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Misunderstood: Division I African American Female Athletes' Experiences of Racism

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Ivy Jean Pierce entitled "Misunderstood: Division I African American Female Athletes' Experiences of Racism." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Kinesiology and Sport Studies.

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Misunderstood: Division I African American Female Athletes' Experiences of Racism

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to God and everyone who has helped me along my journey. Also, I would like to dedicate my thesis to my participants, who found the courage to share their stories with me and the rest of the world.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this moment and thank Dr. Fisher, who is the head of my thesis committee. She has been on this journey with me since the beginning. Next, I would like to thank my committee members – Dr. Rebecca Zakrajsek and Dr. Lars Dzikus - who have provided some helpful guidance throughout this process. Lastly, I would like to thank my research group who helped my analysis and code the data.

Abstract

Anshel (1990) examined the feelings and perceptions of African American intercollegiate football players about racial issues and the implications they had for the field of sport psychology. However, the experiences of African American female athletes have not been explored. Therefore, the main purpose of this study was to examine how African American Division I female athletes experience racism. A second purpose of this thesis was to assist coaches and sport psychology consultants in understanding African American Division I female athletes so they can help them reach their full personal and performance potential. A semi-structured interview guide was developed using a modified version of Gilligan's (1989) Moral Conflict and Choice Interview. Data analysis of seven participant interviews revealed four major themes regarding experiences of racism and whether or not these athletes decided to utilize their voice: (a) "speaking out" depends on the relationship; (b) being the "only one" in multiple life domains; (c) stereotypes and racist assumptions; and (d) speaking up could reinforce stereotypes. It appeared that African American Division I female athletes wrestled with racism both in and out of sport. In addition, the racism they faced came in many forms; it was verbal and nonverbal, overt and covert. Not only did they report struggling with general stress, they also struggled with stress that came from racism within sport competition. It is imperative for sport psychology consultants to understand how racism affects African American female athletes at this level. Also, suggestions are given for Sport Psychology consultants who interact with African American female athletes.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and General Information

Over the past two years in the UT Sport Psychology and Motor Behavior Program at UT Knoxville, I have asked myself multiple questions concerning race and sport, particularly with regard to African-American[1] athletes. These have included: What are African-Americans' perceptions of racial issues going on in the world? Do these perceptions of racial issues change relative to sport? And, specifically, does being an African-American sport participant in sport change one's perception of racial issues in sport? As I pondered these questions, I wondered how these issues come into play for African-American intercollegiate athletes at NCAA DI schools located in the Southeastern area of the United States. The South is known for being the cradle of some of the finest athletics in the country. In addition, universities located in Southern states have poured resources into financing athletic programs and producing environments which increase athletic performance. Because of my previous NCAA DI athletic experience, I also wondered if non African-American sport psychology consultants and coaches are truly aware of what it is like to be an African-American female athlete competing in NCAA DI Athletics. In this chapter, I describe my story of racism as an African-American female NCAA DI lacrosse player. I then present a brief literature review, followed by a statement of the problem, purpose of the study, limitations, delimitations, and definitions used in the research.

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[1] I choose to identify myself as African American because I am an American born of African descent. This was also a criteria for inclusion in the study.

My Story: On the Other Side of the Fence

By way of background, I am an African-American female who has participated in athletics since upper elementary school. From elementary to high school, I participated in basketball, softball, rowing, and lacrosse. Until college, I was one of only a few African-Americans on my lacrosse team. In college, I played lacrosse at Hillman University[2] in Columba District. Hillman University is an HBCU (a Historically Black College and University) and, at that time, had the only majority African-American NCAA DI women's lacrosse program in the country. While playing lacrosse at Hillman University, I encountered some very painful experiences.

One occurred my first year when we were on the road at Lillywood University in Crossroad, Virginia. As we were en route to Lillywood, I had no knowledge that Crossroad was known by many people of color as a racist community. Being in my first year, I was a little naive; I was in my first year world where "everything was great"! However, as we were warming up, right before the game, I was called a "nigger."

At that very moment, I was frozen in place. My recollection of this experience is vivid, as if it was yesterday. My position was goalie and the goalies warmed up in a separate area from the team. A group of three Caucasian males were next to the field, fairly close to where the goalies warmed up. It appeared from their behavior that they had been drinking; they were getting rowdy. They started taunting us and telling us to "go back to where you belong." That moment is stamped in my memory as one of the most embarrassing and demoralizing moments of my life. I felt little and unimportant.

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[2] All of the names in this thesis are pseudonyms, including the names of the universities.

Thereafter, it was difficult for me to regroup and play lacrosse because I felt publicly humiliated. At that time, I did not understand the impact that cultural factors could have on my sport performance.

As with any coach, our coach attempted to make us remove what had happened from our immediate memory. However, it was too late. While I assumed that these men had been drinking, they demonstrated so much hatred in calling us racist names. This hatred gave me the impression that it was more than just the alcohol. What was more shocking and downright unprofessional was that the Lillywood officials never asked these men to move or to refrain from making the comments. According to the Lillywood officials, the men were on the other side of the fence and there was nothing they could do.

This response was very offensive and I personally felt that the officials did not take on proper responsibility. It appeared that the property outside of the stadium also belonged to Lillywood. At the end of the day, these men were on Lillywood University's property and   Lillywood officials could have taken corrective action. The officials could have secured campus police or security, who, in turn, could have handled the matter. Also, I believe that the officials/referees of the lacrosse game could have penalized Lillywood for their unruly fans; perhaps, then, these men would have been forced to leave the field.

Sport performance and cultural background. Since I am an ex- NCAA DI college lacrosse player who was on a majority African- American team that was coached by Caucasian Americans as well as African-Americans, this topic is also of interest to

me. Having played lacrosse since 9th grade, the culture and the dynamics of my college

team was completely different from any other lacrosse team I had previously played on. I

had previously played both junior varsity and varsity lacrosse. I also played on two

different traveling teams and attended numerous camps in Pennsylvania and Maryland.

However, as a college player, college lacrosse presented different dynamics. It was the

first lacrosse team where I was not one of two or three African-Americans on the team.

My college teammates had the same prior experiences and were able to relate and

understand my journey of being an African-American female athlete in a sport that has

few African-Americans females. I do believe that this changed the way we approached

sport, and, particularly, lacrosse. For my team, it was not only about winning games; it

was also about representing your race and cultural background. This idea was understood

throughout our team because we were the only majority African-American lacrosse team

in the country at that time. This title came with an unprecedented weight that I had not

experienced before; at times, this weight impacted my performance.

