

An Examination of Career Experiences of Black Senior Level Administrators in College Athletics

A Thesis Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Russell Andrew Pointer, Jr.
August 2018

Copyright © 2018 by Russell Andrew Pointer, Jr.
All rights reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I thank God for providing me the strength, perseverance, and resources to complete this thesis. I understand that God has given me more than I deserve, and this study is the result of several people that He has placed into my life pouring into me. He has also blessed me with a great network of church family that has prayed for me and motivated me.

Secondly, thank you to my family. Thank you for serving as a support group to provide encouragement along the way. It takes a village to raise a child, and my village still plays a substantial role in my progression as a man.

Thirdly, thank you to my thesis committee. Dr. Waller, I appreciate your willingness to chair this study and provide guidance every step of the way. Thank you for pushing me to create a product that I am proud to say that I produced. As the process came to a close, I can say it was all worth it. I cannot thank you enough. Dr. Bemiller, Dr. Hardin, and Dr. Love were each selected to my committee for specific reasons and specialties, and their wisdom and insight provided exceeded even my expectations.

Lastly, thank you to Dr. Butler. I did not expect that my OIT consultant would play such a major role in my study, but your listening ear, calm voice, and sound advice was invaluable.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the career experiences of Black senior level administrators (SLAs) in college athletics using Critical Race Theory (CRT). Senior level administrators included the following: Athletic Directors (ADs), Deputy ADs, Executive ADs, and Senior-Associate ADs. Seven Black SLAs participated via phone interviews.

Interviews were transcribed verbatim and three rounds of coding produced three primary themes and eight subthemes. The findings produced the following themes: having champions in one's corner, navigating the system, and embracing individuality. The idea of having champions in one's corner means creating and maintaining relationships that provide guidance, encouragement, and advocacy. Secondly, navigating the system means learning about and understanding barriers, timing, location, opportunities, and campus culture. Lastly, embracing individuality reveals unique paths and involves finding value in being an outlier.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One Introduction and General Information.....	1
Business of College Sports.....	3
Problem Statement.....	4
Topic Relevance.....	5
Contribution to Study.....	6
Chapter Two Literature Review.....	8
Career Mobility	8
Career Mobility of Athletic Directors	10
Career Mobility of Black Athletic Directors	12
Barriers	13
Theoretical Framework	15
Critical Race Theory.....	16
Racism Is Endemic in U.S. society	17
Types of Racism	17
Racial Landscape of College Sports.....	20
Systemic Inequity.....	23
Interest Convergence Principle	23
Blacks and College Sport	25
Limitation.....	27
Popular Values Embraced by Society.....	28
Frames for Colorblind Racism.....	31
Impact on Athletic Directors	34
Intersectionality	35
Types of Intersectionality.....	37
Double Jeopardy.....	39
Women in Sport Leadership.....	40
Stereotypes Unique to Black Women	42
Storytelling	44
Summary.....	45
Research Questions.....	46
Chapter Three Materials and Methods.....	47
Methodology	50
Instrumentation	51
Data Collection	51
Procedures.....	51
Confidentiality	52
Benefits	53
Data Analysis.....	53
Chapter Four Results and Discussion.....	55
Champions in Your Corner	55
Having Proper Mentors	56
Regular Interactions With Colleagues.....	58

Developing a Network of Mentees	59
Navigating the System	62
Barriers to Stepping Stones	62
Right Place, Right Time.....	64
Opportunities are Hard to Come By.....	65
Embracing Individuality	66
Being an Outlier	66
Career Progression	68
Discussion	69
The Value of Relationships	69
Paving the Way for Additional Opportunities	70
Getting the Tough Jobs	73
Intersectionality	74
No Pattern of Career Progression.....	75
CRT and the Findings.....	76
Chapter Five Conclusions and Recommendations.....	78
Conclusion	78
Implications and Recommendations.....	78
Implications for Future Black SLAs	78
Implications for Athletic Administration	81
Limitations.....	83
Suggestions for Future Research	84
List of References	85
Appendix	101
Vita	110

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL INFORMATION

An increase in digital streaming, network viewership, and the price of media contracts alludes to the increase in popularity of and demand for the sports industry (Hoffer & Pincin, 2015; Mahony & Howard, 2001). As the demand for sports increases, the individuals that work in these sports organizations are receiving a greater amount of attention. Cunningham (2015) asserts that there are several key stakeholders in the National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) model, including the players, coaches, administrators, and fans, and a scan of the racial landscape of the NCAA shows that Blacks are more likely to be found in certain positions among the key stakeholders than in others. Scholars have begun revealing racial inequity in college sports, showing that racial and ethnic minorities are underrepresented in leadership positions (Cunningham, 2015; Harper 2016; Lapchick 2016). This underrepresentation is defined by the percentage of minorities in leadership positions relative to the percentage of minority athletes (Cunningham, 2015). In the most powerful five NCAA DI conferences, Blacks made up 56.3% of football teams and 60.8% of men's basketball teams in 2014. In the same power five conferences, Blacks only represented 16.2% of head coaches and 14.7% of Athletic Directors (AD), with 0.0% of the conference commissioners being Black (Harper, 2016).

The number of Black men on the field relative to the lack of Black head coaches and administrators has sparked a conversation contemplating whether

college athletics are a new form of “plantation,” in which older Caucasian men are making money based from the work of young black athletes (Hawkins, 2010). These young black athletes are thrown into a vicious cycle of inadequate preparation before college and poor graduation rates at NCAA DI Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) institutions (Harrison, Comeaux & Plecha, 2006; Harper, 2016). There should be a healthy balance between educational achievement and athletic output, even when athletes’ talents are exhausted and their eligibility expires (Hawkins, 2010). Given that an average of 46.4% of Black male student-athletes on campuses do not graduate within six years, researchers have begun to question whether educational institutions are seeking to educate Black men or exploit their bodies to generate revenue (Harper, 2016; Hawkins, 2010).

The preeminent sports sociologist Harry Edwards wrote about Black student-athletes,

They must contend, of course, with the connotations and social reverberations of the traditional “dumb jock” caricature. But Black student-athletes are burdened also with the insidiously racist implications of the myth of “innate Black athletic superiority,” and the more blatantly racist stereotype of the “dumb Negro” condemned by racial heritage to intellectual inferiority (1984, p. 8).

Hawkins (2010) termed this caricature racial compartmentalization. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, compartmentalization is defined as “the action or state of dividing or being divided into compartments or sections

('compartmentalization,' 1967).” In the sporting context, compartmentalization occurs when Black bodies are esteemed and glorified on the field but tend to be ostracized, ignored, rejected, and racially profiled to be menaces to society off the field (Hawkins, 2010). This compartmentalization is also evident in the lack of Black presence in athletic administration, in contrast to the Black presence in playing the game and in representing colleges by proudly wearing a jersey.

Business of College Sports

Amateur competition is a bedrock principle of college athletics, but amateurism does not prevent the NCAA from generating millions of dollars in revenue. The NCAA released a 2016 report citing \$995.9 million in revenue, an increase from \$621.8 million in 2006 (Fulks, 2016). Although the NCAA is experiencing growth in several areas, there has been a minimal, disproportionate amount of increase in the number of minority ADs at its member institutions. The AD is the college athletic department's highest-ranking officer who makes the majority of decisions. The ADs affiliated with the NCAA are experiencing an increase in pay, popularity, and prestige (Spenard, 2011). Racial diversity in these offices can be best summed up with the following percentage: Black men and women occupy less than 11% of AD positions across the DI, DII, and DIII levels (Lapchick, Augusta, Kinkpof & Mcphee 2013). Research is needed to determine factors that affect the experiences of Black ADs and their access to opportunities.

There is a counterargument for those student-athlete advocates that believe they are being used by the NCAA system. Some argue that it is impossible for the student-athlete to be exploited while being offered an educational opportunity (Johnson & Acquaviva, 2012). Yankah (2015) noted that the athletes' connection to the university is why the Michigan Wolverines pack the Big House with more than a hundred thousand spectators each Saturday while the Lions do not. If college sports is reduced to a market, it would erode the association between the student and the school pride of the fans (Yankah, 2015). Also, many view it impractical to pay student-athletes because the difference in gender, sports, schools, and budgets (Yankah, 2015; Johnson & Acquaviva, 2012).

Problem Statement

There is a growing body of research on college ADs that has examined several topics, including the following: educational background (Spenard, 2011), career progression (Spenard, 2011), the impact of racial identity on job applicants (Steward & Cunningham, 2015), and even experiences and challenges of female NCAA DI ADs (Hollomon, 2016; Taylor & Hardin, 2016). A common theme is a lack of Blacks occupying ADs at the NCAA DI level. Moreover, given the number of scholarship that acknowledge a glaring inequity in the demographic makeup of NCAA ADs, there is an expectation that the number of Black ADs will increase. As the NCAA has acknowledged information on the

racial makeup of ADs and can no longer claim ignorance on the issue, the hiring process may soon be questioned. A scan of the racial and ethnic landscape of the NCAA shows a glaring difference between the number of Black athletes versus Black administrators at DI FBS institutions, which raises concern about the amount of access Black men and women have to these leadership positions. The central problem that this study addresses is the underrepresentation of Black Senior Level Administrators (SLAs), and this study will gather their career experiences occupying their respective offices.

Topic Relevance

In 2016, the NCAA urged its member institutions to sign a pledge affirming their commitment to increasing ethnic, racial, and gender diversity in their hiring processes; the existence of this pledge is proof of the NCAA's acknowledgement of a lack of minority ADs (New, 2016). Although this attempt to increase diversity was both admirable and idealistic, eight months after, almost 30% of the NCAA's member institutions had still not signed the pledge. Included in this nearly 30% are two schools that have stated they have no intention to sign the pledge because they have their own diversity initiatives (Bauer-Wolf, 2017; Hobson, 2017). The pledge attracted several critics when it was first released, including sports and diversity expert Richard Lapchick, who said, "It just doesn't have any teeth" (New, 2016). The lack of "teeth," or sanctions, to this pledge initiative,

coupled with schools not signing, adds further relevance and urgency to the lack of diversity among NCAA senior level administrators.

Contribution to Study

As guided by Taylor, Siegele, Smith, & Hardin (2018), the purpose of this research is to examine the experiences of Black senior-level athletic administrators and how they were able to ascend to these positions of leadership using Critical Race Theory (CRT). The senior-level administrative staff includes the following: ADs, Deputy ADs, Executive Associate ADs, and Senior Associate ADs. Expanding the sample to SLAs will cover the AD position along with its immediate subordinates. The men and women in SLA positions are likely to become the next ADs based on patterns in career progression (Spenard, 2011). Understanding the experiences of current Black SLAs occupying this office as a racial minority will be beneficial to several parties, including the NCAA, athletic departments at its member-institutions, and aspiring Black ADs. This research allows the men and women of color that currently occupy SLA positions to voice their experiences working in college athletics. These ADs are also able to speak about whether the odds are stacked against Blacks who want to climb the ladder to reach the AD office. This study will use the invaluable voices of these men and women to answer vital questions about racial inequity at the administrative level. This information woven together will provide unique, valuable insights on the current state of Black ADs and how to increase Black representation in these

athletic offices. To adequately fill in the blanks, one must first examine the relevant literature on the subject at hand.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Career Mobility

Career mobility is a product of individual efforts and resources along with structural opportunities and constraints (Manzoni, Härkönen, & Mayer, 2014). Career mobility incorporates job changes (i.e. changes in work responsibilities, hierarchical level, or title within an organization), organization changes (i.e. changes in one's employer), and occupation changes (i.e. changes that require fundamentally new skills, routines, work environments, training, education, or vocational preparation) (Feldman & Ng, 2007; Lyons, Schweitzer & Ng, 2015). Theories of career mobility (Rosen, 1972; Sicherman and Galor, 1990) predict that workers may deliberately enter their preferred profession at a level lower than would seem commensurate with their qualifications in order to acquire the necessary skills through on-the-job training and learning that will enable them to achieve more rapid career progression in the future (McGuinness & Wooden, 2007). Education, experiences, network, mentors, race, and gender are all factors that must be carefully examined when studying career mobility (Hobart, 2010; Spenard, 2010; Berrey, 2014; Hollomon, 2016; Worsley & Stone; 2011; Outley & Dean, 2007).

Lyons, Schweitzer, and Lyons (2014) conducted a study on the changes in career mobility over successive generations. They concluded about career mobility:

Successive generations of workers have witnessed economic and social changes that are altering the traditional definition of career mobility: employers are providing less long-term employment guarantees; opportunities for internal advancement have been curtailed by downsizing; work-life balance is a concern as the proportion of dual-career families increases, the encumbrance of work into people's non-working hours continues to grow, and individuals are increasingly becoming responsible for their own professional and technological development (p. 10).

Non-traditional work arrangements (e.g. temporary and part-time work and multiple jobs) are replacing a linear, upward "career ladder" with a mixture of upward, lateral, and downward moves and with "serial careers" involving numerous changes in occupation. The career mobility literature has echoed the shift away from stable, upward, linear career paths motivated by loyalty and stability toward dynamic, multi-directional, and boundless career paths motivated by the pursuit of individualistic goals and values (Baruch, 2004; Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Lyons, Schweitzer & Ng, 2014).

An opposing view of social mobility views the concept of career mobility as antiracism work (Alderman & Inwood, 2016). Alderman and Inwood (2016) recognize social movement as a means of racial control and exclusion, but they argue for exploring mobility as a form of African American resistance and self-determination in the face of rampant discrimination. Countermobility practices, or systems created to disrupt social movement, facilitate our analysis of what

McKittrick (2011) called a “black sense of place.” Examining this “sense of place” allows people to remember the civil rights movement as the planned, resourceful labor of social actors and groups rather than simply the inevitable product of national progress or as a spontaneous, emotional eruption (Alderman, Kingsbury, & Dwyer 2013, Alderman & Inwood, 2016). This generates urgency to examine the individual stories of those who resist oppression rather than solely subscribing to the stock stories and patterns that are produced (Alderman & Inwood, 2016).

Career Mobility of Athletic Directors

While there is no blueprint for those aspiring to become ADs, the increasing number of ADs previously occupying SLA positions shows the prevalence of upward mobility (Swift, 2011). There is a growing body of literature centered on career paths of ADs and SLAs. Fitzgerald, Sangria, and Nelson (1994) conducted one of the first studies examining career patterns of 200 male and female DI-II ADs. The normative career pattern to become an AD had a five-position sequence progressing through the following ranks: collegiate athlete, coach (high school or college), assistant director, associate director, and ending with athletic director (Fitzgerald, Sangria, and Nelson, 1994; Swift, 2011). Fitzgerald, Sangria, and Nelson’s study (1994) revealed that the two most frequent experiences preceding the AD position were college athlete and college coach.

Shoji (2004) investigated DI ethnic minority SLAs and patterns in their career paths in a qualitative study that included 60 ethnic minority administrators. Coaching (head, assistant, or graduate assistant) was the top job in athletic administration among respondents. Internships were another top job among participants. There were a few participants who began their career in intercollegiate athletics at senior-level positions, but Shoji recognized that this may have been a result of prior working experience enabling them to step into senior-level jobs. About 77% of the respondents competed in college athletics, which was the most significant factor.

