, aspects of their environment may discourage them from academic success.

As Black male student-athletes rely on their athletic status for upward social mobility, they often miss out on opportunities to develop themselves outside of athletics (Baker & Hawkins, 2016). Black male student-athletes spend the majority of

their time focusing on athletics, which limits their opportunities to develop professional identities and explore careers outside of sports.

Theoretical Conceptualization of Identity: Figured Worlds

In *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds,* Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (1998) suggest an individual's identity, or self-perception, is in a constant state of mutation and fluidity as it responds to new spaces or figured worlds. Explicating upon identities in figured worlds, Urrieta (2007) argues people come to understand themselves and "come to 'figure' who they are, through the 'worlds' they participate in and how they relate to others within and outside of these worlds" (p. 107). According to Holland and colleagues, identity is a co-constructed process, an individual's understanding of self is in a constant negotiation between the authoring of self and being positioned as "a particular sort of actor" (p. 108) by others. Urrieta argues, "when positioned, people are not so much engaged in self-making, but rather are limited to varying degrees of accepting, rejecting, or negotiating the identities being offered to them" (2007, p. 111). In figured worlds, identities "are not located solely in the individual, but rather are negotiated in social interactions that take form in cultural spaces" mediated through relations of power (Nasir & Saxe, 2003, p. 17). Within these figured worlds, Black male student-athletes struggle to develop aspects of their identity that extend beyond the limitations of what is expected of them by those with greater institutional power. The socially and culturally constructed figured worlds that are college campuses, and more specifically, collegiate athletic departments commonly referred to as the "athletic bubble," (Menke, 2016) cultivate Black male student-athletes' athletic identity at the expense of other aspects of their multifaceted selves (Comeaux & Harrison, 2011; Hodge, Robinson, Burden & Bennett, 2008).

Holland, Lachicotte, Jr., Skinner, and Cain (1998) argue, for figured worlds to maintain their rules of governance, participants in these spaces must form a collective reality. Black male student-athletes often adapt to the values of the figured worlds and come to "understand themselves in relation to these worlds" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 54). Many Black male student-athletes are complicit in this process as they fall in line with the norms of the figured worlds, as certain acts are "reproduced, forming and reforming in the practices of its participants… a figured world is formed and re-formed in relation to the everyday activities and events that ordain happenings within it" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 53). Black male student-athletes often adapt similar attitudes towards their athletic identities because they are socially isolated, spending most of their time with one another doing activities that reinforce the importance of athletics such as: practice, team meetings, working out, study hall, and even eating and living together (Singer, 2008). Many Black male student-athletes are heavily entrapped in the college sports figured world, and their personal and professional development is limited by the racialized identities made available and imposed upon them within the spaces they occupy (Nasir, 2011).

Studying abroad offers alternate figured worlds, and perhaps alternative identities to those traditionally offered to Black male student-athletes within the figured worlds of college campuses. Figured worlds, especially in the international arena provide physical, psychological, and philosophical spaces for the development of alternative and varied identities (Holland et al., 1998; Wick, 2011). Students who study abroad consistently,

> Express a greater self-confidence in their ability to meet new situations, communicate with others not like them, and have a lesser need to be continuously supported by others…Education abroad may be an important catalyst for students developing personal attributes, like a sense of self-direction, i.e., helping students make progress in their journey towards self-authorship. (Braskamp, Braskamp, & Merrill, 2009, p. 112)

The benefits of education abroad directly influence the aspects of identity development Black male student-athletes in revenue-producing sports struggle with due to their socialization within sport, specifically at the collegiate level (Beamon, 2012).

Discussion and Implications

In this article, we made a conceptual argument as to why creating opportunities for Black student-athletes to study abroad could positively impact their academic, personal and professional pursuits beyond the field. In the concluding paragraphs of this paper, we highlight existing collegiate programs that have successfully developed opportunities for their student-athletes to study abroad. It is not to suggest these programs are the solution to institutional problems, instead they underscore the possibilities when colleges and universities choose to address the barriers rather than ignore or reinforce them. There are many challenges to Black male student-athletes accessing education abroad opportunities such as time demands, financial support, and general knowledge about such opportunities, however, the goal of this paper is to bring awareness to education abroad as a high-impact practice they may deter the prevalence of athletic identity foreclosure in Black male student-athletes. Prominent Power 5 conference institutions, such as Vanderbilt University, The University of Wisconsin, The University of Washington and others, have found ways to support the education abroad goals of some of their revenue-producing Black male student-athletes. They have created scholarship funds and developed short-term education abroad programs that fit their unique needs (Baggot, 2017). Instead of focusing on the barriers, it is critical to develop a body of literature that highlights the actual experiences of Black male student-athletes abroad so practitioners working in athletic departments can advocate for similar opportunities on their campuses.

Athletic departments and universities also have much to gain by implementing education abroad options and opportunities aimed at Black male student-athletes in revenue-producing sports. *First*, the academic and professional benefits of education abroad including higher GPA and graduation rates, and higher levels of career-readi-

ness would obviously serve the esteem of the University and its athletic department. Furthermore, the benefits of education abroad as well as the ability to market such unique educational opportunities to potential athletes would likely have a positive impact on recruiting. Not only would institutions be able to distinguish themselves from schools who are hesitant to offer these opportunities, they would also be better suited to recruit the epitome of a student-athlete, one who is equally interested in their athletic and educational attainment. For example, in the Spring of 2017 and 2018, Jim Harbaugh and the University of Michigan football team traveled abroad to Rome, Italy and Paris, France. Not only did the trips provide students with an opportunity to see another country, it also brought the University of Michigan notoriety and constant airtime on ESPN which increased their visibility to potential recruits (Murphy, 2017). We share this example not as the gold standard for education abroad, but as an example to highlight how athletic departments and Universities use innovative approaches to get their student-athletes abroad in a way that benefits the students as well as the institution.