At one point, my coach, who was Caucasian American, could not understand the

intensity of the pressure. This was a cultural difference that impacted our performance,

and, at times, made it difficult for our coach to relate to us and us to her. Thus, I also have

a vested interest in this topic as a future sport psychology consultant who wants to work

with NCAA DI athletes because of my firsthand experience of cultural differences and

how they that can affect mental and physical performance.

My experience at Lillywood and other related experiences have motivated me to

become a practicing sport psychology consultant. As a future practicing sport psychology

consultant, it is imperative that I am cognizant of the cultural and racial differences that impact my clients' performance. My belief is that when consulting with clients, it is important to consider every relevant aspect including age, gender, race and cultural background, to name a few. Gathering this information will provide vital data which will assist in developing a better understanding of how athletes are approaching sport and their sport performance, and how I can help them achieve their performance potential.

In particular, I hope that this research will also assist Caucasian American sport psychology consultants who consult with athletes from different cultural backgrounds. Oftentimes, such consultants only consider athletes' physical or mental performance and nothing more. I believe that this study will help uncover how African-American athletes' mental performance is impacted by more than just what relates to technical abilities.

Brief Literature Review

Although 23 years old now, the idea for this thesis was first generated after reading a study conducted by Anshel (1990). Anshel examined the feelings and perceptions of African-American intercollegiate football players about racial issues and the implications they had for the field of sport psychology. Anshel utilized the technique of semi-structured interviewing to obtain answers from participants. The interviews covered four main areas: (a) interactions with white head coaches; (b) the unique needs of African-American versus Caucasian athletes; (c) whether or not these needs were recognized and met; and (d) the effect of the sport environment on their performance. Of interest was the extent to which African-American collegiate football players perceived

their sport environment differently than their Caucasian counterparts and also their coaches at one Southwestern university in the United States.

Anshel's results suggested that these athletes felt that Caucasian coaches treated them unfairly, were racist, and generally, did not give psychological support. These results are very important for sport psychology consultants who are consulting with African-American male football players; Anshel even provided recommendations for Caucasian sport psychology consultants who interact with African-American athletes and their coaches. Anshel also suggested that further research is also important because African-American athletes (males, in particular) may have a different approach to sport than their Caucasian counterparts, including a focus on individual goals versus team goals. In addition, the semi-structured interview guide that Anshel developed contains many important questions. However, it would have also been helpful if questions were included which specifically addressed how these athletes felt relative to working with a sport psychology consultant of a different race. It would have also been interesting to hear African-American female athletes' perspectives. To date, the current study is the first study to examine NCAA DI African-American female athletes' experience of racism.

Bruening, Armstrong, and Pastore (2005) conducted a study focusing on how silencing of African-American female athletes occurs by the media, athletic administrators, coaches, and other student athletes. These researchers examined African-American female athletes' perspectives regarding their interaction with Caucasian men, Caucasian women, African-American men, and those who have higher dominant social

standings. Results suggested that African-American female athletes' voices are silenced in sport by the media. The media tends to mainly show African-American female athletes playing basketball or track; they are seldom shown on television playing other sports. These researchers claim that participation in sport is one way to help reduce the silencing. However, if young African-American females do not see any or very few Africa-American females playing certain sports like lacrosse, they are not likely to participate in that sport. Results also suggested that outside the media, African-American female athletes believe that universities can play a role in how their voices are heard and perceived by others. While a great point and one that I hoped to address in this study, one critique is that the researchers could have made the study more inclusive if they had selected athletes who were not just track and field participants; they included 12 participants and only three participated in a different sport than track and field. Interviewing a variety of athletes from other sports would have added more depth to this study.

African-American female and male athletes' experiences of race in sport have also been examined by Lawrence (2005). In this qualitative study, Lawrence focused on experiences of race and race discrimination that occurred during these former athletes' athletic careers. The results of Lawrence's study revealed five themes: (a) being hurt; (b) being outraged and shocked; (c) team togetherness; (d) being empowered; and (e) differences. One improvement that Lawrence could make to the study is the inclusion of current athletes in addition to former players. Long and Hylton (2002) examined the construct of "whiteness" and suggested that researchers should spend more time

examining it. They found that many African-American athletes accepted the fact that they would experience racism. They also found that African-American athletes' racial coping strength can help influence their sport identities. Themes that came up in interviews included: (a) racial identity; (b) the idea that "white is normal"; (c) the sporting arena; (d) white privilege in sport; (e) whites in the stands; and (f) agendas. A strength of this study is that it not only included perceptions of African-Americans but also of Caucasians. This discussion could help provide an understanding of the process of racism and people's ability to stop it, no matter what race they identify with. Results also demonstrated the complexity that some researchers might experience with these processes. Also, the researchers made a point that their interpretations of racism in this study results could not be separated from of an examination of their own conceptualizations of "blackness" and "whiteness".

In conclusion, African-American female athletes may face feelings of isolation and cultural pressure, which may play a role in their perception of sport and performance in sport. It is important to examine all of these issues together in order to form a complete idea of how cultural and gender issues impact African-American female athletes' perception of sport and performance in sport.

Statement of the Problem

Researchers in sport psychology have conducted studies regarding various experiences that athletes, coaches, and competitors have. However, few take, into account racial and cultural backgrounds as well as the needs of minority athletes with whom they are working (Anshel, 1990). In addition, the job of a sport psychology consultant is to

facilitate improvement and maxmize performance in athletes. With this said, not every athlete is the same. Therefore, it is important that consultants understand cultural and racial differences. Some African-American athletes tend to perceive sport and performance differently than some Caucasian athletes. So, the major research question is: What are the experinces of racism that Divison I female athlete have? This is important for coaches and sport psychology consultant help athletes improve their performance in sport. Some consultants may believe that they do not need to be culturally or racially competent. This belief is not realistic because sport contains athletes from a variety of cultural backgrounds who experince racism that may impact their performance

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study was to examine how African-American NCAA DI female athletes experienced racism while competing in sport. A second purpose of this thesis was to assist coaches and sport psychology consultants in understanding African-American DI female athletes so they can help them reach their full personal and performance potential.