There are some commonalities in the backgrounds of ADs. Spenard (2011) surveyed 99 Division I ADs, and he found that all participants in his study held a bachelor's degree, 68.7% possessed a master's degree as their highest level of education, and 18.2% possessed a doctorate. The largest percentage of bachelor's degrees was in physical education, and the largest percentage of master's degrees was in sports management or athletic administration (Spenard, 2011). In the same study, of the ADs surveyed, 65% were previously associate or assistant ADs, 36% were previously college coaches, 29% were previously high school coaches, and 25% were previously graduate assistants. The other common previous positions were in development, marketing, business management, compliance, event management, and education.

Qualifications also greatly influence one's mobility in an athletic department (Spenard, 2011; Wood, 2016). The most common of the rungs in

Fitzgerald's study (1994) was collegiate athlete (80%). Though most of his respondents did not hold all five positions, 94.5% had experiences that followed the linear time sequence of the positions in the normative career pattern. The authors found that while career patterns suggest that the role of college athlete is a portal of entry, collegiate coaching was the most common antecedent professional position for the AD position (Wood, 2016; Fitzgerald et al., 1994).

Career Mobility of Black Athletic Directors

There is limited research on career mobility for Black ADs. Several articles allude to the lack of Black ADs (Spenard, 2011; Steward & Cunningham, 2015; Hollomon, 2016; Taylor & Hardin, 2016; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). There are several other articles that have studied the barriers, impact of racial identity, and intersectionality in being a Black woman (Steward & Cunningham, 2015; Hollomon, 2016; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). Truiett-Theodorson (2005) studied the career patterns of African-American ADs at predominantly White higher education institutions. The study conducted case study interviews with four Black ADs, followed by a cross-case analysis. The research showed that most of the ADs were head coaches at one time, and their coaching career transitioned them into athletic administration. They worked in higher education for an average of fourteen years. They stressed the importance of strong communication skills and having experience in several areas, but avoided compliance and academic positions because Blacks tended to be pigeonholed in these areas.

Barriers

Although there are common patterns in career progression, there are frequently barriers that must be overcome along the way. The core types of barriers are individual, group, and organizational barriers (Coleman, 1998). Individual barriers are issues affecting one's psychological and social well-being. Group barriers are a collection of interdependent relations with recognized identities, differentiated roles, functions, and expectations (Coleman, 1998; Worsely & Stone, 2011). Organizational barriers are identified when attention is given to structures, policies, and systems (formal and informal) within the company or organization (Coleman, 1998; Worsely & Stone, 2011). Individual barriers include tokenism, self-limiting behavior, lack of motivation, isolation, overcompensation, and high stress (Coleman, 1998; Harper, 2009). Group barriers comprise intergroup conflict, exclusion from informal and formal networks, stereotyping, lack of social support, and a constellation of low group status, prestige, and power (Coleman, 1998; Burton, Grappendorf, & Henderson, 2011). Organizational barriers include access to mentoring, functional segregation, low career plateauing, inadequate career grooming, pigeonholing, racialized jobs, and limited opportunities for advancement (Coleman, 1998, Champagne, 2014, Holloman, 2016).

A major barrier highlighted frequently in scholarship on Blacks and career mobility is discrimination. Coleman (1998) defines discrimination as "a demonstration of partiality or prejudice treatment" (p. 4). Although discrimination

is much less blatant, subtle forms of discrimination exist at every level. When these subtle acts of discrimination occur consistently, they create patterns of exclusion, including from promotion and advancement. Many biased behaviors stem from stereotypes that are learned in childhood, and this socialization tends to promote certain attitudes toward people different from oneself. These myths create “glass ceilings”: artificial, discriminatory barriers that prevent people’s advancement to the highest levels within an organization (Berrey, 2014, Coleman, 1998). Alderman and Inwood (2016) found that although there is some racial stereotyping, there were cases of career advancement that were not hindered by racial stereotyping.

Sports-based research has also examined barriers to the career mobility of Black men and women. One common barrier related to networking was coined “cronyism,” encapsulated by the aphorism “it’s not what you know, but who you know” (Holloman, 2016). Another barrier is a lack of institutional integrity in fueling diversity initiatives (Bimper & Harrison, 2017; Champagne, 2014). This barrier is described not as a lack of policies for increasing diversity, but rather as a lack of enforcement of created policies. Blacks face racial position stacking in sports (Hairston, 2004; Outley & Dean, 2007). The intersectionality of being a Black woman leads to additional barriers, including gender and the racial stereotype of “the angry Black woman” (Taylor & Hardin, 2016, Hollomon, 2016; Tate, 1997; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

Singer (2005) made a plea for an increase in race-based epistemologies, or ways of knowing, in sports management research. He states that researchers' paradigms and understanding of the world influence the questions they ask, the research designs and methods they use, and ultimately the impact they have on society. The purpose of using race-based epistemologies is not to devalue traditional research paradigms (e.g., logical positivism, interpretivism, critical social science) that have been embraced and promoted by the dominant group. Instead, it is to accomplish the following, stated by Ladson-Billings:

The point of working in racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies is not merely to “color” the scholarship. It is to challenge the hegemonic structures (and symbols) that keep injustice and inequality in place. The work is also not about dismissing the work of European and Euro-American scholars. Rather, it is about defining the limits of such scholarship (as cited in Singer, 2005, p. 467).

This review of literature will examine the research conducted on the varying levels of accessibility and unique challenges of being a Black SLA, using an approach used to drive the expansion of race-based epistemology called the Critical Race Theory.

Critical Race Theory

Harvard law professor Derrick Bell is considered the founder of CRT scholarship (Bell, 1989). This body of work is based on legal studies rooted in the social missions and struggles of the 1960s that sought justice, liberation, and economic empowerment with both academic and social activist goals (Tate, 1997). Primacy is placed on race and racism and the role they play in people's experiences, organizational activities, and cultural arrangements (Cunningham, 2015). A CRT lens unveils the various forms in which racism continually manifests itself, despite espoused institutional values of equity and social justice (Harper, Patton & Wooden, 2009). Although CRT began as legal scholarship, scholars are conducting research centered on the educational system (see Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997). This research is already unmasking and addressing issues of race and racism in the educational system using its central tenets and principles (Singer, 2005). Since CRT is interdisciplinary, scholars have also begun using it for sports-based research (Hylton, 2005; DeLorme & Singer, 2010; Rankin-Wright, Hylton, & Norman, 2016; Bimper & Harrison, 2017), and there have been consistent parallels between the legal system, educational system, and sports industry that will be discussed later. The following CRT tenets will be covered in the forthcoming discussion: racism that is endemic to U.S. society, interest convergence, intersectionality, rejection of popular values embraced by society, and storytelling (Bell, 1989, Hylton, 2005, Singer, 2005).

Racism Is Endemic in U.S. society

The first tenet of the CRT describes racism as endemic to U.S. society, deeply ingrained legally, culturally, and even psychologically (Tate, 1997). The first feature, ordinariness, means that racism is tough to cure or address. Harper (2012) defines racism as:

actions (both intentional and unconscious) that engender marginalization and inflict varying degrees of harm on minoritized persons; structures that determine and cyclically remanufacture racial inequity; and institutional norms that sustain White privilege and permit the ongoing subordination of minoritized persons. (p. 10)

Bimper and Harrison (2017) argue that when using Harper's definition of racism, CRT serves as a viable mechanism of examining operations of racism in intercollegiate athletics of higher education (i.e., the structure) through strategic planning (i.e., institutional discourse). The men's and women's basketball teams at the University of Notre Dame and the University of California, Berkley wore t-shirts with popular mantras associated with *Black Lives Matter* in response to high profile African American deaths and perceived injustices; this led Bimper and Harrison to the conclusion that intercollegiate athletics and issues of race are inseparable.

Types of Racism

Hawkins (2010) declares that being a "racist" has both positive and negative connotations. Racism operationalized in the positive sense refers to

people preferring to marry within, live among, and attend social functions with members of their racial group. In the negative sense, racist people consider their own race superior, making all other groups inferior. Hawkins differentiates this from positive racism, clarifying that “they prefer to live among themselves because of their hatred toward other racial groups; they also prefer to marry within their race because racial mixing or miscegenation reduces their biological quality” (p. 33). He then defined racism as “the local and global power system structured and maintained by persons who classify themselves as Whites to exploit and oppress people of color” (p. 33). This system discriminates based on race and maintains a system of White supremacy.

Furthermore, Hawkins asserts the prevalence of racism in higher education by referencing Don Imus, who described the University of Rutgers’ women basketball players as “Nappy-Headed Hos,” before acknowledging two forms of racism: institutional racism and cultural racism (Hawkins, 2010). Institutional racism is described as “a covert form of racism that is subtle and less identifiable originating in the operations of established and respected forces in society” (Hawkins, 2010, p.34). Institutional racism is unlike overt racism, in which there are blatant verbal or physical racial attacks. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), elaborating on racism, state that the lack of educational excellence and equity in the nation’s public schools are together proof of racism. Although some may argue that poor children perform worse in school regardless of race and that the high proportion of Blacks in poverty contributes to their dismal performance,

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) assert that institutionalized racism is the cause of their poverty and the condition of their schools and schooling. In retrospect, the results *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas* case had serious shortcomings, as today's schools are more segregated than ever. Despite Blacks representing about 12% of the national population, they are the majority in 21 of the 22 largest (urban) school districts.

Higher education is a system also said to perpetuate institutionalized racism by using college admissions tests (SAT or ACT). The system discriminates against, denies opportunity to, oppresses, and exploits Blacks by designing a test in the context of White society (Hawkins, 2010). Hawkins recalls a speech given in 1994 by Francis L. Lawrence, President of Rutgers University, in a faculty senate meeting:

The average S.A.T.'s for African-Americans is 750. Do we set standards in the future, so we don't admit anybody? Or do we deal with a disadvantaged population that doesn't have that genetic, hereditary background to have a higher average?

In the face of student protest, national exposure, and criticism, the governing board at Rutgers University reiterated their support for President Lawrence continuing his service following a public apology for his "verbal slip."

The second type of racism is *cultural racism*. Hawkins (2010) articulates cultural racism as society's cultural prescription to a dominant group predicated on a set of values and a sense of history that places other groups at a

fundamental disadvantage. Hawkins notes that to remedy higher education's cultural racism, in which the curriculum is shaped around and based on the dominant White culture, scholars are calling for a multicultural curriculum, demanding that the educational system withdraw from its monoculture prison and open up to the liberating influences of other cultural perspectives (p. 34-35). Harper (2012) makes remarks such as “Mexicans do not put much emphasis on education” or “Blacks have too many babies” to explain the status of minorities in society, rather than acknowledging the cultural barriers and hegemony that White culture places on society as cultural racism (p. 12). Kwame (1967) describes the difference between the two types of racism:

When a white terrorist bombs a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society. But when in the same city—Birmingham, Alabama—five hundred black babies die each year because of the lack of proper food, shelter and medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the black community, that is a function of institutional racism (p.4)

Racial Landscape of College Sports

Since sports represent a microcosm of American society, they provide a useful paradigm for examining certain themes appearing in critical race literature (Davis, 1995). Race and intercollegiate athletics are inseparable (Bimper &

Harrison, 2017), so it is logical to view the racial and sociocultural landscape of intercollegiate athletics to examine the current status of Black men and women in the NCAA. According to several reports, including the scholarship of Lapchick (2013, 2016) and Harper (2012, 2016), a scan of the sociocultural landscape of NCAA leadership reveals glaring disproportionalities and inequities that persist in college sports administration (Bimper & Harrison, 2017). Lapchick et al. (2017) found that in 2015-2016, Blacks held seven percent, four percent, and five percent of the men's head coaching positions in Divisions I, II, and III, respectively, rounded to the nearest tenth. Of the total assistant coaching positions held on men's teams in Divisions I-III during 2015- 2016, African-Americans represented 18.8%, 14.1%, and eight and seven-tenths percent of the positions, respectively.

Across women's athletics, Blacks held approximately seven percent, five percent, and five percent of the women's head coaching positions in the three NCAA divisions, respectively. As shown through the above statistics, Blacks occupy a small percentage of head coaching jobs across all three divisions, and there has been an increase in the percentage of assistant coaches who are Black. Including the relatively higher percentage of men's assistant coaches who are Black, the highest percentage is 18.8%.

This report also showed that Whites held the majority of the decision-making AD positions during the 2015-2016 year, taking 87.6%, 89.4%, and 93.6% of the positions in Divisions I-III. As Whites are so overrepresented in

decision-making positions, Blacks held about nine percent, six percent, and four percent of the AD positions in Divisions I-III. Blacks held approximately nine percent, five percent, and five percent of the associate AD positions across Divisions I-III. They also held nine percent, six percent, and five percent of the assistant AD positions across all three divisions. Blacks occupied about eight percent of the faculty athletics representative (FAR) positions, which serve as the representatives of the University on issues regarding athletics.

Even considering the senior woman administrator (SWA) positions, Black women represented twelve percent, seven percent, and four percent of the SWA positions in Divisions I-III, respectively. Considering all Division I Conferences, excluding Historically Black Conferences, about seven percent of commissioners identified as people of color. According to the NCAA database, Black men and women constitute about nine percent of all ADs, Associate ADs, and Assistant ADs combined (NCAA, 2017). Statistics consistently show a relatively small percentage of Black administrators.

The underrepresentation of Blacks in executive positions at NCAA member institutions is very apparent, especially compared to their representation as student-athletes, another key stakeholder group in NCAA athletics (Bimper & Harrison, 2017). In Division I men's basketball, Black men represented 54.8% of its athletes in 2015-2016. In Division I football at the FBS level, African-Americans accounted for 43.8% of football student-athletes. Harper (2006) and a report from Fulks (2015) explains that these are the two sports that garner the

most media attention, attract the most fans, and yield the most revenue from merchandise sales. Considering the percentage of the US population that is Black, which is 14%, the statistics show a disproportionate number of Blacks playing these sports compared to those occupying administrative positions or in the general US population (U.S. Bureau of Census, 2010a, 2010b).

Systemic Inequity

Perceived systemic injustice in the NCAA has caused scholars such as Bimper and Harrison (2017) to question the institutional integrity of NCAA member institutions. Hawkins (2010) referred to the NCAA as the "new plantation," in which older white men (representing the majority of NCAA leadership) are making a profit from the bodies of Black men. This analogy was furthered by Rhoden (2006), who drew a parallel comparison by stating that the Black athlete in general, not just in the NCAA, is a "40 million-dollar slave." The hesitancy of scholars and authors to use the term "racism" to describe systems drenched in inequity that marginalize minority populations and their willingness to name anything but racism and use semantic substitutes further perpetuates the systemic racism that still plagues our nation (Harper, 2012). Derrick Bell (1992) argued that the same racism that enslaved over 50 million Africans is still alive and well, but modern racism is camouflaged in new forms and policies.

Interest Convergence Principle

Another tenet of CRT is the interest convergence principle. This principle

is built on political history as legal precedent and emphasizes that significant progress for African Americans is achieved only when the goals of Blacks are consistent with the needs of Whites (Tate, 1997). Interest convergence states that White people are typically compelled to advocate for people of color only when their self-interest is better served (Delgado, 1995; Harper, 2009). Rather than Black suffering, it is White interests that dictate the contours of policy (Bell, 1976). This principle is an analytical lens that explains how laws and policies established to promote equality maintain the status quo (Donnor, 2005).