Athletic departments can partner with the international office at their respective institutions to create study abroad trips that emphasize academic focus, provide student-athletes an opportunity to author new aspects of their identities, disrupt the prevalence of the "athletic bubble," and travel with the general student body. Two to six-week programs, at the end of the spring semester, can be adjusted to meet the time demands of student-athletes in revenue producing sports. These trips can accommodate the times demands of student-athletes in revenue producing sports, while also creating opportunities where student-athletes get to influence and be influenced by students who they do not typically get to spend quality time with on campus.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison led 17 students on a service-learning trip to the Dominican Republic in the Summer of 2017 (Baggot, 2017). Of the 17 students, nine were student-athletes, and three were football players, one of whom was competing for the starting running back spot. It is important to note the investment of such programming on behalf of the athletic department and more specifically the football coaching staff. It is understandable that coaches may not want their best athletes to miss time when they could be preparing for the season, however, there are often valuable lessons learned abroad that positively impact the way a student-athlete comes to understand their status as an athlete. Upon returning from his trip, Baggot (2017) quotes Black male student-athlete, Chris James, as stating, "I think Coach Chryst liked it when I said I'm not going to complain anymore about anything football-wise because I know the reality." While he realized there was more to life than sports, he also realized what a great privilege, opportunity and platform he had as a student-athlete.

Second, student-athletes are widely recognized by their peers on campus as leaders. Providing opportunities for student-athletes to study abroad would likely have a big impact on encouraging the general student body to take advantage of those opportunities. This would not only develop the presence of a stronger international office on campus but would lead to more global recognition of the University. Studying abroad would be especially impactful for Black male student-athletes in

revenue producing sports due to the challenges they face on PWIs as listed earlier in this paper, however, other student-athletes, athletic departments, and the University as a whole would also benefit from the development of such opportunities.

The goal of this paper was to position education abroad as a viable extracurricular activity that could positively influence the collegiate experiences and career trajectories of Black male student-athletes. When study abroad and revenue-producing student-athletes are put in the same conversation, it is easy to focus on the barriers rather than the opportunities. Yes, they face unique time challenges that limit participation. They will not be able to engage in exchange programs like their non-athlete peers, however, institutions could create opportunities for them to engage in some form of international education like education abroad. Colleges and Universities have created service learning abroad opportunities, short-term education abroad opportunities, or in some cases, like The University of Michigan, the whole team traveled abroad for a week to engage the culture of another country. While some experiences will likely be more robust and enriching than others, it is incumbent to researchers and practitioners concerned with the plight of Black male student-athletes to re-imagine what student-athlete development looks like. Future research should include the experiences of Black male student-athletes who have the opportunity to participate in a study abroad program as well as Black male student-athletes who participate in service-learning programs abroad with their teammates, with other student-athletes, etc. While education abroad in and of itself will not solve all of the challenges facing Black male student-athletes, developing scholarship on the experiences of Black male student-athletes and their study abroad experiences will shed light on how they can best be supported while in college.

Conclusion

To comprehend the space created for Black male student-athlete identity development and production abroad, it is critical to understand how racism shapes the collegiate experiences of these students (Hawkins, 2013). Freire (1971) states "one of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation is that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge human beings' consciousness" (pg. 51). A Black male student-athlete at a PWI must constantly push back against the White hegemonic ideological power structure that attempts to define who one is and who they are not. Far too often, these athletes are positioned as one-dimensional athletes, with little too offer outside of their athletic abilities, which we know is untrue. Learning about one's racial identity through a deficit-oriented perspective, where they are seen as athletically superior but academically inferior (Logan, 2017) debilitates the identity development and understanding of self.

Education abroad provides a unique and positive influence because it offers a new figured world where aspects of an individual's identity can be cultivated, developed and enriched, even if on a short-term education abroad program. Education abroad allows students to see themselves as independent and free from the constraints of the figured worlds they occupy as student-athletes, and uninhibited from

the idea they are simply athletic competitors. Black male student-athletes would be temporarily free from the constraints of their athletic time commitments providing them the space to author aspects of their identities outside of the American hegemonic white lens (Du Bois, 1903) by better understanding the heterogeneity of Blackness internationally. Fanon (1952) and Hall (1993) both suggest through recognizing and appreciating difference we come to understand the true and heterogeneous nature of what it means to be Black. Meeting Black people from other countries and understanding Blackness through the lens of another country broadens one's definition of race and racial categorizations. This repositioning of oneself in the global world pushes back on hegemonic ideologies trying to limit the multidimensionality of Black male student-athlete's identities.

Consistent in the literature about student-athletes and athletic identity foreclosure is the need for student-athletes to find spaces that encourage the development of their multidimensional selves (Beamon, 2010; Bimper, 2016; Harrison, 2011). Time abroad could be especially impactful for student-athletes because it would provide them a space where they are no longer different because they are Black male student-athletes, they are different or 'othered' because they are American students, a much bigger world where they can explore who they really are. Instead of being the "Big and Black" (Beamon, 2012) student-athlete on a PWI campus, these students will be provided with the space to author their identities and the futures they see for themselves.

Given the conceptual nature of this article, future research might qualitatively explore the experiences of Black male student athletes who studied abroad. More specifically, the authors suggest using Critical Race Theory (CRT) as the guiding framework. Critical Race Theory (CRT) would be a viable framework for future research as CRT encourages researchers to not only identify problems as outlined in this article but propose justice-oriented solutions. While this particular article focuses on Black male student-athletes for reasons outlined earlier in the article, future research should also explore the impact studying abroad has on female student-athletes, specifically Black female student-athletes

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