Limitations

1. Only NCAA DI African American female athletes who experienced racism in sport were interviewed for this study.

2. All interviews were conducted via Skype video.

Delimitations

1. Only current and former NCAA DI African-American female athletes who play or played at Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) were interviewed for this study.

Predominantly White Institutions are school where the majority of the student population are non-minority students.

Definitions

Athletic identity- "the degree to which a person identifies with the athlete role….the combination of cognitive, affective, behavioral, and social aspects relating to the role of the athlete" (Steinfeldt, Reed, & Steinfeldt, 2010, p.6).

Being hurt- "involved participants experiencing heartache and sadness; they [feel] used, abused, and stereotyped as a result of their experiences" (Lawrence, 2005, p. 102).

Cognitive evaluation theory- "predicts that awards/rewards given to an individual in an achievement context can either enhance or undermine that individual's intrinsic motivation, depending on how the award is perceived by the performer" (Amorose & Horn, 2000, p. 64).

Culture- "refers to adherence to values, beliefs, behaviors and norms associated with one's cultural group" (Cokley, 2005, p. 517).

Cultural constructs – the process by which individuals learn and adopt the ways and manners of their culture (Cokley & Helm, 2007, p. 142).

Direct instrumentality- "direct action to confront the source of the problem" (Lykes, 1983).

Ethnic identity- "refers to the extent to which one identifies with one's ethnic group. It is the meaning, strength, and salience of one's ethnic identity" (Cokley, 2005, p.517).

Indirect instrumentality- "indirect action to solve the problem, as in choosing an alternative route to achieve the same goal" (Lykes, 2983).

Identity theory- "…an adaptation of the symbolic interactionist perspective that attempts to explain individuals' behaviors as choices in situations in which there are various behavioral options" (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997, p. 805).

Internalized racialism – "refers to identifying with and internalizing negative and positive stereotypes about one's racial group" (Coakley, 2005, p. 518).

Intrinsic motivation- "the degree to which individuals feel self-determining in their environment and the extent to which individuals feel competent in a particular domain" (Amorose & Horn, 2001, p. 356).

Matching- "…the process of asking clients who they would prefer to see if given a choice between culturally congruent or incongruent consultants" (Pope-Davis, 2002, p. 357).

Microaggressions- " are the brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual-orientation, and religious slights and insults to the target person or group" (Sue, 2010, p. 5).

Microassaults- "conscious, deliberate, and either subtle or explicit racial, gender, or sexual orientation-based attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors that are communicated to marginalized groups through environmental cues, verbalizations, or behaviors" (Sue, 2010, p. 28).

Microinsults-"characterized by interpersonal or environmental communications that conveys stereotypes, rudeness, and insensitivity and that demean a person's racial, gender, sexual orientation, heritage, or identity" (Sue, 2010, p. 31).

Minority status- "refers to the extent to which one has the differential experiences and attitudes that are associated with …being a part of a minority group that is often the target of racist behaviors and prejudicial attitudes" (Cokley, 2005, p. 517).

Nonverbal/behavioral incidents-"are experiences that include the use of by language or more direct physical actions"(Sue, 2010, p. 71).

Oppression- "the systematic and unfair marginalization of some members of society" (Heldke & O'Connor, 2005, as cited in Fisher, Roper, & Butryn, 2009, p. 6).

Passivity- "taking no action" (Lykes, 1983).

Privilege-"the systematic and unfair advantaging of some members of a society" (Heldke & O'Connor, as cited in Fisher, Roper, & Butryn, 2009, p. 6).

Purposeful indirect coping- "responding deliberately but in a way that does not relate to solving the problem" (Lykes, 1983).

Racial identity- "sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (Cokley & Helm, 2007, p. 144).

Race thinking – "the process of reflecting upon one's notion of race" (Butryn, 2002, p. 319).

Racist thinking- "a thought process that links notions of inferiority or superiority to differences in physical attributes" (Butryn, 2002, p. 319).

Self-esteem- "an internal image of oneself that is influenced by the perception of others" (Warren, 1997, p. 108).

Silencing-"…both a metaphorical lack of voice and a functional and symbolic description of the underrepresentation experienced by African American as they exist on the "margins" of their social realities in the White and male dominated world of sport" (Bruening, Armstrong, & Pastore, 2005, p. 83).

Social constructivist theory- the theoretical orientation suggesting that "…an individual's knowledge and meaning are culturally and socially developed" (Harrison, Azzarito, & Burden, 2007, p. 150).

Social support- "…an information component within a person's social network which assesses the value of interpersonal and social relationships, affects a person's psychological and physical status, and impacts a person's ability to effectively handle stress" (Warren, 1997, p. 108).

Stereotypical perceptions- "…socially constructed notions, often based on fallacious, or limited information that can possibly have detrimental consequences or reproduce maladaptive" (Harrison, Jr., Azzarito, & Burden, 2004, p. 159).

Stressful life events – "…stress-based experiences that cause individuals to change or readjust their behaviors" (Warren, 1997, p. 108).

Team togetherness- "feeling a sense of camaraderie with teammates and a sense of belonging to the team" (Lawrence, 2005, p. 106).

Verbal incidents-"are direct or indirect comments to targets" (Sue, 2010, p. 71).

In the next chapter, I examine more in-depth literature related to African-American identity development, African-American female athlete identity (including

feminist theory), and the relationship between cultural competent and sport psychology

consultation.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

In this chapter, I review literature in three major areas: (a) African-American identity development; (b) African-American female athlete identity development; and (c) cultural competence and its relationship to sport psychology consulting. These three bodies of literature play a role in helping us understand Africa- American female athletes who participate in sport.

African-American Identity Development

African-American identity is a combination of different identities such as racial identity, ethnic identity, and cultural identity. Of the three forms of identity mentioned above, racial identity is the most researched in African-American psychology (Sellers, 1997). However, each identity plays a distinctive role in the overall development of African-American identity. For example, an individual's racial identity might play a greater role than his/her ethnic identity in forming African-American identity.

Cokley (2005) indicated that there is both some overlapping and differences between racial and ethnic identity. Cokley (2005) came to this conclusion by comparing the frameworks of Phinney (1990), Cross (1991), and Helms (1996). The aforementioned theorists have some overlap to their theories, but there are some major distinctions. For example, according to Helms (1996), identity models that describe reactions to societal oppression based on race are considered "racial." Helms (1996) also states that identity models that describe cultural characteristics such as language and religion are considered "ethnic." However, Phinney (1990) argues that ethnicity includes race, and, thus, should

be combined into one construct while Cokley (2005) believes that racial and ethnic identities need to be dealt with separately, with the understanding that they are related.