Bell (1979) referred to the interest convergence principle as the “price of racial remedies.” The interest convergence principle states that legislation, while beneficial in many respects, is frequently undermined and implemented too slowly to make a meaningful change (Tate, 1997). Bell (1979) says, “In each instance, the principle of nondiscrimination is supported, but its implementation is avoided and, necessarily, opposed. The important question, of course, is whether the debilitating effects of racial discrimination can be remedied without requiring whites to surrender aspects of their superior social status” (pp. 11-12). Racism advances the interests of both white elites (materially) and working-class people (psychically), so large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it, especially when considering the “price” (Delgado, 1995). Black history in America includes too many instances that would, on the surface, appear to have been designed to benefit Blacks, but upon closer examination can be understood as motivated by a desire to advance White interests (Bell, 1976; Bell, 1980;

DeLorme & Singer, 2010; Harper, 2009; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, Tate, 1997).

The interest convergence principle seeks to answer not only "what happened, "but also" what are the motives and intents behind what happened." The answer is determined by evaluating the benefits of a change for both Blacks and Whites (Delgado, 1995; Bell, 1980; Donnor, 2005; Harper, 2009; DeLorme & Singer, 2010).

Blacks and College Sport

The case for the interest convergence principle has been proven legitimate and effective when evaluating the legal system and the educational system, and it is being used more in sports research (Donnor, 2005; DeLorme & Singer, 2010; Harper, 2009; Bimper & Harrison, 2017; Singer, 2005). This principle illustrates how practices, policies, and laws designed to provide equal access and fair opportunities benefit the dominant class more than the group that suffers the racial injury. College athletics is an interesting intersection of higher education and sports. With regard to higher education, there is a lack of Black administration in higher education at the NCAA DI FBS institutions as well, as Blacks constitute less than 5% of the presidents (Lapchick, 2017; Harper, 2016). The Black athlete has also been extensively studied in the sporting context, so this section will evaluate the integration of Blacks into college sports. Then, the section will assess the progress of Blacks and the convergence of their interests with those of Whites.

The discrimination encountered by African-Americans in college sports has never been independent of the discrimination faced by Blacks in society in general (Davis, 1995). Accordingly, a historical account of the influence of racism in college sports is an appropriate point of departure. Davis (1995) states that since the first intercollegiate competition in 1852, the involvement of Blacks in sports has been marked by racial discrimination and prejudice. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, segregation limited Black athletes to participating at an Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) or a few Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) in the north, such as Harvard, Amherst, and Oberlin. From the 1930s to the 1950s, several states established policies, both written and unwritten, that prohibited any form of competition between Whites and Blacks. Informal rules also prohibited Blacks from playing sports, so schools in the South with Jim Crow laws had no Black athletes because they denied Black students. The University of Kansas is an example of a school without formal Jim Crow laws that informally excluded Black athletes. They minimized the presence of Black students by removing them from extracurricular activities (including athletics), and one Kansas coach in the 1930s insisted that no colored player would play there under his reign. Some athletic conferences created “gentlemen’s agreements,” a series of written rules or tacit understandings precluding Black participation in organized sport. This informal exclusion even created scheduling conflicts between schools that allowed Black athletes and those that excluded Black athletes. Many institutions imposed a “superspade”

requirement, which meant that Black athletes at PWIs before the 1930s tended to be exceptionally talented starters.

Interest convergence can be used to assess the status of Black administrators at NCAA member institutions. Interest convergence asks Whites what they would benefit from hiring more Blacks. Executive Order 11246, sometimes referred to as affirmative action, forbids discrimination in employment decisions based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (Harper, 2009). As mentioned earlier, this policy in theory should increase the number of Blacks hired in places where they previously could not work (Harper, 2009). However, Hawkins (2010) makes the point that White women have been the biggest benefactors of affirmative action. This Executive Order has increased diversity, but college sports have shown that they can become more diverse (encompassing race, gender, class, etc.) without becoming more “Black.”

Limitation

Harper (2009) identified a noteworthy limitation of the interest convergence tenet of CRT. Interest convergence presumes that White persons rarely do anything “out of the goodness of the heart.” He acknowledges that accepting this as an absolute truth would be shortsighted, and there are members of the White community that commit to equality for reasons beyond their selfish profits. However, he also acknowledges that it would seem naïve to think the altruistic, “out of the kindness of my heart” motive was primary.

Popular Values Embraced by Society

CRT describes racism as endemic to US society, and progress is only made when there is a convergence of interests. CRT scholars say that one of the camouflages for protecting White supremacy is the hegemonic beliefs in neutrality, objectivity, color blindness, and meritocracy (Bimper & Harrison, 2017). Another major tenet for CRT portrays these dominant legal claims as camouflage for the self-interest of society's powerful entities (Tate, 1997). Critical race scholars have reinterpreted these legal claims as part of an interest-convergence ploy (Tate, 1997).

Colorblindness is broadly defined as imagined perceptions and assertions of sameness that mask creations and persistent reproductions of inequality between racial and ethnic groups at micro and macro levels of society (Bimper & Harrison, 2017). Colorblindness allows us to redress only extremely egregious racial harms, ones that everyone would notice and condemn, but if racism is embedded in our thought processes and social structures, then the “ordinary business” of society – the routines, practices, and institutions we rely on to conduct the world's work – will keep minorities in subordinate positions (Harper, 2009; Delgado & Stefancic, 1995).

Notions of a colorblind society are constructed for the means and interests of people to defensibly ignore and dismiss systemic and structural perpetuations of racial inequity and forms of oppression (Bimper & Harrison, 2017). Current discussions of equal opportunity and “colorblindness have little meaning unless

framed historically” (Tate, 1997). A belief in colorblindness and equal process is illogical in a society in which specific groups have been treated different historically and differential treatment continues in the present (Tate, 1997). Only aggressive, color-conscious efforts to change the current state of affairs will impact those living in subordination (Delgado & Stanfancic, 1995).

CRT scholars are discontent with liberalism as a framework for addressing America’s racial problems, and many liberals believe in colorblindness and neutral principles in constitutional law (Delgado & Stafancic, 1995). *Plessy v. Ferguson* is the landmark case that deemed “separate but equal” constitutional, and Justice John Harlan’s dissenting opinion reflects the principle of colorblindness:

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth, and in power. . . But in view of the constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful (p. 559).

From Justice Harlan’s dissent to Martin Luther King’s desire that his children be judged by the “content of their character” rather than the “color of their skin,” the colorblind principle has been present in civil rights discourse (Tate, 1997). Many liberal advocates of race-conscious measures justify the implementation of

affirmative action policies based on past violations of the colorblind principle (Tate, 1997). For example, Tate (1997) alluded to Justice Blackmun's dissenting opinion in the *Bakke* decision (*Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 1978) by arguing, "In order to get beyond racism (to color blindness), we must first take account of race. There is no other way" (p. 407).

Many conservative advocates of colorblind measures attempt to ignore the importance of race (Tate, 1997). As an example, Tate (1997) presents Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, an outspoken supporter of colorblind policy who argued that Blacks, like the Irish, Italians, and Jews before them, must overcome oppression with hard work (Pitts, 1995). Gingrich provided the following advice to Black children growing up in America: "If you're Black, you have to work harder, and if you're Black and poor, you have to work twice as hard" (Pitts, 1995, p. 3A). Tate (1997) argues that House speaker Gingrich acknowledged the reality of racial inequality; however, his colorblind approach to creating policy prevented him from moving beyond the recommendation of "pulling yourself by your own bootstraps." Congressman Gingrich's remark reflects a paradox by many who assert colorblindness: to be colorblind in this way requires race consciousness, and one must notice race to reject the notion of colorblindness (Tate, 1997). Aleinikoff (1991) described this thought process:

It is apparently important, as a matter of widespread cultural practice, for whites to assert that they are strongly colorblind, in the sense that they do not notice or act on the basis of race. One can see this at work in such

statements as: “I judge each person as an individual.” Of course, it cannot be that whites do not notice the race of others. Perhaps what is being said is that the speaker does not begin her evaluation with any preconceived notions. But, this too is difficult to believe, given the deep and implicit ways in which our minds are color-coded. To be truly color blind in this way . . . requires color-consciousness: one must notice race in order to tell oneself not to trigger the usual mental processes that take race into account, (p. 1079)

Frames for Colorblind Racism

Bonita-Silva’s (2009) study introduced four central ideological frames of *colorblind racism* that interpret information concerning race relations. The first frame is abstract liberalism, in which the dominant group sees every racial group capable of gaining equal access to education, housing, and employment. Abstract liberalism refers to the bootstraps concept in Congressman Gingrich’s remarks, which rejects special support such as affirmative action that helps people of color reach their goals (Pitts, 1995). This claim requires ignoring the multiple institutional and state-sponsored practices behind segregation and being unconcerned about these practices’ negative consequences for minorities (Bonita-Silva, 2009, p. 28).

The second frame is centered on the neutralization of personal preferences (Bonita-Silva, 2009). Bonita-Silva explains this as the dominant

group's tendency to justify racial inequalities as if they were natural occurrences.

Pan (2015) explains that

where we live often determines where we can go to school. Racial preferences, however, do not affect our personal choices in terms of residential neighborhood or school district. It may be our choice to go to a school that has predominately white students. We all should take responsibility for the choices we make. Overall, everyone should feel at liberty to choose in a free society. By practicing the naturalization of personal choices, the dominant group claims that the residential segregation and preferences result from a normal social process, and nothing has to do with discrimination against *Others* (p. 1).

In this example, the natural (where people live) is used to justify the socioeconomic disparity in the educational system.

The third frame is cultural racism to explain the socioeconomic standing of minority groups (Bonita-Silva, 2009). The dominant group often denounces indigenous people or Blacks for their failures because they did not make the right choice to adapt to the "normal culture." As mentioned earlier in the discussion on types of racism, cultural racism criticizes minority groups for their dysfunctional cultural and family values by generating ideas such as "Mexicans do not put an emphasis on education" or "Blacks have too many babies" to explain the status of minorities in society (Tate, 1997).

The fourth frame is minimization of racism, which explains the institutionalization of colorblind racism (Bonita-Silva, 2009). The minimization of racism allows Whites to view discrimination through the narrow lens of overt, outrageously racist acts committed by individuals rather than systems (Tate, 1997). This frame describes the dominant perception that racism no longer exists and is no longer prevalent (Bonita-Silva, 2009). Bonita-Silva likens colorblindness to a modern-day racial Trojan Horse—a strategy that allows Whites to believe that race no longer matters because they have the privilege of being oblivious to or dismissive of data that suggests the contrary. There is even a belief that colorblindness is more peaceful and will eliminate racism (Harper, 2009). Pan (2015) observes that

Today, minorities are considered “hypersensitive” and “too race conscious.” If people all could be more color-blind, society would be more peaceful and better off. The practice of minimization allows the dominant group to deny the racial inequality claimed by minorities. On the other hand, the minimization talk “qualified” the dominant group to become the oppressed against whom minority groups like to play the race card (p. 2). Bonita-Silva found through the Discovery Acquisition Services (DAS) survey that over 80% of both Whites and Blacks believe that discrimination against Blacks still occurs in the United States; however, in response to the survey item “Blacks are in the position they are today as a group because of present-day discrimination,” 60.5% of Blacks agreed or strongly agreed compared to 32.9% of

Whites. Tate (1997) noticed that most White participants (and a few Blacks) failed to see the correlation between racism and racial differences in various social, educational, and economic outcomes, and they instead considered a range of plausible explanations for the subordinate status of minoritized persons.

Impact on Athletic Directors

CRT scholarship examines whether a person is judged based on his or her merits or identity. Steward and Cunningham (2015) conducted a study to examine how Whites evaluate African Americans with a strong racial identity. Studies have found that members of a dominant group tend to recruit, nurture, and promote persons with qualities and characteristics most resembling those that they have themselves (Kanter, 1977; Sagas, Cunningham, & Teed, 2006). Steward and Cunningham measured the impact of one's racial identity on his or her chances of becoming an athletic director. They observed that Whites respond more negatively to racial minorities believed to hold a strong racial identity than to weakly identified racial minorities.

Steward and Cunningham (2015) chose 101 White undergraduate students to participate in their study. The participants read materials that stated an athletic department at a large, public university was hiring an athletic director, and they were asked to read the dossier "as if they were on the university's hiring committee." The dossier contained a picture of an applicant (all of whom were African American), a personal statement, work history, educational attainment,

and affiliations. Steward and Cunningham manipulated racial identity by altering the affiliation information, so highly identified applicants were associated with the following: Black Coaches Association, Black Coaches and Administrators Association, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity (for men; Alpha Kappa Alpha for women), and the local Obama campaign. A weakly identified applicant was instead a member of organizations such as the Intercollegiate Athletics Coaches Association and the local McCain campaign.

The results of Steward and Cunningham's study (2015) suggested that Whites penalize racial minorities who strongly identify with their race. They suggest that Whites are likely to believe highly identified racial minorities challenge the status quo that privileges some over others. In athletics, Whites are privileged and overrepresented in coaching and leadership positions (Steward & Cunningham, 2015; Harper, 2016; Lapchick, 2017), and racial stereotypes deem Blacks as suitable for diversity-related jobs rather than high-level positions requiring more knowledge and skills. This study shows that not only do race and ethnicity matter when athletic directors send in an application, but the level to which applicants identify with their race is a determining factor. This study shows information contrary to the values of meritocracy, colorblindness, and neutrality.

Intersectionality

Another tenet developed from CRT scholarship is intersectionality, which means the examination of race, sex, class, national origin, and sexual orientation, and how their combination plays out in various settings (Delgado &

Stefancic, 2001). This tenet has been described elsewhere as “double consciousness” or the “voice-of-color thesis” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) or the “centrality of experiential knowledge and voice” (Hylton, 2018). Delgado and Stefancic (2001) described people as possessing multiple identities:

No person has a single, easily stated, unitary identity. A white feminist may be Jewish, or working-class, or a single mother. An African American activist may be gay or lesbian. A Latino may be a Democrat, a Republican, or even a black—perhaps because that person’s family hails from the Caribbean. An Asian may be a recently arrived Hmong of rural background and unfamiliar with mercantile life, or a fourth-generation Chinese with a father who is a university professor and a mother who operates a business. Everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances (p. 9).

Tate (1997) noted that the purpose of intersectionality is to frame the following inquiry: "How does the fact that women of color are simultaneously situated within at least two groups that are subjected to broad societal subordination bear upon problems traditionally viewed as monocausal—that is, gender discrimination or race discrimination?" (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 114). For this reason, Black women are referred to as “both/and” because this identity places them in two oppressed groups, Black and female (Lloyd-Jones, 2009).

Types of Intersectionality

Crenshaw (1993) used three constructs or metaphors to guide her examination of race and gender in U.S. law and popular culture: *structural intersectionality*, *political intersectionality*, and *representational intersectionality*. Structural intersectionality describes the way in which women of color are often situated within overlapping structures of subordination (Tate, 1997). One area of vulnerability can sometimes be exacerbated by another set of constraints emerging from a separate system of subordination (Tate, 1997). Crenshaw (1993) gave the following example of how structural intersectionality manifests itself to limit legal and political intervention:

Structural intersectionality is the way in which the burdens of illiteracy, responsibility for child care, poverty, lack of job skills, and pervasive discrimination weigh down many battered women of color who are trying to escape the cycle of abuse. That is, gender subordination—manifested in this case by battering—intersects with race and class disadvantage to shape and limit the opportunities for effective intervention (p. 115).

This is a prime example of ways in which structures tend to work against not only women but also people of color.