Cokley and Helm (2007) suggest it is best to examine racial identity along with cultural contracts in order to get a better understanding of the psychology of African-Americans. They define cultural contracts as, "the process by which individuals learn and adopt the ways and manners of their culture" (p.142). Examining racial identity along with cultural contracts for African-Americans is important due to the complexity of being African-American in the United States. According to Steinfeldt, Reed, and Steinfeldt (2010), racial identity is shaped by social experiences that take place over time. Steinfeldt et al. (2010) proceeded to say, "racial identity should be viewed as situational emergent because it is enacted as a reaction to context-specific social interactions" (p.7). This suggests that individual racial identities are constantly changing, which indicates that their African-American identities are also constantly changing. Taylor and Roger (1993) furthered that being Black (their term) racially says little about individuals being Black culturally. Taylor and Roger (1993) also maintain that some Blacks primarily tend to affirm "white" priorities, while others Blacks only affirm "Black" priorities; then, there are Blacks who have a combination of both. As Taylor and Roger (1993) state, race does not imply culture and vice-versa. Therefore, it is important to note that not every African-American will identify with his/her racial or cultural identity at all or even in the same way.

African -American Female Athlete Identity Development

African-American female athletes are faced with the challenge of not only grappling with the development of their cultural and racial identity, but also their athletic identity. According to Steinfeldt, Reed, and Steinfeldt (2010), athletic identity is composed of four components: (a) cognitive, (b) affective, (c) social, and (d) behavioral aspects. The development of an athletic identity can be problematic for some African-Americans in a context where, as Steinfeldt, Reed, and Steinfeldt (2010) say, "the cultural of racism is deeply ingrained" (p.4) like sport. This aids in explaining why race plays a role in the lives of African-American student-athletes but not in Caucasian student-athletes (see Lawrence, 2005, for example) and why African-American student-athletes feel discriminated against and isolated while they are on campus (see Hyatt, 2003, for example). In Hyatt's (2003) study, African-American males found themselves being isolated because they were athletes and black; the same could prove very true for African-American female athletes. As Steinfeldt, Reed, and Steinfeldt (2010) stated: "…for African-American student-athletes, negotiating the dualism of racial and athletic identities is difficult because both roles are inherently linked, and both are subject to prejudices and discrimination" (p.21). African-American female athletes also have the role of "female" with its own set of prejudices and discrimination.

African-American women have tackled many challenges throughout history, in and out of sport. They have wrestled with the challenge of double jeopardy or "double consciousness" (Collins, 1998) since slavery. The idea of double jeopardy or "double consciousness" (Collins, 1998) for African-American women is not only applicable in

daily life but also in sport. According to Abney (1999), double jeopardy is the combination of gender and race. In fact, Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) state that, "many African-American woman and girls find it difficult to balance between the two forms of identities. They are constantly finding themselves having to change from one identity to the other with very little notice" (p.38). Jones and Shorter-Gooden suggest that some African-American woman and girls, in fact, are capable of making this transition with ease while others become confused by navigating the two identities.

African-American women can face certain misfortunes either because they are women or because they are African-American. African-American female athletes are also what hooks (1984) would call a margin. She states that, "to be a margin is to be a part of the whole but outside the main body" (hooks, 1984, preface). hooks is not the only theorist to mention this idea of being "inside" but also "outside". According to Hill Collins (2000), this same concept is referred to it as being the "outsider within". Either way, being an African-American female distinguishes these women from every other African-American and every other female in the world.

According to Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003), the two most important identities for most African-American woman are ethnicity and gender. When the two are compared, Jones and Shorter-Gooden say that "…race has a far greater silence than gender" (p.39). Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) continue by saying that many African-American women do not even consciously think about gender identity, even though it is important to them. This may result in many African- American women who are not able

to recognize when they are discriminated against because of their gender (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003).

Further, cultural norms in the African-American community have been partially responsible for the lack of gender bias awareness by African-American women. African-American community cultural norms tend to only acknowledge race and racism (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Therefore, it may be difficult for African-American women to participate in the battle against sexism because they view it as a Caucasian women's fight; African-American women might have this belief because most Caucasian women talk about discrimination but appear to have many advantages and are doing better than most African- American women, both professionally and economically (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003).

Due to their double minority status of being female and African-American, African- American women are also at greater risk for depression (Warren, 1997). It is reported that compared to Caucasian men and women and African-American men, African-American women have more symptoms of depression than any other group (Warren, 1997). According to Warren (1997), stressful life events, social support, and self-esteem are the three variables that might be related to the development of depression. Multiple roles and stressors which are increased due to their "double jeopardy" status affect the development of African-American women's social support system and self-esteem (Warren, 1997). African-American female athletes also have the added stressor of being an athlete.. For some African-American female athletes, being highly visibly

and not having a role model can also add stress and anxiety to their lives (Cokley & Helm, 2007).

As Rhoden (2006) states, "African-American women have been crippled by the burdens of race, gender, and class in the sports arena" (p. 221). African-American women are viewed as the bottom of the ladder after Caucasian men, women, and African-American men in United States society. In other words, African-American women are on the bottom of the "axes of power" (Collins, 2000), making it difficult for them to be heard.

In terms of sport, Withycombe (2011) suggests that such racial and gender stereotypes that are culturally constructed can influence African-American female athletes' experiences. Bruening, Armstrong, and Pastore (2005) also suggest that factors such as race, gender, and social class play a role in the experiences that African-American women have in sport. According to the NCAA (2003), the percentage of African-American women participating in collegiate sport is lower than their Caucasian counterparts, especially in sports other than basketball and track. For example, for the 2009-2010 season, African-American women made up 16% of NCAA athletes while their Caucasian counterparts comprised over 70% of NCAA athletes.

Bruening et al., (2005) further noted that race and social class are able to impact the amount of exposure/opportunities that an individual has to play nontraditional sports. Lack of exposure and opportunities afforded to African-American women in sport (specifically in nontraditional sports) aid in silencing African-American women (Bruening et al., 2005). Bruening et al., (2005) refer to the "silencing" that African-

American women experience in sport as a lack of voice and also as underrepresentation. One form of underrepresentation that African- American women face in sport is through literature; interestingly, African-American female athlete experiences are not memorialized as much as other female athletes (Bruening et al., 2005).

African-American female athletes are also misrepresented in the media. Decisions made by the various executives who control the media have limited the opportunity for Americans to view African-American female athletes on television (Bruening et al., 2005). This, in turn, affects the participation of African-American female athletes in sport (Bruening et al., 2005). Young African-American females are unable to see African-American female athletes participating in (nontraditional) sports. Lack of exposure to African-American female athletes in nontraditional sports can lead to young African-American females not desiring to participate in those sports. Lack of participation with African-American females in sport will likely result in the silencing of African-American female voices in sport (Bruening et al., 2005). In addition, even when African-American female athletes are included in the sport media and literature, their figures/body shapes are the main topic of conversation (Withycombe, 2011).

Cultural Competent and Its Relationship to Sport Psychology Consulting

What does all this research related to Africa-American females' experience have to do with sport psychology consultation? Sport psychology consultants work with athletes from a variety of different races, genders, and cultures. According to Anshel (1990), there was very little information in the sport psychology literature regarding the different needs of minority athletes and their unique cultural background in the 1980s and

early 1990s. More recently, Fisher and colleagues (Fisher & Roper, Fisher & Anders, 2010; Fisher, Roper, & Butryn, 2009; Fisher, 2005) along with others (Kontos & Breland-Noble, 2002) have critiqued the lack of formal training about racial and cultural issues in sport psychology graduate programs. Training in racial and cultural issues can help a sport psychology consultant become cultural competent. In fact, Fisher and Roper as well as Kamphoff, Gill, Araki, and Hammond (2010) have suggested that the Association for Applied Sport Psychology make mandatory training in cultural competence for current and future certified sport psychology consultants.

Cokley and Helm (2007) state that there are four elements to cultural competence: "(a) acknowledging cultural differences and becoming aware of how these differences affect helping, (b) fully appreciating cultural differences; (c) understanding the dynamics of differences; and (d) knowing where or how to obtain specific cultural information" (p. 60). Cokley and Helm state that each component is very important for producing a well-rounded culturally competent (sport psychology) consultant. In fact, when dealing with an athlete of a different race, it is crucial that consultants understand that athletes need time to become comfortable with their consultants and that consultants should take into account athletes' historical, cultural, and personal characteristics (Anshel, 1990). As Kontos and Breland-Noble (2002) suggest, this means: "(a) having an awareness of themselves and other, (b) being sensitive to an athlete's needs, (c) having general psychology knowledge, (d) having knowledge of certain cultural groups (e.g. the group one is likely to work with), (e) having the ability to communicate verbally and nonverbally with athletes" (p. 306).

Butryn (2002) builds on what Kontos and Breland-Noble (2002) suggested when expressing the importance of sport psychology consultants to examine how their interactions with athletes of color can be influenced by their own biases and values. Butryn suggests that if they are unaware of these biases and values, the progress of the athlete could be seriously jeopardized. When interacting with women of a different race, it is also important to consider their gender and how gender and race intersect to impact their sport performance.

In addition, as Anshel (1990) stated, some African-American athletes may not want to see a sport psychology consultant because they associate "psychology" with "having a problem". According to Anshel's study, African-American athletes may take longer to interact with a sport psychology consultant because of these associations. Unlike Caucasian athletes, African-American athletes do not have the privilege of relating solely based on race with almost every certified sport psychology consultant (Butryn, 2002). This lack of diversity in sport psychology consultation may make it more difficult for African-American athletes to find consultants they can relate to (Butryn, 2002).

In summary, because of these issues, I conducted a study related to exploring NCAA DI African-American female athletes' experiences with racism while competing. In the next section, the method for this study is described.

Chapter 3

Methods

In this chapter, guiding research questions for this study are presented first. Next, methodology is described that was utilized for interviewing current NCAA DI African-American female athletes about their experiences of racism in sport. It is hoped that AASP-certified sport psychology consultants – as well as future sport psychology consultants – will benefit from hearing their voices.

Guiding Research Questions

Two guiding research questions were used in this study: (a) How have African American female athletes experienced discrimination in sport; and (b) How did discrimination in sport affect the performance of these athletes?

Procedures

Bracketing interview . The bracketing interview, which was conducted before the interviews, allowed me to explore my own biases. Conducted by a fellow PhD graduate student with qualitative experience and using the same interview guide that I would use with participants. I discovered that a presupposition which surfaced for me was the idea of being aware of the different forms of racism and also my ability to recognize the different forms of racism. In the situation that I re-created for the bracketing interview, I prepared for the racist incident I faced. The incident that I faced had to do with a softball player who encountered racism from the umpire during an away game. The racism that I experienced was through the calls the umpire made and his behavior towards me. After I first experienced the racism I then prepared myself for how I would respond if it occurred

again. I made sure that I had a plan and an idea of what I saw fit to do, when dealing with racism. The bracketing interview experience showed me how quickly I am able to process an event as being racist or not. This may be because I attended Howard University, a historically black college and university (HBCU), where we discussed our racial identity frequently. Therefore, I realized that it was important for me to be aware when I interacted with my participants of the biases I had in that regard.

This was also evident when I was trying to gather participants for the study. Many individuals believed they never experienced racism; however, they would begin to speak about an event that occurred which I believed was racist or dealt with racism.

After analyzing the data, I now also realize that some of my participants are more forgiving than I am when it comes to racism, especially if it comes from someone they know. Many of my participants tried to protect the people who were being racist towards them. They used the idea of the person's lack of knowledge as a pass for their racist behavior. When doing the interviews and going through the data I reminded myself that not every person is willing or able to deal with racism. During this entire process I worked on not judging my participants for not classifying something to be racist that I would classify to be racist.

Participants

Study participants were seven current or former NCAA DI African-American female athletes who attended a Predominately White Institution (PWI). There are only seven participants in the study because the individuals asked to participate in the study either didn't believe they experienced racism or they were not comfortable talking about.

Athletes from any sport were allowed to participate in the study if they fit the criterion.

Six of the participants identified themselves as African-American while one participant

identified herself as mixed (African-American & Caucasian). Participants ranged in age

between 20 and 44 years, with the average age of 28 years old. They participated in the

following sports: lacrosse (1), basketball (2), track and field (2), swimming (1), and

soccer (1). All of the participants except for one participated in college sports for all four

years.