Political intersectionality refers to how political and discursive practices associated with race and gender interrelate, and the intersection of these practices to race or gender often minimize women of color (Tate, 1997). An example provided by Crenshaw (1993) is when the Black community silences

discussion of domestic violence to “protect” its political and social integrity. This principle shows how politics built on mutually exclusive notions of gender and race provide women of color an inadequate framework to contextualize their experiences and realities (Crenshaw, 1993; Tate, 1997). Crenshaw also gave the example of this appeal made by sponsors of the Violence Against Women Act:

White male senators eloquently urged passage of the bill because violence against women occurs everywhere, not just in the inner cities. That is, the senators attempted to persuade other whites that domestic violence is a problem because ‘these are *our* women being victimized.’ White women thus come into focus, and any authentic, sensitive attention to our images and our experience, which would probably have jeopardized the bill, faded into darkness (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 116).

This principle alludes to a unique exclusion that Black women experience. Black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that do not always reflect the intersection of race and gender (Crenshaw, 1993)

Crenshaw argues that these problems of exclusion cannot be solved by simply including Black women in an already established analytical structure. She states, “The intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated.” If feminist theory and antiracial policy discourse want to embrace experiences and

concerns for Black women after the entire framework has translated “women’s experience” or “the Black experience,” the entire policy must be rethought and recast (Crenshaw, 1993).

Representative intersectionality is the manner in which images of race and gender, abundant in our culture, merge to construct unique narratives considered appropriate for women of color (Crenshaw, 1993; Tate, 1997). This concept seeks to explore the issues involving women of color through the subtle and explicit ways their experiences are weighed against counternarratives built on stereotypes (Tate, 1997). Crenshaw (1993) stated, “Whatever the relationship between imagery and actions is, it seems clear that these images do function to create counternarratives to the experiences of women of color that discredit our claims and render the violence we experience unimportant” (p. 120).

Double Jeopardy

“Double jeopardy” is another term to describe the disadvantaged status of people suffering from the compounding effects of race and gender in the United States (Lloyd-Jones, 2009). Because CRT emerged in legal studies, the following example from Delgado and Stefancic (2001) best illustrates and articulates this double jeopardy through the eyes of a Black woman, who may be oppressed because of her race or her gender. Suppose a Black woman has a supervisor who does not like Black women because he believes the stereotypes that they are lazy and unreliable, so he assigns her disagreeable work and mistreats her. She may resolve to sue, but on what grounds? If she sues for racial

discrimination, she may lose because the supervisor likes Black men. In fact, he plays weekly basketball games with Black men. Can she sue on the basis of gender discrimination? She is, after all, a Black woman, and her supervisor does discriminate against her because of her sex. However, the supervisor does not discriminate against the entire population of women. He actually enjoys the company of and working with white women. The law does not have an immediate solution to her complex identity that makes her susceptible to discrimination.

This single-axis framework practiced by the legal system erases Black women in the conceptualization, identification, and remediation of race and sex discrimination by limiting inquiry to the experiences of otherwise privileged members of the group (Tate, 1997). This example shows that men and women can often experience racism differently, just as women of different races can experience sexism differently (Gillbron, 2015).

Women in Sport Leadership

The previous sections of this paper concern race, but large pieces of the literature are unique to men. Women have had to endure the same dark past, and the principle of intersectionality shows that their other identity of being a woman results in another type of marginalization (Lloyd-Jones, 2009; Delgado & Stafancic, 2001; Tate 1997). In 2010, Black women made \$0.64 for every dollar made by White men and earned 90% of the pay earned by Black men (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). Approximately 10.5% of Black women were unemployed in 2010, compared to 5.8% of White women. McDowell and Carter-

Francique (2017) found that Black women are only represented in 11.9% of management, business, and financial jobs, compared to women as a whole holding 41.6% of these jobs. As of February 2016, women only held 20 (4%) CEO positions at S&P 500 companies, of which only one is a Black woman (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). This low representation is consistent in college athletics as well. At PWIs, White men and women hold 98% of AD positions, and at HBCUs, Black men hold about 73% of ADs (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017).

Research has been conducted on female ADs (Taylor & Hardin, 2016), specifically African American female ADs (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017; Hollomon, 2016). Comparing these reports shows that some experiences are consistent among women working in college athletics. The literature emphasized the importance of female mentors, and Black women in particular need to experience mentorship from other ethnically diverse women (Taylor & Hardin, 2016; Hollomon, 2016). These mentors provide guidance, but most importantly, they bring awareness to the AD position by serving as representation (Taylor & Hardin, 2016; Hollomon, 2016). There is also reluctance to promote women to AD positions, especially at FBS schools, because a female would then be in charge of football (Taylor & Hardin, 2016; McDowell & Carter-Francique). The participants in Hardin and Taylor's (2016) study described a hesitancy to allow women to manage a sport they may have never played or coached. When people think of an AD, they often think of a masculine figure, and women must

work hard to break this role congruency and show that women can lead (Peachey & Burton, 2010; Burton, Barr, Fink, & Bruening, 2009; Burton, Grappendorf, & Henderson, 2011). Women in this position conflict with assumed gender roles, and they are sometimes perceived to be administrative assistants rather than ADs (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). These women experience barriers based on stereotypes as well as personal and observed discrimination (Hollomon, 2016). In a study by Hollomon (2016) on ethnic minority females in collegiate athletics careers, 60% of respondents felt they had been discriminated against because of gender, 44% because of race or ethnicity, and five percent because of sexual orientation.

Stereotypes Unique to Black Women

According to McDowell and Carter-Francique (2017), one unique barrier that plagues ADs who are Black women is the racial and gender stereotype of the “angry Black female.” Several participants alluded to the characteristic nature of the angry Black female stereotype in a previous study (Collins, 2000). One participant believed that these are not stereotypes that Black women solely manage, and that aggression is associated with her gender and anger with her race (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). The intersection of these two stereotypes creates an assumption that these women are “aggressive” and “hard to work with,” traits much less commonly used to describe a White man (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017).

These stereotypes led to identity negotiation. These Black women ADs described a chameleon effect, in which they had to compromise in certain areas to avoid causing offense (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). Since most athletic departments are unfamiliar with how “Black women talk,” the respondents described their range of responses: lowering pitch when speaking, silencing themselves in meetings to risk being a “know-it-all,” providing less input, softening their approach despite being a “bottom line” results type of woman and playing the “meek and mild role” (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). They felt the need to blend in or change the way they approached others to make staff members feel more comfortable. One respondent said in McDowell and Carter-Francique’s (2017) interview,

I’m that, what is that, that chameleon that makes the adjustment, but the unfortunate part, chameleons adjust as a defense mechanism so they won’t be eaten up by other people. Well I’m not a chameleon because I’m trying to defend myself, I just make adjustments accordingly to whatever environment that I’m in (p. 401).

Some of the women who felt the need to alter their behavior mentioned guarding their identity in particular contexts and being afraid to let their guard down.

Political intersectionality and identity politics caused these women to be more susceptible to the “advantaged minority” stereotype (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). Three respondents were cognizant that athletic stakeholders believed they were hired in response to affirmative action initiatives. They were

explicitly told that they received their job because they were “Black” or “a woman,” or because the department needed diversity. The intersectionality theory describes these attributes more as double negatives than positives.

Storytelling

Another tenet of CRT is devoted to explaining and clarifying the role of story, counterstory, and "naming one's own reality" (Tate, 1997). Delgado (1988) said, "White people rarely see acts of blatant or subtle racism, while minority people experience them all the time" (p. 407). CRT thus gives voice to the unique perspectives and lived experiences of people of color (Harper, 2009). These stories are important histories that help illustrate the irony and contradiction of traditional analysis and argument (Tate, 1997). In acknowledging the validity of these lived experiences among persons of color, CRT scholars can place racism in a realistic context and actively work to eliminate it (Harper, 2009).

Delgado (1989) provided the following justification for incorporating stories and chronicling the experiences of people of color: reality is socially constructed, stories are a powerful means to destroying and changing mindsets, stories have a community-building function, and stories assist members of out-groups with mental self-preservation. Delgado also said,

Reality is not fixed, not a given. Rather, we construct it through conversations, through our lives together. Racial and class-based isolation prevents the hearing of diverse stories and counterstories. It diminishes the conversations through which we create reality, construct our

communal lives. Deliberately exposing oneself to counterstories can avoid that impoverishment, heighten "suspicion," and can enable the listener and the teller to build a world richer than either could make alone. On another occasion, the listener will be the teller, sharing a secret, a piece of information, or an angle of vision that will enrich the former teller; and so on dialectically, in a rich tapestry of conversation, of stories, (p. 2439)

The dominant group of society justifies its position with stock stories, but stories from people of color can counter these stories of the oppressor (Delgado, 1989; Tate, 1997). Stories and counterstories can serve equally important destructive functions, and they can reveal that what we believe is ridiculous, self-serving, or cruel (Delgado, 1989). Historically, people of color have also used storytelling to heal wounds of racial discrimination (Tate, 1997). Since capturing the stories and rich descriptions from marginalized populations is so important, the methodology section will discuss why the qualitative approach is best for gathering this information.

Summary

In summary, racism is endemic to U.S. society, interest convergence, intersectionality, and rejection of popular values embraced by society are each major tenets of CRT that were each laid out in the review of literature (Bell, 1989, Hylton, 2005, Singer, 2005). The review featured a definition of the tenets and its relevance to college sports. The following sections will gather data and eventually analyze it with this framework in mind.

Research Questions

Based on the review of literature and on CRT as a theoretical framework, the following research questions were developed to guide this study:

RQ1: How do Black NCAA Division I SLAs describe their career experiences?

CHAPTER THREE

MATERIALS AND METHODS

There are a number of issues related to the definition of knowledge and how it can be acquired (Jones & Gratton, 2004; Creswell, 2013; Creswell, 2007). Jones and Gratton (2004) introduced some philosophical issues related to knowledge by introducing the terms ontology and epistemology. Ontology refers to the study of the philosophy of knowledge, and epistemology is the study of how knowledge is acquired (Jones & Gratton, 2004). The ontological and epistemological positions that researchers take have important implications for one's approach to research, the data collected, the methods for collecting data, and the interpretation of data (Jones & Gratton, 2004; Creswell, 2013).

There are two broad approaches to the nature of knowledge: positivism and interpretivism (Jones & Gratton, 2004). Positivism refers to the ideology that the only valid form of knowledge is "scientific," where truth is singular and objective (Jones & Gratton, 2004). The positivist approach is based on the principles of precision, control, and objectivity (Jones & Gratton, 2004; Creswell, 2013). Feelings, beliefs, and emotions have no place in this approach, because they cannot be directly measured and can change over time (Jones & Gratton, 2004). Quantitative research is closely related to the positivist paradigm because the variables are directly measurable and easily converted into numerical form, which can be statistically analyzed (Creswell, 2007). The early years of sports-

related research were dominated by the positivist approach, but other approaches are becoming more widespread (Jones & Gratton, 2004).

Jones and Gratton (2004) note that the key argument of those rejecting the positivist approach is that sport is a social phenomenon, and there are a number of social forces influencing those who participate in and watch sports. As these participants are not inanimate, one cannot predict that X will always cause Y (Jones & Gratton, 2004). There is an increase in the interpretivist approach to allow for exploration of intangible concepts, such as feelings or emotions, that play a role in explaining sporting behavior (Creswell, 2013; Jones & Gratton, 2004). In some cases, rich description and interpretation of experiences was more informative than simply measuring and analyzing variables (Creswell, 2007), allowing for in-depth description of an issue (Creswell, 2013). Interpretivism examines a social reality based on the goal of gaining understanding (Creswell, 2013). The interpretivist approach is considered a form of qualitative methodology, as it seeks to understand a phenomenon apart from numerical data. Creswell (2007) said, "Qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem."

Critical theory is an example of a paradigm under the broad paradigm of interpretivism (Jones & Gratton, 2004). Critical theory emphasizes the relationship of social reality to historically situated social structures (Creswell,

2007; Creswell, 2013). Aligning with the CRT theoretical framework, this study utilized an interpretivist approach using qualitative methodology. One of the weaknesses of the interpretive approach is that the subjectivity in interpreting people's thoughts and feelings can result in questions about reliability and validity (Creswell, 2013; Jones & Gratton, 2014).

Positionality Statement

As a Black man who has worked an internship in the athletic department at an SEC school, I am cognizant of my own personal experiences. My experiences sparked the idea to examine the experiences of people in a much higher organizational position than I was in at the time. Prior to becoming a student at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I graduated from Morehouse College, an HBCU. I was able to observe the athletic director and the athletic department at an HBCU and a Power Five PWI. I wanted to understand more about the experiences working in a DI athletic department as a Black SLA.

Bracketing Interview

Bracketing is a method used by researchers to mitigate the potential deleterious effects of unacknowledged preconceptions, and it increases the reliability of the instrument used to gather the data, in this case the researcher (Tufford & Newman, 2010; Creswell, 2013). I completed a bracketing interview to reveal my personal biases, and I consciously attempted to separate my biases from the interview and analysis.

Methodology

The study population was NCAA SLAs that racially identify as "Black" or "African American." The SLA staff included the following: ADs, Deputy ADs, Executive Associate ADs, and Senior Associate ADs. Although the study included Black ADs and SLAs at the NCAA Division I level, it excluded all levels of ADs at Division II and Division III institutions. The participants were selected based on homogeneity of ethnic and racial background.

During the 2016-2017 year, there were 53 Black ADs in Division I including HBCUs, and only 31 Black ADs excluding HBCU Division I schools. This study excluded HBCUs because the majority of the students are Black, the boosters are predominantly Black, the schools have fewer resources, and the majority of ADs at these historically Black colleges are Black (Cheek, 2016). The racial disparity is most present at Division I PWIs, specifically FBS schools, where the schools generate larger streams of revenue (i.e. through ticket sales, television contracts, and championship games), build larger facilities (i.e., athletic stadiums, athletic academic centers), and agree to larger contracts (Cheeks, 2016). This research sought to describe the career mobility of Blacks in athletic administration at PWIs, where there is an underrepresentation of Black SLAs, in relation to the athletes generating the revenue.

The inclusion of senior level administrative staff was to increase the number of participants and ensure saturation and reliability of data. SLAs also provided the perspectives of participants that were not in the highest offices in

the athletic department. The researcher recruited until he received 15 Black NCAA senior-level athletic administrators who were interested in participating. Of these 15, seven ended up scheduling an interview, returning the consent form, and participating in the interview (see appendix 5).

Instrumentation

The researcher conducted seven single, qualitative, semi-structured interviews. The interviews lasted between 30-45 minutes in length. The interview guide consisted of three questions asked to each participant. Semi-structured interviews allowed the use of clarification probes as well as elaboration probes (Creswell, 2013). Interviews were conducted until the saturation point was reached. Charmaz (2006) said that the researcher can stop collecting data when themes are saturated and gathering new data does not spark new insights.

Data Collection

Procedures

The study began after Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was obtained (See appendix 1). Confidentiality of the participants was paramount. The researcher used purposive sampling techniques to gather email addresses from athletic administrators (Creswell, 2007). He reached out to the SLAs via email (see appendix 2) and scheduled phone interviews. Before any interviews began, the participants signed informed consent forms (see appendix 3), which were stored on GoogleDrive. The researcher followed the interview guide and

occasionally followed up with probing questions (see appendix 4). The interviews were recorded via an app called Call Recorder.