Procedures

Upon receiving IRB approval, participants were identified and contacted via

snowball sampling (Hatch, 2002). This means that "friends of friends" were contacted

first; once they were invited to participate and experienced the interview process, they

were asked to identify others to be interviewed who also met the criteria. Prior to each

participant was informed that the interview consisted of questions related to their

experiences of racism in sport. Once each agreed, she was asked to set up a time to be

interviewed via Skype. The interviews were conducted via Skype because most of the

participants were spread out throughout the country. This was the easiest way to conduct

each of the interviews in a timely matter. Also, there was one interview that was

conducted in person.

In additions, so that participants were not identified, each chose a pseudonym to

represent herself or I chose a pseudonym for her if she wanted me to.

In the original study, only NCAA DI current African-American athletes were recruited to participate in the study. Due to the lack of participants the study was redesigned to have current or former NCAA DI African-American female athletes in it.

Prior to each interview, participants signed an Informed Consent Form agreeing to participate in the study. The procedures and steps for withdrawal, were then, explained (see Appendix A). Interviews were audiotaped for the purpose of transcription. Each interview lasted approximately 20-40 minutes and the average length of the interviews was approximately 30 minutes.

Interview Guide. Gilligan's (1989) Real-Life Moral Conflict and Choice Interview (see Appendix C) was modified for use in the interviews. Scholars such as Janie Ward (1990) utilize Gilligan's Real-Life Moral Conflict and Choice Interview in their work. Ward's work primarily deals with identity and moral development of African-American adolescents and adults. Her interest is in how African-Americans make choices and deal with conflict. The Gilligan interview method assisted Ward in understanding the different choices and conflicts that are present in the African-American community, such as racial conflict. My decision to utilize the Gilligan method was similar to Ward's reasoning. I wanted a greater understanding of how African-American females not only deal with conflict, but how they make choices pertaining to the conflict. Gilligan's Real-Life Moral Conflict and Choice Interview guide allowed me to ask the pertinent questions regarding racism in sport. In revising the Gilligan's Real-Life Moral Conflict and Choice Interview guide for this study the same basic questions were maintained. In

the interview guide questions about performance, sport, and racism that were added. The following is a revised version of the interview:

Many [African-American female athletes] have experienced a situation where they [felt racism in sport] and were not sure what to do. Would you describe a situation where you [felt racism in sport] and you had to make a decision but weren't sure what you should do?

1. What was the situation?

2. Why did you believe this happened to you?

3. In thinking about what to do, what did you consider? Why? Anything else you considered?

4. What did you decide to do? What happened?

5. Do you think it was the right thing to do? Why/Why not?

6. What was at stake for you in this dilemma? What was at stake for others? In general, what was at stake?

7. How do you feel about it? How did you feel about it for the other(s) involved?

8. Who did you talk to about the problem and how did you cope with the situation?

9. Is there another way to see the problem (other than the way you described it)?

10. When you think back over the conflict you described, do you think you learned anything from it?

11. Do you consider the situation you described a moral problem? Why/why not?

12. What does morality mean to you? What makes something a normal problem?

13. From the situation, what have you learned about racism in sport?

14. Did this interaction with racism affect your performance in sport?

This is a semi-structured interview guide. Therefore, each participant was expected to answer each question in the same order during the interview (Gilligan,1989). However, if any participant had difficulty answering questions, she was allowed to answer the questions at a later point in the interview. The beginning of the interview contained questions related to demographic information, thereby starting with less "deep" questions in order to build rapport and trust. The first interview served as a pilot interview to test out the interview guide. During the interview I ask the participant the questions from the interview guide. Based on how the interview went, no changes were made to the guide for the additional interviews.

Data Analysis

As Fisher and Roper (in review) suggest, for those familiar with quantitative research, qualitative data analysis is similar factor analysis in quantitative assessment (Patton, 1990). Both Dr. Fisher and myself, and a research team of five individuals

conducted qualitative analysis for the interview transcripts in this study. Dr. Fisher was trained in both Gilligan's interview method and analysis, myself and the research team have taken graduate qualitative research classes and conducted qualitative projects for class. Each research team member also signed a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix A).

To get a sense of the whole, each of us engaged in three stages of qualitative analysis after reading through each transcript by: (a) noting patterns and themes, particularly by memoing; and (b) clustering (see Miles & Huberman, 1984; Patton, 1990, as cited in Fisher & Roper, in review). Analysis started with the concrete and moved toward the abstract, then progressed from the descriptive to the explanatory. Each individual simultaneously and independently analyzed the data (Hesse-Biber, 2007, as cited in Fisher & Roper, in review).

The memoing process was the first step, which permitted us to write "concept" or "idea" memos to assist in formalizing emerging ideas, mainly at the opening of the analysis (Karp, 2007, as cited in Fisher & Roper, in review). Clustering was the second step, which involved the sorting of concrete quotes into conceptual bins or categories. Clustering comprises of moving to higher levels of abstraction by grouping, then conceptualizing quotes that have related patterns (Miles & Huberman, 1984, as cited in Fisher & Roper, in review). The complex experiences of these female athletes, where described through metaphors, because they dramatized and amplified the data; they also connected the findings to theory and took us "….up and over the particulars en route to the basic social processes that give meaning to those particulars"(Miles & Huberman,

1984, p. 221, as cited in Fisher & Roper, in review). Those analytic procedures assisted us in organizing and framing the data into meaningful categories.

Once these steps were taken independently, all research group members met to come to consensus about overall themes. In addition, all participants were emailed (or hard copied and sent via mail if they preferred) a copy of their transcripts so that they could provide feedback about whether the transcripts actually captured their experiences. None made any changes. In addition, final themes were emailed to all participants; none made any changes. In the next chapter I present the results.

Chapter 4

Results and Discussion

The guiding research questions for the study were the following: How have

African American female athletes experienced discrimination in sport? And, how did

discrimination in sport affect the performance of these athletes? In this chapter, I present

results related to participants' experiences. Participant quotes are used to support and

flesh out each of the major themes described. Existing relevant literature is also

discussed. Prior to discussing themes, narrative descriptions for three of the participants

are given to help provide insight into "what it was like" for the participants.

Guiding Research Question #1: How Have African American Female Athletes

Experienced Discrimination in Sport?

Ethel. Coach Arms is just an evil guy. It feels like he has double standards and

treats the white athletes one way and the black athletes another way. He does not treat us

the same. It feels like he dogs out the black athletes on the team. His actions were so bad

that Janelle left the team and ended up getting counseling because of him. The things he

said to her really affected her self-esteem and her grades started plummet. Janelle is an

engineering major and that is a hard major. Coach Arms is a real problem for the team.

Not only was Janelle deeply affected by Coach Arms, but Terri was too and she quit the

team and almost quit school after interacting with him. Coach Arms didn't really affect

me and I don't know why that is. I just had the mind frame that he was out of his mind.

Don't get me wrong he was on my back pretty hard as well. However, it didn't affect me

the same way it affect my other teammates. Coach Arms would just say reckless things to

us like, "you are lucky to be here because you could be on the street, where I am sure most of your friends are". There was a guy from South African on the team and Coach Arms was asking how did he learn how to run so fast and he would say things like " you learned how to run fast because you were running away from the natives while they were throwing spears at you". It got to the point where we went to speak to Miss. Johnson, a black lady, who works in the administration office. She was the person that the upperclassman decided we should go talk to. Miss. Johnson served as a contact and mentor for black students. We told Miss. Johnson about Coach Arms and what he was doing to our team. There had to be an intervention between Coach Arms and us. As a team we believed that Coach Arms would protect us and watch out for us, especially sick he was black too. He didn't do that, not at all. You would think he would take extra care of us seeing how the environment we were in can be hostel at times.

Osceola. So, I was an engineer till I was a Jr. and I was the only black female in my classes. I started electrical engineering and I was certainly the only student athlete. There was an automatic isolation that happened because no one else looks like me and it is hard to determine exactly why. It was hard to tell if the assumptions that people made when they interacted with me was based on race or athletics. I remember sitting in a class my freshman year when a young man said, "I don't understand why schools like Preysal look at anything other than SAT scores when they admit students. They are getting these minority students and athletics who could not get in otherwise". I was the only student of color in the class and I was sitting there in my Preysal track and field jacket.

Morgan. It was harder to tell if my coaches were being racist, however I knew as a black girl on the field when I played I stood out. There is no way they would look on the field and not see what the hell I was doing. So for better or for worse I stood out. When I played well it was great and when I played bad or poorly I felt like I stood out. I think it was racist that I played defense. I think putting black girls at defense is like..... People assume that you are athletic and fast and I might not necessarily be either one of those things. And people just assume those things, which I think is racist. I hated it when people were like oh my God you must be fast. I am like I am not fast, I hate that like I'm not fast at all. People just say that because I am black. I think that is racist and I got that everyday throughout my career.

Themes and Discussion

Results suggested that African American female athletes' experiences related to racism and how it effects their performance in sport can be grouped into four major themes (a) depends on the relationship; (b) being the only one; (c) stereotypes and racist assumptions; and (d) speaking up could reinforce stereotypes. These four major themes are under the metaphor of voice. For the purpose of this study voice does not only refer to "the verbal voice", however it also refers to idea of "using your actions and responses to help express your voice".

Theme #1: "Depends on the relationship". Each of the participants described facing racist moments during the time they participated in sport. However, many of them stated whether or not they corrected the individual who made a racist comment, "depends on the relationship" they have with him/her. The relationships that participants described

were with teammates, individuals in the student body, etc. Three different examples of "depends on the relationship" arose. It is important to note that some of these relationships also had a power dynamic that was intertwined within it, such as co-workers. For example, the concept of "depends on the relationship" was very prominent for Meg who describes a situation when her teammate used the N-word and her reason for responding the way she responded:

> Uh, So freshman year I think a situation came up with the N word. It was a teammate of mine and she is from (state) kind of white suburban private school. She never came across a lot of African Americans in her life. So, when she said it it was not even to be derogatory in any kind of way. She was just… I guess she thought it was cool. And she was like something ….something… something….nigga. She was trying to say it cool and we were like no no no. To me, I guess I would call it a racist moment, but I would not say that she is racist. She just didn't understand that term and actually one of my teammates who is African American was kind of like… We gave her the benefit of the doubt we know she is sheltered and she would not know any better, type of thing. That is the only experience that I can recall. I didn't take it very negatively; it was just one of those learning experiences for her. She needed to know that for her life.

When asked if she approached her teammate about what she said, Meg stated:

> We did. We did. We just didn't come to her all like angry. We did and definably approached her and was like it is not cool to use that term….blah blah blah. She was very apologetic and that is why I was like she really didn't understand um,

but we defiantly addressed it. And to this day I have never heard her say that word

anymore. Maybe she learned… maybe she does not say it anymore around me.

But it was just a learning experience for her.

Later on, Meg stated, "And we knew her on the personal level. Maybe if it was someone

we didn't know. Maybe a stranger I may have been a little bit more aggressive with my

approach." Therefore, not only did the relationship determine whether or not Meg

confronted individual. It also determined her approach to addressing individual (e.g. the

level of aggression used).

In the following situation Janie describes where she encountered racism from

individuals in the University community, whom she did not have any relationship with, "I

do know that there are some fraternities at (name) that are racist or per say racist. And

you know I've been called monkey and have had monkey noises made at me or

sometimes they will do subtle things like asked if my hair is real." When asked how she

responded to the situation, Janie said:

Well, I think it is more important to not show that what they do affects you.

Because the reason that they're doing it is because they want a reaction from you.

And there are ways to handle it and you know privately and in a calm manner.

Sometimes you just have to laugh it off and be like…Yeah…. I don't care

whatever…. And I have been handling that mostly just because I don't want

myself to fall into and really fulfill their thoughts of me or their stereotypes that

they have of me. And by doing that it just disproves them and makes them look

really ridiculous too. That's what I try to do.

Janie's main goal was to not allow those individuals to know they affected her. Her other

goal was not to fall into the stereotypes they had for her. This is the reason why she

decided to take an indirect approach to responding to those individuals who called her

racist names like "monkey".

Morgan describes a situation where she encountered racist moments at work as a

coach, but because of her relationship with her coworkers, she felt unable to say

anything:

Yea, Oh…Oh… Yes, there are other times. Like me being a coach there are lots

of other incidents, but I am not directly involved in them. Like… they call… like

the other two coaches that I have... There is this girl coming her name is she is a

black girl and she plays goalie and she is coming 2014 and they called her

Condoleezza Rice. (laugh) Like to her face… I know it's terrible. They are like

Condoleezza Rice is coming….cause like she's really smart. Just like I told you…

I told you when you step out of your role as a black person your… like weird.