The SLAs could have been asked to recall experiences that were negative in nature, potentially causing stress and discomfort, so if a question made them uncomfortable, they were allowed to skip the question. The interviewees were also allowed to withdraw at any time during the interview. The SLAs' participation was voluntary. Moreover, the respondents could decline to participate or end their participation at any time with no penalty or loss of benefits to which they were otherwise entitled. If they chose to stop or withdraw from the study, data collected up to that point was included in the data analysis process, unless the participant requested that it not be used.

Confidentiality

There were minimal risks involved in the research. It is possible that someone could have identified the participants in the study if personal information is released. To minimize the risks, no names are mentioned in the final report, and very generalized identification information is included in the report. I did not include specific degrees or ages in the report to prevent any information about the participants from revealing their identity. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of the respondents (see appendix 5). Once transcribed, the recordings were uploaded and secured through the University of Tennessee's GoogleDrive. This server is certified for the storage of personally identifiable information. The recordings were deleted from the digital recorder as

soon as they were uploaded and downloaded onto GoogleDrive. The researcher and his faculty advisor had access to all notes, transcripts, and recordings. The computer used to open the flash drive was also password protected and kept in the researcher's possession. The informed consent and verbal consent files were secured on GoogleDrive. All IRB regulations were followed for the protection of the participants, including destroying all participants' information three years after the research was completed.

Benefits

The SLAs did not benefit directly from their participation in the research. A potential societal benefit of this research was illuminating the experiences of Black men and women working in athletic administration. This may have been beneficial to aspiring Black athletic directors. The study may enrich the scholarship in the area of racially and ethnically diverse athletic directors.

Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim. NVivo qualitative data analysis software was used to manage and analyze the data. A consultant from the Office of Information Technology, Office of Research Computing Support aided the researcher in using content analysis, coding, categorizing, and segmenting the data into primary themes and sub-themes. There were no predefined codes (Creswell, 2013). One hundred and seventy-seven initial codes were created from the transcripts of the seven Black SLAs. A code in qualitative inquiry is most

often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a salient, essence capturing attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data (Saldaña, 2013). After the first round of open coding, another round of axial coding was completed that yielded 10 categories from the one hundred seventy-seven initial codes (Sparkes & Smith, 2013). In grounded theory, axial coding is the process of relating these open, unorganized codes, and similar to geometry, axial coding is finding the axis of similarity between codes (Saldaña, 2013). After coding and categorizing, another round of coding known as thematic or selective coding took place (Sparkes & Smith, 2013). Once the third round of coding was completed, three primary themes and eight subthemes emerged. A theme is an outcome of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection (Saldaña, 2013). To ensure reliability, the researcher utilized the "member-checking" technique by sending back the transcriptions to the individual respondents to determine the accuracy of their thoughts and experiences (Creswell, 2013).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Three primary themes and eight subthemes emerged from the interviews with the Black SLAs: (1) Champions in Your Corner, (2) Navigating the System, and (3) Embracing Individuality. The idea of having champions in one's corner means creating and maintaining relationships that provide guidance, encouragement, and advocacy. Secondly, navigating the system means learning about and understanding barriers, timing, location, opportunities, and campus culture. Lastly, embracing individuality reveals unique paths and involves finding value in being an outlier. Each of the themes that emerged were related to the research questions. See appendix 3 for a full description of themes and subthemes.

Champions in Your Corner

The research question about experiences yielded insights on finding the value of relationships. Each respondent mentioned the importance of building relationships in the range of two to eleven times during the interview. Cynthia Waters described the importance of forming meaningful relationships, explaining: "It's also a mistake is to think that if you work hard that you will get there.... No, you have to have champions. You have to have people you know that are in your corner." Cynthia believed that the various people in one's corner have a more profound impact than solely the amount of hard work an individual puts in. Similarly, John Terry echoed similar sentiments:

I just think the people in my corner. Each step along the way I've had really good people in my corner who got me the next position. So, you know the position with the NFL was set up via one of my graduate school professors. Then – when I was looking to get back into college athletics, a head hunter reached out to someone at (name of school) and they recommended me for that initial position.

Darla Johnson also alluded to having champions in her corner when she said that the most important factor in her career advancement was “having someone who would advocate for (her).” She said that her advocates provided her opportunities when she was not the best match on paper. Cynthia Waters further elaborated on the importance of relationships inside and outside of athletics:

Again your relationship with the student athletes, your relationship with the coaches. So, you're – how do you get along with the rest of the campus? What about the community? Are you involved in the Kansas City community? Do people know you? All those things are important.

The most frequently mentioned ideas regarding relationships were having proper mentors, regular interactions with colleagues, and developing a network of mentees.

Having Proper Mentors

Six of the seven participants described the tremendous role of mentors in their careers. Erica Thompson described her board of directors as her mentors:

So I think it's important that you have those mentors. And you'll hear more and more people talking about your personal board of directors. And I definitely have that group of people that I can call at any time about whatever it is. And they're across all walks of life. So it's not just people in college athletics, it's not just people of Division I, it's not just people that look like me or have shared experiences, but they have helped at every turn. I call those people when I need feedback.

She also talked about seeking mentors to guide her after a position change at a previous institution. Bob Fitzgerald stated that he was fortunate to have had great mentors at each of his schools. Darla Johnson recalled that her first mentors were White men, which was reflective of the field in which she works. Darla's initial mentors were also not in athletics, but there was a professor who pushed her to think differently about life. Darius Williams mentioned the timeless example of one of his mentors:

I had one mentor who worked in intercollegiate athletics but his viewpoint and his thoughts were so radical compared to everyone else. So, so, so radical. But that taught me not to be afraid to voice my opinion. It also gave me a much different perspective and look the way things might be viewed by others. And I will sit here and say to this day, he was out there. But a lot of the things that he said make a lot of sense to this day. A lot of people challenged him, a lot of people chastised him, would say he didn't know what he was talking about. But he was pretty brilliant.

Both Derrick Stubbs and Darla Johnson mentioned relationships so strong with their supervisors that they were asked to join the new staff when the supervisor moved schools.

Regular Interactions With Colleagues

Several participants emphasized the importance of maximizing everyday relationships. Cynthia Waters believed that the accumulation of her community relations, campus relations, coach relations, and student relations was the most important factor for her becoming an AD. Erica found that developing a network of peers was essential to upward mobility in college athletics. She said a key factor was

Building relationships that are genuine outside of just day to day professional relationships. I think, you know, sometimes you put too much pressure on people to say there's a fine line between professional and personal. There really isn't. People are people. But you want to get involved with people because people will go to the max for people they care about and believe in.

Once these true, genuine relationships were built, coworkers would know these Black SLAs by who they were rather than by a stereotype. For instance, Bob Fitzgerald said, "It was because I'd developed really strong relationships from the onset. People had a chance to know me and not as a person of color but as Bob Fitzgerald. That's always helpful."

Erica went on to recall a time that a coworker in the HR department edited her resume when she prepared to apply for a job. She said she had previously done hires together with the HR coworker, so she sent her resume to the coworker for edits. The coworker apologized for all of the red marks, but Erica said that her coworker's tough editing was the reason she sought her opinion. She summed it up by saying, "But you have to be okay with getting that feedback from a peer."

Bob Fitzgerald said that he developed an early understanding that college athletics is a people's industry, so it is a team effort. The more he cared about others' successes, the more others cared about his success. Bob addressed the role of peers in minimizing the learning curve for each job. He said, "So, you don't necessarily have to have all of the answers, but you have to be smart enough to know where your gaps and make sure you align yourself with people who can fill those gaps for you."

Developing a Network of Mentees

A considerable number of responses mentioned the duty to reach back and create a 'pipeline' or network to invest in others who looked like them. Cynthia Waters described the formation of a network for Black women that did not exist when she aspired to become an AD. She said,

For those that have become athletic directors or have become senior administrators, that it's very important for us to reach out and for us to share our experiences with those that are interested in doing the same

thing. I just think that it's more important than ever. The good, the bad and the ugly to share all those experiences and any opportunities we can to help get them positioned to get in the door. We need to do that. We also you know, I mean it's almost like you know your kids, no one can take care of your kids as well as you're going to take care of your kids. So you have to – we have to start within and I'm really proud of the fact that you know as far as female African Americans we have several different entities that we have built ourselves to make that happen and to share with others whereas that was not there when I became the athletic director.

Darla Johnson has at times said to junior colleagues, "I am going to make you come talk to me one time. If you choose to come back, that's up to you, but I am going to make you come one time." Darla also mentioned the intersection between race and socioeconomic status. She believes that many African American kids have difficulty completing a master's degree and accepting an unpaid internship. She noticed that

I have not had a job in intercollegiate athletics where at some point in time, a junior person in the department has not lived with me for some period of time, whether it was on their way in or on their way out to help make the transition.

Bob Fitzgerald said,

It's also very important to me to be, I don't like using this word, but I guess a role model for young people of color who want to be, who have higher

aspirations. So, I want to be there to be a mentor to those folks to help them navigate through this industry and give people some comfort that there's someone who they can talk to or reach out to that looks like them.

In addition to serving as mentors for those entering the NCAA system, a few participants mentioned that there is a lack of awareness that Blacks can work as SLAs, so they were proud to be examples to the younger generation. Darius Williams mentioned, "Student athletes would say to me, 'I never thought about stuff like that, Darius. I never thought that I could do this or work in athletics administration.'" Bob Fitzgerald described one of the barriers:

I think that because there isn't a visible number of people of color in positions of success, there's no one to look up to. There's very few to look up to. So, when you don't see someone like yourself in a position of authority, you wonder. How should I say this? It doesn't help you. No. It's hard to see yourself in a role when you don't see other people like yourself. That may be the best way to put it.

Derrick Stubbs recalled that when he began implementing a more inclusive hiring process, he was asked in an interview during the search for a new basketball coach "Is this another Affirmative Action search?" He stated that neither the success of his hires nor the fact that he had hired more White coaches than Black coaches was taken into consideration when that question was asked. He said that even when there is pushback, inclusion must be pushed.

Navigating the System

Another research question focused on perceived barriers to career mobility. When the SLAs were asked about barriers and their experiences working in college athletics in a space occupied largely by White men, it sparked responses such as these from Derrick Stubbs and Darla Johnson: “My experience has been that is what the profession is” and “...I am a realist.” Each SLA mentioned a few barriers but spoke more heavily on navigating the current system. The interviews illuminated several areas within the college athletics system that must be navigated, including barriers, stereotypes, timing, placement, and a lack of opportunities.

Barriers to Stepping Stones

Several participants mentioned not being trained to notice or focus on barriers. Cynthia Waters said,

I think for me it was more about my own upbringing. You know we didn’t talk about barriers and challenges, you know? We just did. There’s a lot of things I found out that were barriers for my parents because I didn’t learn about until I was in my 40’s that I had no idea because they never allowed us to think it was a barrier, they just kept on doing what they needed to be done.

Darius Williams echoed a similar sentiment about barriers. He said, “You know, you say ‘barriers.’ It’s hard for me to say that I had a lot of barriers. Remember, I became an AD at 34.”

One of the more interesting findings in this study was hearing the repeated articulation of seeing challenges as opportunities. When Darla Johnson was asked about her experience working in a field with so few people who look like her, she said, “So I see both the opportunity and the challenge in that and have just taken it as such. That there is an opportunity and a challenge.” John Terry took it a step further when he said, “My big thought is to use it to your advantage when you can and even though it is the truth...” Erica Thomas mentioned that fundraising is a major disadvantage for most Blacks aspiring to become ADs, so she sought help to market herself in spite of her lack of fundraising experience. A fellow Black AD gave the following advice:

And so before I interviewed for this position I was up for an AD position, I was at a conference with [name of a current Black AD], and I pulled him aside, and I said, [name of current Black AD], you know, I've known you for quite some time since your Big East days, this is what I keep stumbling into is people asking the question about fundraising. He said, look, you can't speak to something you've never been tasked with doing. He said, but what you can speak to is what you've done in revenue generation. He said, so don't let them discount what you've done in getting almost million-dollar grants and working with your staff on generating revenue in these spaces. He said, you have to speak to what you know, and you cannot address what you haven't done. We had people on staff who were tasked with doing that job and where you partnered when you had that time. I

said, I can absolutely speak to that, but it was just *changing your frame of reference* [emphasis added]... So when you can get those pieces of advice, those are huge, but they could be great barriers for people in this industry.

Darius Williams said that aspiring Black SLAs should navigate their barriers so well that others “have no choice but to hire me.”

Right Place, Right Time

Darla Johnson stated that one of the most important factors that contributed to her success was “I just happened to be at the right place at the right time in a couple of situations.” Several other participants mentioned that an important aspect to mobility was being in the right place at the right time. Derrick Stubbs mentioned,

I was finishing law school. I interviewed for a job at Ford Motor Company in their legal office. And I was all set to take the job and then they took me down to the end of the hall and the said, come on in here. And they took me into his office. Prettiest office I had ever seen. It was just absolutely beautiful. Huge. Everything in it. I was like man, this is pretty cool. This is going to be my office. And they said, we just want you to come down here so you understand you can never have this office. And I was like what? I was like really offended. What do you mean I can never have this office? They said this is the general counsel's office. You will never be the general counsel at Ford Motor Company. And I was like, I said prejudice, I'm not

taking your job. What I didn't understand until later what the guy was telling me is there is only one general counsel at Ford Motor Company. He wasn't planning to leave, so you might not get the job. But what I didn't understand because I was too immature I guess or too hard-headed to understand this doesn't foreclose that I couldn't be the general counsel somewhere else. You know, I didn't understand that until 2000 when I became the general counsel at [insert name of current school].

Bob Fitzgerald said, "It really makes a difference on who you hitch your wagon to. The better you can align the people who you work with or work for, I think the better opportunities you're going to have at success."

Opportunities are Hard to Come By

The words "opportunity" and "opportunities" were used a combined 74 times in the seven interviews. Darius Williams stated, "We're not afforded all the opportunities, let's just be real. We're not." When addressing whether promotions seem merit-based, Darius said, "Sometimes I'm baffled how some people are promoted when there are people who are much better than the ones that are being promoted. So, I'd leave it like that." John Terry said, "I don't give many people much of an opportunity to make judgments about anything I do, because I keep to myself. And part of that is probably because I know they're less forgiving for people of my color. I mean for mistakes or wrong gestures."

Several other ADs mentioned a lack of forgiveness or second chances. Darla Johnson said, “You haven’t seen that opportunity largely for people of color to have a mistake and recover from it.” Erica Thompson added,

I just think it's important for people to understand the opportunity you have and a Black administrator and what that could mean when you're given the opportunity. We don't always get second, third and fourth chances. And if we do we don't get them as quick as some other people do, even in the coaching space.

Embracing Individuality

Another theme that emerged from the research was being able to value one’s own individual path and embrace feeling like “the only one.” There are so few Blacks in SLA positions in college athletics that some of these men and women have been able to consider their feelings of desolation and realize how the exclusivity of the system increases their value as individuals. These themes on individuality were divided into being an outlier and, aligning with the research questions, progressing in one’s career.

Being an Outlier

Bob Fitzgerald recalled that he was often the only person of color on his teams, with the exception of professional baseball, so he adapted to a similar demographic as an AD because it was commonplace for him to be “an outlier.” Cynthia Waters explained, “... you know, I guess I got used to being the only

female or the only African American female that was in the room.” Two of the participants were former NCAA DI athletes, and they felt that graduating from their respective institutions made them more respected in their fields despite the stereotypes occasionally faced. John Terry stated, “... even having gone to Duke I feel like in people’s minds that trumps – that kind of raises – it’s raised me up a little bit.” Bob Fitzgerald mentioned, “I think having Notre Dame attached to my undergraduate education helps.”

As a result of being members of such an minority group, these SLAs experienced having to work harder and longer for other aspiring Black SLAs to have a chance. John Terry said, “I have kind of this internal pressure of you know I guess being an AD, living up to the notion that I’m always having to do better, be more thorough, more presentation.” Bob Fitzgerald added,

I would probably call it a greater sense of responsibility. Whether that burden was real or not real, I wanted to make sure that did all I could not only for me and my own career but for those who followed and who are following to make sure that I’m laying some foundation and some groundwork for the next group of folks. If I don’t do my job well, someone may want to point to the fact that I’m a person of color. Therefore, and I didn’t do my job well. So, people of color aren’t fit for this job. Right? Knowing that that makes no sense, but I could see how someone would draw those two things together.

Career Progression

An examination of the career progression of these SLAs revealed that there was no definitive or clear path to becoming a SLA. The population interviewed included men, women, DI athletes, non-athletes, lawyers, professional athletes, and many more. Three participants began as an intern in college athletics. There was more of a pattern among the women who participated than among the men. Only one of the women completed an internship in college athletics. All three of the women occupied assistant, associate, and senior-associate AD positions, and one of the three is currently an athletic director.

Career progression for the male participants was more sporadic. A total of four men participated, and each of them were ADs. Two of the men began as interns. Only one of the four men was an assistant athletics director. Only one of the men was an associate athletics director. Three of the four men were senior-level ADs, including directors and senior-associate ADs, prior to becoming ADs at their respective institutions. Between the men and women combined, the participants had experience in compliance, business, fundraising, academics, and student life.

Derrick Stubbs acknowledged, “The biggest thing that they will use against people of color in this business is when you don't know how to fundraise. You got to be prepared that you can answer all of those questions.” Bob Fitzgerald articulated it best when asked whether there is an ideal path to becoming an AD:

Absolutely not. There is no such thing as an ideal path. I think that's what makes our industry so beautiful is that it doesn't matter what make or model you are. You've got an opportunity. You've got an opportunity to make a mark. That's really cool.

Discussion

The Value of Relationships

These SLAs provided valuable insight into the experiences they had throughout the progression of their careers. The participants acknowledged the lack of Black SLAs, but most importantly, they offered an informational guide on how to navigate the system. Each interview stressed the importance of building relationships in order to successfully advance in one's career. This finding relates to the interest convergence principle, which states that the progression of Blacks is dependent upon the convergence of interests between Blacks and Whites (Delorme & Singer, 2010; Harper, 2009). The SLAs spoke adamantly of the criticality of cultivating meaningful relationships with everyone regardless of race or gender. Relationships break down the barrier of race. Once a supervisor notices that an individual is genuinely invested in his or her life and work, that supervisor or institution will generally support the individual in advancing toward his or her life goals. It is important for Blacks to understand that every White person is not antagonistic, and with so few Blacks in the administration, it is imperative that they can create relationships with people who derive from different racial and cultural backgrounds. The literature has confirmed this

assertion, as Hardin and Taylor (2016) have studied female ADs and reported that minority ADs mentioned the significance of mentoring and relationships as well. Once relationships are built, the two groups are more likely to find common interests.

Paving the Way for Additional Opportunities

The notes about mentoring other aspiring Black ADs and setting a positive example were intriguing. Some participants described feeling heightened expectations to ensure that their potential failures do not impact future Black employment opportunities. Likewise, excellent performance in a job could lead to more opportunities for other Blacks at the same institution, as three of the most recent Black hires have evidenced. In the first case, Craig Littlepage, a former AD at the University of Virginia, retired and was succeeded by Carla Williams (Daves, 2017). Thereby, Carla Williams became the first female African-American athletics director at a Power Five institution. Craig Littlepage, a Black man, may not have directly affected the hiring of Carla Williams, but an unsuccessful reign as athletic director could have diminished the likelihood that another Black AD would be hired. Similarly, Milton Overton was recently named the athletic director at Kennesaw State University and succeeded Vaughn Williams, another Black man, in the position (Hudson, 2017). Finally, Mark Alnutt recently replaced Allen Greene at the University of Buffalo after Greene accepted an offer of the same position at Auburn (Johnson, 2018)

The mentoring of aspiring Black ADs by Black SLAs is clearly important. There appears to be a pattern among several of the SLAs, as many Black SLAs have worked closely with Black ADs at some point of their careers. For instance, Martin Jarmond was recently named the athletic director at Boston College (Dunn, 2017), and in his press release, he mentioned that he previously served as the deputy athletic director and chief of staff at Ohio State University under the leadership of the athletic director, Gene Smith (Dunn, 2017).

While searching for SLAs to interview, the researcher noticed that there are still several Power Five schools that have no Black SLAs. In addition, there was no school with an all-Black senior-level staff that fulfilled the requirements of this study. However, when schools hire a Black athletic director, it tremendously increases the odds that that school will have an additional Black SLA. For example, Martin Jarmond served under Gene Smith before becoming an athletic director (Dunn, 2017). Furthermore, Candice Storey Lee progressed to deputy athletic director at Vanderbilt University under David Williams (Ellis, 2017), and Jean Boyd advanced to executive senior athletic director under the leadership of Athletic Director Ray Anderson (Karpman, 2017). The current Black ADs have imparted immense opportunities for both Blacks and Whites to progress in their careers.

Each example demonstrates that Blacks are capable of working in college athletics administration, but they need a chance to do so. In fact, three of the top eight schools in the DI and NAIA Learfield Directors' Cup have Black ADs:

Bernard Muir of Stanford, Manuel Warde of Michigan, and Gene Smith from Ohio State (Duncan, 2018). These Black ADs exemplify how Blacks can achieve the office of AD and succeed if only they receive the opportunity. The CRT framework challenges whether promotions are merit based or if other elements, such as race, are significant (Steward & Cunningham, 2015; Bimper & Harrison, 2017).

Second Chances

Several participants explained that there is minimal forgiveness and few second chances for Blacks in leadership. In 2010, a personal indiscretion ultimately forced a Black athletic director to resign (Schlabach, 2010). During his time at the school, he was named the Under Armour Athletic Director of the Year for the Division I Southeast Region and was listed in *Sports Business Journal's* "Forty Under 40" (Maryland Athletics, 2014). In his second year as athletic director, an EADA report recognized his school as "the Nation's Most Profitable Intercollegiate Athletics Program" (Maryland Athletics, 2014). However, despite his record of success, he could not secure a second opportunity in college athletics. Almost four years later, another Black athletic director eventually hired him as part of his senior staff and offered him another chance to work at an NCAA member institution (Maryland Athletics, 2014). Two interviewees alluded to this scenario in describing the lack of forgiveness. If the Black athletic director had not extended the additional opportunity, then one could wonder, despite his proven skillset, whether he would have ever received another chance. The lack

of second chances for Blacks after job termination or resignation is also prevalent among college head coaches, specifically in football and basketball (Reid, 2015).

Getting the Tough Jobs

There are several facets to navigating the system of college athletics administration. Another component of the more limited opportunities for Black SLAs is the nature of the jobs that they have traditionally occupied. These jobs allude to how Darla Johnson commented on the opportunities that women and people of color are usually afforded in leadership. Other interviews did not address this topic, but its relevance to Black SLAs is worthy of discussion. When asked which changes she anticipates in the field in the next five years, Johnson replied as follows:

You know, I don't know. So much of it I think will follow whatever happens in the profession economically because some of the jobs traditionally that women and people of color have gotten have been tough jobs. They have been in situations where some rebuilding needs to take place or scandal has occurred. So who is to say that Sandy Barbour would have got Penn State if other things hadn't happened, right.

In Darla's comment, she alludes to Sandy Barbour, a female athletic director who inherited a program in 2014 and contended with the impact of the Jerry Sandusky scandal (Orso, 2014). This hire represented slight progress in the percentage of female athletic directors, but considering the circumstances, the difficulty of the position was unquestioned.

Darla's statement similarly holds true for certain situations that Blacks have entered. Allen Greene recently became the first Black athletic director in Auburn University history (Wolken, 2018). The visibility of another Black athletic director in the SEC and a Power Five school signifies substantial progress (Wolken, 2016). The situation he inherited was not the most ideal, however. When he was hired, the men's basketball team at Auburn was ranked in the top 25 and was headed to its first NCAA tournament appearance since 2003 (Wolken, 2018). The team accomplished all of this under the direction of Head Coach Bruce Pearl (Wolken, 2018). At the same time, the program was involved in the FBI's investigation into college basketball, and it resulted in the firing of an assistant coach and a ruling of ineligibility for the season for a prominent basketball player (Wolken, 2018). Coach Bruce Pearl was previously fired from the University of Tennessee in 2011 for lying to NCAA investigators. Unprecedented success intersecting with questionable ethical decisions never facilitates an easy decision, especially for a new athletic director.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality, and specifically the concept of "double jeopardy" (Lloyd-Jones, 2009; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001), emerged in conversations with female participants. Cynthia Waters stated that Blacks and women each occupy about 10% of AD positions, so when these demographic factors are combined, Black women hold around 1% of such positions. In the interviews, Black women described feeling like outliers in their fields. As both a gender and a racial

minority, Black women must combat multiple stereotypes in order to experience upward mobility in the field (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). In 2017, Carla Williams became the first African-American female Power Five athletic director (Daves, 2017). In fact, out of 65 schools, she is the only athletic director who identifies as a Black woman (Daves, 2017).

Intersectionality embodies several identities other than race and gender that were not represented in the findings. A participant alluded to social class when describing the struggle for Blacks to complete an unpaid internship, but none of the other interviews yielded those results. The results did not yield any other identities such as sexual orientation, classism, or religious affiliation, but based on the findings specific to Black women, one can predict that these overlapping identities impact these Black SLAs.

No Pattern of Career Progression

This study did not determine a definitive or clear career path to becoming a senior-level administrator. This finding contradicts previous research that has broadly studied athletic directors without regard to race (Spenard, 2011; Center, 2011). In general, SLAs progress from intern to assistant and then to associate and senior associate athletic director (Spenard, 2011; Center, 2011). This study revealed no pattern, largely because of its small sample size. The studies by Spenard (2011) and Center (2011) were both quantitative in nature, so their large participant totals yielded additional opportunities to identify a common path to becoming an AD. Another possible explanation is that the lack of Blacks in entry-

level positions in college athletics has enabled participants to bypass certain stages of their career progression. If a school is interested in hiring a minority candidate for a senior-associate athletic director position and has more options of assistants than associates, the school may take a risk and choose a candidate for senior associate who was previously an assistant athletic director. The involvement of more Blacks in the system could further develop systematic movement in career progression. This aspect is unique to Black SLAs compared to their White colleagues.

CRT and the Findings

Several of the previously mentioned tenets of CRT were not represented in the findings. CRT examines the role of race and racism in society, and the results yielded very little about either of these concepts. This does not necessarily mean that race is not a factor in one's experience as a Black SLA. Some participants said that their race was a barrier, but the majority did not go into further detail about race. Derrick Stubbs was the only participant to explicitly mention that race is the only explanation for the lack of Black SLAs. He continued to say that he was in the position (referring to age and tenure) to speak about race and "call it what it is." It is significant that the issue of racism was not directly addressed by more participants. Athletic directors, for example, is usually speaking for more than themselves. They are frequently speaking with consideration to the fanbase, alumni, executive team, employees, students, and athletes. When constantly considering this many opinions, it is easy to adopt

colorblind ideologies. A leader who is willing to speak to racially sensitive issues creates additional avenues of controversy, and with regards to them feeling a heightened sense of expectation, these SLAs have to pick their battles. Many SLAs may not be in the position to or habit of clearly articulating racial issues that are encountered in their respective athletic departments.

Although the findings did not align well with CRT, there were several undertones that alluded to homologous (homosocial) reproduction (Kanter, 1977). Homologous reproduction says, “Members of a dominant group within an organization tend to recruit, nurture (mentor), and promote persons that resemble qualities and characteristics most like themselves” (Sagas, Cunningham & Teed, 2006). Homologous reproduction shows that people hire based on samiliarity (Sagas, Cunningham, & Teed, 2006). The statistics allude to athletic departments hiring based on similarity, and the findings showed ways to navigate the system even when there one’s race differs from the dominant group.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine the experiences and career progression of Black SLAs as well as the barriers to career mobility that they have encountered. Although there is no common theme in career progression, the findings indicate that certain experiences and barriers are unique to Black SLAs as a result of their race. Some of the most prominent insights include the use of barriers to propel one toward success, embracing one's position as an outlier, and the cultivation of vast networks.

This research is one installment in a desperately needed line of inquiry. The lack of Black leadership is not unique to SLAs; there is also underrepresentation of Black coaches and college administrators (Harper, 2012; Harper, 2016; Lapchick, 2016). The issue sheds light on the problem and must be addressed through research which can contribute extensively by identifying patterns, gathering experiences, and creating suggestions to achieve a more equitable future. The aspiration is that this study will both inspire and inform.

Implications and Recommendations

Implications for Future Black SLAs

This research shares insights from successful men and women who occupy spaces of leadership in college sports. Each individual stressed

relationships, navigating the system, and the value of being authentically oneself. For aspiring ADs and SLAs who are Black, the internalization of these three themes can support upward mobility in college sports.

Perhaps the most profound finding was that interviewees maintained a positive and optimistic outlook despite barriers, inequality in representation, and stereotypes. Black people who aspire to be ADs and SLAs must be self-aware and confident enough to voice their input in uncomfortable spaces.

Recommendation

The primary suggestion for aspiring Black SLAs is to gain the prerequisite experience and education as the first step. They should explore available entry-level jobs in the NCAA and create a plan that takes the requirements into account. Such a plan should include the acquisition of an advanced degree in a subject such as sports management, business, or law (Spenard, 2011; Center, 2011). Although senior-level positions offer adequate pay, it is highly likely that beginner jobs, such as internships, will be unpaid. Also, it is important to develop necessary skills while progressing through one's career and to gain as much experience as possible in a variety of areas, especially business, fundraising, and football operations. This population should attend events and establish new contacts as frequently as possible.

Additionally, aspiring SLAs must align themselves with positive and supportive comrades and mentors. Participants mentioned having "champions in one's corner" or a "board of directors." Aspiring SLAs do not need to have all of

the answers, but they are expected to seek proper counsel and align themselves with people who can lead them to the answers. Second chances are rare, even on a personal level, so character is significant. A person who desires to attain an administrative position should reflect the position in both habit and behavior.

Carla Williams is a prime example of navigating the system and fulfilling the necessary requirements along the way. After completing her college basketball career, she began to coach (Daves, 2017). She became Georgia's assistant director of compliance before ascending to associate athletic director, senior associate athletic director, executive associate athletic director, and finally athletic director (Daves, 2017). Williams was involved in at least five committees along the way and oversaw several sports. Furthermore, she was responsible for the day-to-day operations of the department as well as for its \$127 million budget (Daves, 2017). Williams obtained both a Masters and Doctorate degree (Daves, 2017). She not only exemplifies an AD or SLA who assumed an ideal path but also remains unmatched in her level of preparation prior to her appointment. Appendix 7 presents a generic map of a path to becoming an athletic director. The chart is based on the findings of this study as well as insights from Spenard (2011) and Center (2011). When progressing from intern to athletic director, it is important to gain maximum experience in as many areas as possible, especially development and football oversight.

Lastly, aspiring SLAs should be aware of the "glass house" (Berrey, 2014). A participant alluded to Blacks and other minorities receiving the tough jobs, and

this is known as a “glass cliff” (Cook & Glass, 2014). Although the job is secured, the term “cliff” is used intentionally to portray the feeling of having to do things perfectly to avoid falling off or failing (Cook & Glass, 2014). There can be an invisible “glass ceiling” that exists that hinders promotion and upward mobility (Berrey, 2014). “Glass walls” refers to being ushered toward a specialization or being pigeonholed in a specific area (Bronstein, Rothblum, & Solomon, 1993). The “glass maze” alludes to being lost attempting to navigate a specific area (Polleys, 1999). This closely aligns to the need to navigate the system proving that success is possible with a sense of direction.

Implications for Athletic Administration

The findings of this study suggest that there is much progress to which current college athletic administrations must contribute. Additionally, there is a daunting responsibility of current Black SLAs to succeed – not just for their own sake but also to secure the possibility of employment opportunities for the next Black candidate. In combination with the duty to mentor the next generation of Black SLAs, this immense sense of obligation exerts a heavy burden on current Black SLAs. Genuine local and national concern must arise when a school with no Black SLAs hires a senior staff member without considering a Black candidate as a finalist. It may require an exodus of Black athletes from these institutions for schools to realize the severity of their exclusionary hiring practices.

This study confirms the presence of racial inequity in college sports; however, the situation is not without hope. If the issue is not addressed soon,

more scholars and critics of the NCAA system will likely highlight and challenge these problems. It is even possible that additional leagues will begin to replace the NCAA.

Suggestions

On a national level, the NCAA must more effectively ensure that its member institutions consider minority candidates. The NCAA does not hire the ADs and SLAs, but the NCAA's member institutions hire these positions. The diversity pledge released by the NCAA in 2016 has proven to be merely a piece of paper, as it has not yielded significant results. Policies that are similar to the NFL's Rooney Rule (Collins, 2007) are needed to at least enter minority candidates into conversations about new hires. The racial inequity found in these positions raises ethical concerns.

On a personal level, SLAs must take care in their hiring practices to intentionally consider candidates with diverse demographics. Hiring decisions tend to be based on comfort and familiarity; however, to accomplish true progress, SLAs must be willing to engage in new and uncomfortable situations. This discomfort may extend to other stakeholders, such as the fan base, who are majority White. Nevertheless, if the candidate is qualified, he or she can favorably represent himself or herself as well as the school. Nobody should be hired based solely on his or her race, but no one should be excluded from a position because of this either. Lastly, it is important to remember that the goal is not simply to win or allow for equal opportunity but rather to ensure that students

graduate from the institution with a well-rounded academic and athletic college experience.

Black SLAs should also be conscious and willing to voice their opinions about the perceived exploitation of Black athletes. This dual responsibility includes creating dialogue with colleagues and ensuring the student-athletes take full advantage of the resources at their disposal. Regardless of race, SLAs have to join together to ensure that the coaches are allowing athletes to take advantage of academic resources includes full access to major selection, study time, and graduation rates.

Limitations

One limitation of the study is its qualitative nature, as qualitative studies generally have fewer participants compared to quantitative studies (Creswell, 2007). The interview insights may represent the experiences of the seven participants without accurately reflecting the general experience of Blacks in athletics administration as a whole. This study did not differentiate between the ages of participants, and the experiences of younger and older SLAs may differ. The study also did not compare the Black SLAs' experiences to those of their White counterparts in order to examine differences between White and Black experiences of working in college sports. Additionally, because of their time demands, the Black SLAs were often not accessible. Some were interested but did not participate. Ideally, there would be a database of the names and email addresses of SLAs to facilitate easy contact. The use of purposive sampling

alone, rather than in combination with other techniques, contributed to the low number of participants. Lastly, this study did not examine DII, DIII, or HBCUs.

Suggestions for Future Research

Based on the limitations of this study, future research should perform additional comparisons in terms of age, gender, and race. It may be beneficial to supplement this research with a study that employs a quantitative or mixed methods approach to reach a larger population and explore more individual experiences. Also, it may be beneficial to more heavily utilize snowball sampling to achieve a higher proportion of actual participants in relation to interested members among the target population. Finally, a comparison of different divisions is suggested.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Alderman, D. H. & Inwood, J. (2016). Mobility as antiracism work: The “Hard Diving” of NASCAR’s Wendell Scott. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 106(3), 597-611
- Aleinikoff, A.T. (1991). A case for race-consciousness. *Columbia Law Review*, 91, 1060-1123.
- Alexander, M. (2010). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York, NY: New Press.
- Arthur, M.B. & Rousseau, D.M. (1996), “The boundaryless career as a new employment principle”, in Arthur, M.G. and Rousseau, D.M. (Eds), *The Boundaryless Career*, Oxford University Press, New York, 3-20.
- Baruch, Y. (2004). “Transforming careers: from linear to multidimensional career paths”, *Career Development International*, 9, 58-73.
- Bauer-Wolf, J. (2017). Some won't commit to NCAA diversity pledge. Retrieved May 23, 2017, from <https://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2017/05/16/some-wont-commit-ncaa-diversity-pledge>
- Beamon, K. K. (2008). "Used goods": Former African American College student-athletes' perception of exploitation by Division I universities. *Journal of Negro Education*, 77(4), 352-364.
- Bell, D. A. (1976). *Racial Remediation: An Historical Perspective on Current Conditions*, 52 Notre Dame L. Rev. 5 (1976). Available at: <http://scholarship.law.nd.edu/ndlr/vol52/iss1/1>

- Bell, D. A. (1979). *Bakke*, minority admissions, and the usual price of racial remedies. *California Law Review*, 76, 3-19.
- Bell, D. (1980). *Brown v. Board of Education* and the interest-convergence dilemma. *Harvard Law Review*, 93(3), 518-533.
- Bell, D. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. New York, NY: Basic.
- Berrey, E. (2014). Breaking glass ceilings, ignoring dirty floors: The culture and class bias of diversity management. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58(2), 347–370. doi:10.1177/0002764213503333
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2009). *Racism without racists: Colorblind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (3rd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bronstein, P., Rothblum, E. D., & Solomon, S. E. (1993). Ivy halls and glass walls: Barriers to academic careers for women and ethnic minorities. *Building a Diverse Faculty*, 53, 17-31
- Burton, L. J., Barr, C. A., Fink, J. S., Breuning, J. E. (2009). “Think athletic director, think masculine?”: Examination of the gender typing of managerial subroles within athletic administration positions. *Sex Roles*, 61, 416-426. doi: 10.1007/s11199-009-9632-6

- Burton, L. J., Grappendorf, H., & Henderson A. (2011). Perceptions of gender in athletic administration: Utilizing role congruency to examine (potential) prejudice against women. *Journal of Sport Management*, 25, 36-45.
- Center, K. R. (2011) *Characteristics and Professional Qualifications of NCAA Divisions II and III Athletic Directors*. (Master's Thesis, University of Tennessee Knoxville). Retrieved from http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_gradthes/956
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cook, A., & Glass, C. (2014). Glass cliffs and organizational saviors: barriers to minority leadership in work organizations. *Social problems*. 60(2), 168-187
- Coleman, J. E. (1998). Barriers to career mobility/ advancement by African-American and Caucasian female administrators in Minnesota organizations: A perception or reality? *Education Resources Information Center*, 29, 259-303.
- Collins, B. W. (2007). Tackling unconscious bias in hiring practices: The plight of the Rooney Rule. *New York University Law Review*, 82, 870.
- Collins, P. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Compartmentalization. 1967. In *Oxford English dictionary online*, retrieved from <http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.utk.edu:90/view/Entry/37461?redirectedFrom=compartmentalization#eid>

- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8.
- Crenshaw, K.W. (1993). Beyond racism and misogyny: Black feminism and 2 Live Crew. In M.J. Matsuda, C.R. Lawrence, R. Delgado, & K.W. Crenshaw (Eds.), *Words that wound: Critical race theory, assaultive speech, and the First Amendment* (pp. 111-132). Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Available at:
<http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cunningham, P. L. (2009). "Please don't fine me again!!!!": Black athletic defiance in the NBA and NFL. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 33, 39-58.
- Cunningham, G. B. (2015). *Diversity and inclusion in sport organizations*. Scottsdale, Arizona: Holcomb Hathaway, Publishers, Inc.
- Daves, J. (2017). *Carla Williams named Virginia director of athletics*. Retrieved from the University of Virginia, UVA Today website:
<https://www.news.virginia.edu/content/carla-williams-named-virginia-director-athletics>

- Davis, T. (1995). The myth of the superspade: the persistence of racism in college athletics, *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, 22, 615.
- Delgado, R. (1988). Critical legal studies and the realities of race—Does the fundamental contradiction have a corollary? *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 23, 407-413.
- Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for oppositionists and others: A plea for narrative. *Michigan Law Review*, 87, 2411-2441.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (1995). Why do we tell the same stories? Law reform, critical librarianship, and the triple helix dilemma, in R. Delgado (Ed.) *Critical Race Theory: the cutting edge*, pp. 206–216 (Philadelphia, Temple: University Press).
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). Critical race theory: An introduction. New York: New York University Press.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). Critical race theory: An introduction. NYU Press.
- Delorme, J., & Singer, J (2010). The interest convergence principle and the integration of Major League Baseball. *Journal of Black Studies*, 41(2), 367-384.
- Donnor, J. K. (2005). Towards an interest-convergence in the education of African-American football student athletes in major college sports. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 45-67, DOI: 10.1080/1361332052000340999

Duncan, J. (2018) *DI and NAIA Learfield Directors' Cup Standings Released*.

Retrieved from the Directors Cup website:

<https://thedirectorscup.com/2018/03/di-and-naia-learfield-directors-cup-standings-released-5/>

Dunn, J. (2017). *Ohio State's Martin Jarmond named BC AD*. Retrieved from

Boston College, BC NEWS website: [https://www.bc.edu/bc-](https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/bcnews/athletics-recreation/departments-news/bc-names-martin-jarmond-as-new-athletics-director.html)

[web/bcnews/athletics-recreation/departments-news/bc-names-martin-jarmond-as-new-athletics-director.html](https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/bcnews/athletics-recreation/departments-news/bc-names-martin-jarmond-as-new-athletics-director.html)

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

Ellis, Z. (2017). *Candice Lee named McLendon Scholarship recipient*. Retrieved

from Vanderbilt University, VU Athletics website:

<http://www.vucommodores.com/genrel/062817aad.html>

Feldman, D.C. & Ng, T.W.H. (2007). Careers: mobility, embeddedness, and success. *Journal of Management*, 33(3), 350-377.

Fitzgerald, M.P., Sangria, M.A., & Nelson, B. (1994). Career patterns of athletic

directors: Challenging the conventional wisdom. *Journal of Sport*

Management, 8, 14-26.

Fulks, D. L. (2015). NCAA division I intercollegiate athletics programs report:

revenues and expenses 2004-2014. Retrieved from The National

Collegiate Athletic Association:

- <http://www.ncaa.org/sites/default/files/2015%20Division%20I%20RE%20report.pdf>
- Gillborn, D. (2015). Intersectionality, critical race theory, and the primacy of racism: Race, class, gender, and disability in education. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3), 277-287.
- Harper, S. R. (2006). Black male students at public universities in the U.S.: *Status, trends and implications for policy and practice*. Washington, DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.
- Harper, S. R. (2009), Race, interest convergence, and transfer outcomes for black male student athletes. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 2009: 29–37. doi:10.1002/cc.375
- Harper S. R. (2012) Race without racism: How higher education researchers minimize racist institutional norms. *The Review of Higher Education* 36(1), 9–29.
- Harper, S. R. (2016). *Black male student-athletes and racial inequities in NCAA Division I college sports: 2016 edition*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Race & Equity in Education.
- Harper, S. R., Patton, L. D., & Wooden, O. S. (2009). Access and equity for African American students in higher education: A critical race historical analysis of policy efforts. *Journal of Higher Education*, 80(4).
- Harrison, C. K., Comeaux, E., & Plecha, M. (2006). Faculty and male football and basketball players on university campuses: An empirical investigation of

- the “intellectual” as mentor to the student athlete. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 77(2), 277-283.
- Hawkins, B. (2010). *The New Plantation Black Athletes, College Sports, and Predominantly White NCAA Institutions*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Henry, F., & Tator, C. (2002). *Discourses of domination: Racial bias in the Canadian English-language press*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Hobson, W. (2017, May 15). The NCAA put out a diversity hiring pledge. Notre Dame and Boston College won't sign. Retrieved May 23, 2017 from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/sports/wp/2017/05/15/the-ncaa-put-out-a-diversity-hiring-pledge-notre-dame-and-boston-college-wont-sign/?utm_term=.f256cccb6635
- Hoffer, A. J., & Pincin, J. (2015). The effects of revenue changes on NCAA athletic departments expenditures. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 40(1), 82-102. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2578334
- Hollomon, N. (2016). *NCAA perceived barriers for ethnic minority females in collegiate athletics careers*. Retrieved from National Collegiate Athletic Association publications website: https://www.ncaa.org/sites/default/files/2015RES_BarriersReport2015_20160506.pdf

- Hughes, G. (2004). Managing Black guys: Representation, corporate culture, and the NBA. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 21, 163-184.
- Hylton, K. (2018) Contesting 'race' and sport. New York. Routledge.
- Johnson, D. A. & Acquaviva, J. (2012). Point/counterpoint: Paying college athletes. *The Sport Journal*. Retrieved from <http://thesportjournal.org/article/pointcounterpoint-paying-college-athletes/>
- Johnson, M. (2018). *Buffalo Mark Alnutt becomes 15th black athletic director at an FBS school: He replaces Allen Greene, who left for Auburn*. Retrieved from The Undefeated website: <https://theundefeated.com/whhw/buffalo-mark-alnutt-becomes-15th-black-athletic-director-at-an-fbs-school/>
- Kanter, R.M. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Karpman, C. (2018). *Q&A with Jean Boyd, general manager for ASU football*. Retrieved from 247sports website: <https://247sports.com/college/arizona-state/Article/QA-with-Jean-Boyd-general-manager-of-ASU-football-115073799>
- Lane, J. (2007). *Under the boards: The cultural revolution in basketball*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Lapchick, R., Marfatia, S., Bloom, A., & Silverain, S. (2017). *The 2016 racial and gender report card: College sport*. Orlando: University of Central Florida, The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport.

- Lapchick, R., Agusta, R., Kinkopf, N., & McPhee, F. (2013). *The 2012 racial and gender report card: College sport*. Orlando: University of Central Florida, The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport.
- Lloyd-Jones, B. (2009). Implications of race and gender in higher education administration: An African American woman's perspective. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(5), 606-618.
doi:10.1177/1523422309351820
- Lorenz, S. L. & Murray, R. (2014). "Goodbye to the gangstas": The NBA dress code, Ray Emery, and the policing of Blackness in basketball and hockey. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 38(1), 23-50.
- Lyons, S. T., Schweitzer, L., & Ng, E.S.W. (2015). "How have careers changed? An investigation of changing career patterns across four generations", *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 30(1), 8-21,
<https://doi.org/10.1108/JMP-07-2014-0210>
- Mahony, D. F., & Howard, D. R. (2001). Sport business in the next decade: A general overview of expected trends. *Journal of Sport Management*, 15(4), 275-296. doi:10.1123/jsm.15.4.275
- McDowell, J., & Carter-Francique, A. (2017). An intersectional analysis of the workplace experience of African American female athletic directors. *Sex Roles*, 77, 393-408. doi:10.1007/s11199-016-0730-y
- National Collegiate Athletic Association (2017). 2017 NCAA Tournament is most watched in 24 years across television through first Sunday, plus record-

- setting digital consumption. Retrieved from
<http://www.ncaa.com/news/basketball-men/article/2017-03-20/2017-ncaa-tournament-most-watched-24-years-across-television>
- National Collegiate Athletic Association (2017). Sport sponsorship, participation and demographics search [Data file]. Retrieved from
<http://web1.ncaa.org/rgdSearch/exec/main>
- New, J. (2016, September 22). No Rooney Rule for colleges. Retrieved May 18, 2017, from <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/09/22/ncaa-urges-institutions-sign-diversity-pledge>
- Orso, A. (2014). *Penn State has hired former Cal AD Sandy Barbour as athletic director*. Retrieved from Penn Live website:
http://www.pennlive.com/midstate/index.ssf/2014/07/penn_state_has_hired_former_ca.html
- Pan, Y. Y. (2015). Review of racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. *The Middle Ground Journal*, 10. <http://TheMiddleGroundJournal.org>
- Peachey, J. W. & Burton, L. J. (2010) Male or female athletic director? Exploring perceptions of leader effectiveness and a (potential) female leadership advantage with intercollegiate athletic directors. *Sex Roles*, 64, 416-425. doi: 10.1007/s11199-010-9915-y
- Pitts, L. (1995, June 25). Racist status quo onerous on Blacks... *Wisconsin State Journal*, p. 3B. Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

- Polleys, M. S. (1999). Mastering the maze through mentoring: Career advancement of female superintendents. Unpublished manuscript.
- Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265 (1978).
- Reid, A. (2015). *Black head coaches do not get second chances*. Retrieved from the St. Louis American Foundation website:
http://www.stlamerican.com/sports/sports_columnists/sports_eye/black-head-coaches-don-t-get-second-chances/article_00d64010-4c4b-11e5-9045-57588bb5b35c.html
- Rhoden, W. C. (2006). *Forty million dollar slaves: the rise, fall, and redemption of the black athlete*. New York, NY: Penguin Random House.
- Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Sagas, M., & Cunningham, G. B., & Teed, K. (2006), An examination of homologous reproduction in the representation of assistant coaches of women's teams. *Springer Science and Business Media, Inc*, 55, 503-510.
- Schlabach, M. (2010). *Source: Georgia AD Evans Ousted*. Retrieved from <http://www.espn.com/college-sports/news/story?id=5354373>
- Shoji, C. K. (2004). *Identification of division I ethnic minority senior-level athletic administrators and patterns in their career paths*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Singer, J. (2005) Addressing epistemological racism in sport management research. *Journal of Sport Management*, 19(4), 464-479

- Smith, A.B. (2017). The lived experiences of position specialists in a team sport environment. " PhD diss., University of Tennessee,
http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_graddiss/4498
- Sparkes, A. C., & Smith, B. (2013). *Qualitative research methods in sport, exercise and health : from process to product*. Retrieved from
<https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.proxy.lib.utk.edu:2050>
- Spenard, J. C., (2011) *Professional preparation of the NCAA Division I athletic director: An occupational framework* (Master's Thesis, University of Tennessee Knoxville). Retrieved from
http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_gradthes/911
- Steward, A. & Cunningham, G. (2015). Racial identity and its impact on job applicants. *Journal of Sport Management*. 29, 245-256.
- Swift, H.T. (2011). *Understanding the career paths and experiences of division I- A athletic directors: A phenomenological study* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <http://scholarworks.wmich.edu/dissertations>
- Taylor, E. & Hardin, R. (2016). Female NCAA Division I athletic directors: Experiences and challenges. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity*. 24,14-25.
- Tate, W. F. (1997). Critical race theory and education history: History, theory, and implications. *Review of Research in Education*. 22(1), 195-247.
- Taylor, E. A., Siegele, J. L., Smith, A. B., & Hardin, R. (2018). Applying career construction theory to female national collegiate athletic association

- division I conference commissioners. *Journal of Sport Management*, 20(XX), 1-13.
- Truiett-Theodorson, R. (2005). Career patterns of African American Athletic Directors at predominantly White higher educational institutions: A case study. Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Tufford, L. & Newman, P. (2010). Bracketing in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Social Work*. 11(1), 80-96.
- Ture, Kwame (1967). *Black power: Politics of liberation* (November 1992 ed.). New York: Vintage
- U.S. Bureau of Census (2010a). *The white population: 2010 census briefs*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office. Available at: <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-05.pdf>
- U.S. Bureau of Census (2010b). *The White population: 2010 census briefs*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office. Available at: <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-06.pdf>
- Volken, D. (2018). *New Auburn athletics director Allen Greene faces most awkward situation in college sports*. Retrieved from USA TODAY Sports website: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/college/columnist/dan-wolken/2018/01/19/new-auburn-athletics-director-allen-greene-faces-most-awkward-situation-college-sports/1050246001/>
- Wood, E. A. (2016). *Perceptions of Division I athletic director paths* (doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Proquest Dissertations Publishing (10249952)

Yankah, E. N. (2015). Why N.C.A.A athletes shouldn't be paid. *The New Yorker*.

Retrieved from <https://www.newyorker.com/news/sporting-scene/why-ncaa-athletes-shouldnt-be-paid>

Zirin, D. (2007). *Welcome to the Terrordome: The pain, politics, and promise of sports*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1

IRB Study Approval Letter



THE UNIVERSITY OF
TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

December 20, 2017

Russell Andrew Pointer,
UTK - Coll of Education, Hlth, & Human - Kinesiology Recreation & Sport Studies

Re: UTK IRB-17-04093-XP
Study Title: Black Senior Level Administrators: Examining the Barriers that Prevent Upward Mobility

Dear Russell Andrew Pointer:

The UTK Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed your application for the above referenced project. It determined that your application is eligible for expedited review under 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1), categories (6) and (7). The IRB has reviewed these materials and determined that they do comply with proper consideration for the rights and welfare of human subjects and the regulatory requirements for the protection of human subjects.

Therefore, this letter constitutes full approval by the IRB of your application (version 1.3) as submitted, including Pointer Informed Consent (Version 1.2), Pointer Email for Senior-Level Administrator (Version 1.1), and the Pointer Interview Guide (Version 1.0). The listed documents have been dated and stamped IRB approved. Approval of this study will be valid from December 20, 2017 to December 19, 2018.

In the event that subjects are to be recruited using solicitation materials, such as brochures, posters, web-based advertisements, etc., these materials must receive prior approval of the IRB. Any revisions in the approved application must also be submitted to and approved by the IRB prior to implementation. In addition, you are responsible for reporting any unanticipated serious adverse events or other problems involving risks to subjects or others in the manner required by the local IRB policy.

Finally, re-approval of your project is required by the IRB in accord with the conditions specified above. You may not continue the research study beyond the time or other limits specified unless you obtain prior written approval of the IRB.

Sincerely,

Colleen P. Gilrane, Ph.D.
Chair

Institutional Review Board | Office of Research & Engagement
1534 White Avenue Knoxville, TN 37996-1529
865-974-7697 865-974-7400 fax irb.utk.edu

BIG ORANGE. BIG IDEAS.

Flagship Campus of the University of Tennessee System

Appendix 2

Email for Senior-Level Administrator

Email for Potential Senior-Level Administrator:

(Date)

Dear (Insert Name),

I currently a Master's student at the University of Tennessee working towards completion of my thesis. My research will examine the experiences, career progression, and barriers toward upward mobility for Black NCAA athletic directors and senior-level athletics administrators. I want to gauge your willingness to participate in this study, and if you are interested in participating, we can begin scheduling a phone interview approximately 30-45 minutes in length. I will provide a brief overview of the research below.

Using the Critical Race Theory, I plan to examine the role of race in the career progression of Black NCAA senior-level athletics administrators. The implications of this study will be beneficial to the NCAA (in light of recent diversity initiatives), researchers, and aspiring ADs for years to come. Protecting your identity will be of utmost importance, so pseudonyms will be used in the final report to ensure discretion. Before the interview takes place, you will be required to sign an informed consent explaining the study's purpose, risks, and your rights as a participant. This informed consent will also outline additional safety measures taken for your protection.

If you are interested in being a participant for my study, please email back at rpointe2@vols.utk.edu to set up a date and time for the interview.

Thanks in advance,

Russell Pointer, Jr.

University of Tennessee Recreation and Sport Management Master's Student

rpointe2@vols.utk.edu

865-974-1281

Appendix 3

Informed Consent Agreement

Informed Consent to Participate in Research

Title

Black Senior Level Administrators: Examining the Barriers that Prevent Upward Mobility

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research study for Russell Pointer's Master's thesis at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The purpose of the study is to explore the experiences, career progression, and barriers to career mobility for Black athletic directors.

Participants' Involvement in the Study

You will be participating in an interview that will be approximately 30-45 minutes in length. Prior to the interview, you will be asked to review and sign an informed consent form. During the interview, you will be asked a series of questions focused around your experiences as an athletic director or senior-level administrator. The interviews will be digitally recorded on an audio recorder to ensure accuracy of your responses. After the interviews are completed and transcribed, the researcher will ask you to review the document for accuracy of the transcription.

Risks

There are minimal risks involved in the research. It is possible that someone could find out you were in this study, but due to the procedures used to minimize this risk, the investigator believes this risk is very low. You may be asked to recall experiences that could be considered negative in nature and that may cause stress and discomfort, so if a question makes you uncomfortable, you can skip that question. You may also withdraw at any time during the interview.

Confidentiality

Your name, age, degrees, and affiliations will not be included in any reports, and the information you provide will remain confidential. You will be assigned a pseudonym, and that will be used for any direct quotation used. The researcher and his faculty advisor will have access to all notes, transcripts and recordings. This information will be uploaded and secured through the University of Tennessee's GoogleDrive. This server is certified for the storage of personally identifiable information. The recordings will be deleted from the digital recorder as soon as they are uploaded they are downloaded onto GoogleDrive. The computer used to access the files will also be password protected and kept in the possession of the researcher. All interviews will be deleted from GoogleDrive after 3 years.

Benefits

You will not directly benefit from your participation in the research. A potential societal benefit of this research is to shed light on the experiences of Black men and women working in athletic administration. This may be beneficial to aspiring Black athletic directors. This research may enrich the scholarship in the area of racially/ethnic diverse athletic directors.

Participation

Your participation is voluntary. You can decline to participate or end your participation at any time with no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you stop or

____ Participants Initials

withdraw from the study, data collected up to that point will be included in the data analysis process, unless you request that it not be used.

Contact Information

If you have questions at any time about the study or experience any problems, you may contact Russell Pointer, the principal investigator, at the University of Tennessee in the Department of Kinesiology, Recreation, and Sports Studies. The address is 1914 Andy Holt Ave. Knoxville, TN 37996. The researcher's phone number is (865) 974-3340, and his email address is rpointe2@vols.utk.edu. You may also contact Mr. Pointer's faculty advisor, Dr. Steven Waller, at 865-974-1279, swaller2@utk.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the University of Tennessee IRB Compliance Officer at utkirb@utk.edu or 865-974-7697.

Consent

I have read the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study. I have been given the ability to ask questions at any time prior, during or after the study. I understand my participation is completely voluntary. I may withdraw at any time without penalty and without loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I give my permission for Russell Pointer to use the interview and information collected for her research.

Print Name of Participant

Signature of Participant/ Date

Investigator Signature/ Date

Appendix 4

Interview Guide

Questions

1. Tell me about your experiences working in a field -college athletics- in which leadership positions are disproportionately held by Whites?
 2. What were the most important factors that helped you advance to your position?
 3. What were the most significant barriers you faced while progressing toward your current position?
-

Appendix 5

Participant Demographics

Name	Race/ Ethnicity	Gender	Position
Bob Fitzgerald	Black	Male	Athletic Director
Darius Williams	Black	Female	Interim Athletic Director
Darla Johnson	Black	Female	Senior Associate Athletic Director
Erica Thompson	Black	Female	Senior Associate Athletic Director
Cynthia Waters	Black	Female	Athletic Director
John Terry	Black	Male	Athletic Director
Derrick Stubbs	Black	Male	Athletic Director

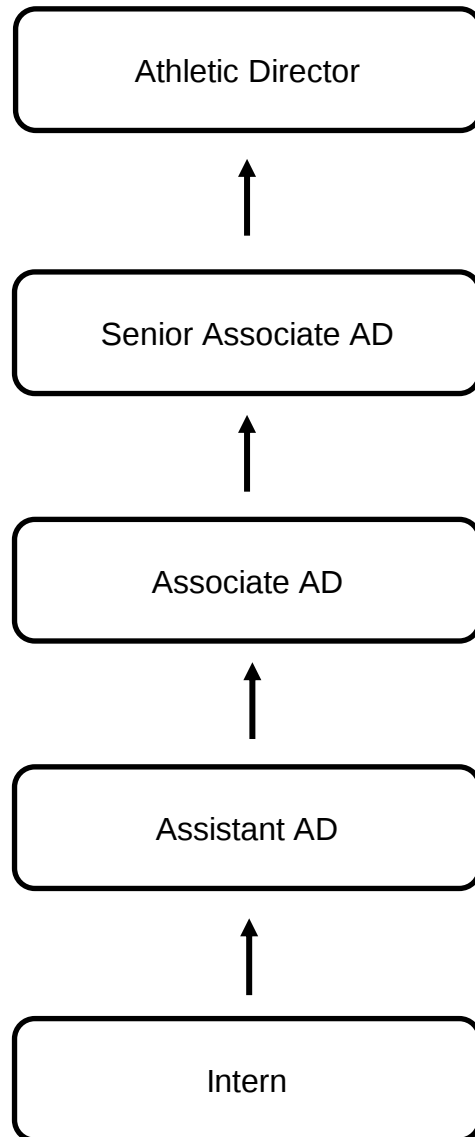
Appendix 6

Themes and Subthemes

Themes	Subthemes
Champions in your corner	Having Proper Mentors Regular Interactions with Colleagues Developing a Network of Mentees.
Navigating the system	Barriers to Stepping Stones Right Place, Right Time Opportunities are Hard to Come By
Embracing Individuality	Being an Outlier Career Progression

Appendix 7

Map to Becoming an AD



VITA

Russell Andrew Pointer, Jr. was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, and raised in Gallatin, Tennessee. He graduated from Gallatin High School in May 2012, and he immediately began at Morehouse College in the fall of 2012. Russell graduated from Morehouse College with a Bachelors of Arts degree from Morehouse College in May 2016 in Kinesiology, Sport Studies, and Physical Education with a minor in Leadership Studies. He accepted a graduate teaching assistantship at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and he began to pursue his Masters in Recreation and Sport Management. While at the University of Tennessee, he worked with the Tennessee Fund, Partners in Sports, and the Graduate Student Advisory Board. Russell received the Partners in Sports Scholarship Award and was named among the HBCU Top 30 Under 30. Russell graduated from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in August 2018. He will pursue a Master's of Divinity from Vanderbilt Divinity School beginning August 2018.