They have to …. You're a freak… the fact that she's smart and articulate and has

her shit together, she is Condoleezza Rice and they tease her about it.

Later on in the interview, Morgan says the following about handling racist moments and

how relationships and the complexity of the relationships impact how they are handled:

It is so hard…I don't know, it is a dilemma that I have. Yeah, so it is something

and I do try to do a better job with it and say something. A lot of time it is very

difficult, you know, depending on the dynamics of the situation and who you are

speaking to. Yeah, it can be an awkward situation….Yeah, it can be a volatile

situation because you have to work with those people every day, calling them ignorant is tough. You know, you call someone raciest, they don't take it very well.

All of the participants constantly thought about how they wanted to handle racist sport situations. In many instances, the relationship itself created more complexity about how to handle the situation. The complexity was caused either by a lack of relationship, the dynamics of the relationship, or the level of intimacy in the relationship.

The theme "depends on the relationship" in this study determined how an African-American female athlete addressed micro-aggression, which is comprised of microassaults and microinsults, in relationships with others. It is important to note that a majority of the micro-aggressions mentioned were verbal incidents. However, there was at least one nonverbal/behavioral micro-aggression incident. Also, the type of micro-aggression that was experienced by these athletes also impacted how they handled the situation. The manner in which African-American female athletes decided to use their voices in these situations was reflective of the way they coped with the situation.

Athletes' coping responses to racial and gender discrimination were categorized into four approaches in a study by Lykes (1983). Lykes describes the first approach as direct instrumentality which is, "the direct action to confront the source the problem" (p. 92). The next approach is indirect instrumentality, "indirect action to solve the problem, as in choosing an alternative route to achieve the same goal" (93). The third approach is purposeful indirect coping, "responding deliberately but in a way that does not relate to solving the problem" (p. 93). Another approach discussed by Lykes is passivity, "taking

no action" (p. 93). It is important to note as stated by Lykes that in the current study, African-American females were flexible in their coping styles. They tended to use more than one coping strategy when grappling with racial and gender discrimination.

Prior to utilizing these coping strategies, literature suggests that African-American females formulate a careful assessment of the situation before acting (Feagin & Sikes, 1994). Since micro-aggressions are considered to be a constant and continuing reality for African-American females (Sue, 2010), they are constantly having to make careful assessment of the situation and relationships they are in. The African-American female athletes' response in the current study depended on their perception of and whether or not they believed the incident involving the offender was bias-motivated. According to Sue (2010), oftentimes energy is being depleted from the individual because of the internal struggle that occurs while trying to make the decision. Perceptions of African-American females cause them to question whether someone is racist. According to studies conducted by Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder (2008) as well as Sue et al. (2008), the process of "questioning" is one of the core ideas of the perception phase. The concept of "questioning" pertains to individuals who question whether an incident was motivated by race (Sue, 2010). Micro-aggressions are filled with double messages, are often ambiguous, and subtle in their manifestations (Sue, 2010) which can promote questioning. The overwhelming number of micro-aggressive incidents that take place during the course of any given day makes being in a constant state of "questioning" emotionally draining (Sue, 2010). This can take away from individuals' ability to perform well at whatever task they have that day.

The individual's relationship with the offender (e.g., friend, stranger, or teammate), the development of the individual's racial/cultural identity, along with thematic content of the micro-aggression and the individual's personal experiences are all important factors during the assessment process (Sue, 2010). The different answers to these questions will determine how one will respond to the situation. Some of the African-American team athletes in the current study found themselves doing what Sue (2010) called "rescuing the offenders" or "excusing them from their actions" depending on their relationship with them. In doing this, the African-American female athlete may find herself putting the offender's feelings before her own.

While the assessment of the situation is taking place, African-American females are also better able to determine what type of racism they are encountering. The type of racism (e.g., individual, institutional, or cultural) encountered by African-American women will also determine how they cope with the situation (Shorter-Gooden, 2004). For African-American females, there are consequences for the manner in which they choose to cope with the situation. According to a study done by Krieger (1990), African-American women who acted out or talked to others about racial and gender discrimination were 4.4 times less likely to report hypertension than African-American women who were accepting and quiet.

Theme #2: "Being the only one or one of a few". Almost all the participants discussed the idea of "being the only one or one of a few". This means in many situations they encounter they were either the only African-American female or they were one of few African-American females present at that time. Also, the idea of "being the only one"

pertains to the number of African-American female athletes on their team at a particular time. In the following quote, Osceola described being the only African-American female on her team:

> Well, I mean my freshman year in college I was the only black girl on the track team. And so...yeah..which is pretty rare. I think … there is sort a lack of cultural awareness and cultural competence…I think…and I don't know if some people would necessarily consider it racism…I was very aware that there was comparisons being made between me and some of my teammates that were a result of lack of awareness of how African- American women…um…and you know as a 17-year-old that was a little difficult to deal with. I knew the comparisons were race-based, but they were also just a lack of awareness. So, there were questions about whether I made the wrong decision about where I decided to go to school.

Similar to Osceola, Janie described a situation when she was the only African-American on her team. She decided to leave the team:

> But, the situation that I had was in high school when I was on a [sport] team and I was the only African-American on the team. And you know, we were having practice and one of individuals forgot I was around. She referred to another African-American using you know the N-word. And that kinda surprised me in a way… I didn't know what to do… because I was like okay it is this one girl but is it the entire team. But no one really said. That is not right to say that… So I didn't know what to do right away so I had to talk to my coaches. Ultimately, I figured

out that you know I had to leave. It took me awhile really to figure out if it was

really good for me to leave and if I would find a team. In the end it all worked

out.

Morgan also described situation that she experienced while being the only African-

American at a restaurant on her recruiting trip:

The only time I would say it was like a racist issue was when I was on my

recruiting trip and someone called somebody else an uppity nigger. And that was

the first time I ever heard that. But it was a guy on the [sport] team he was black

[name] and he went to [names high school] and so I kind of knew him. And I was

kind of sitting at [names restaurant]. And somebody was just talking about him

and didn't realize that I was right there and they said that. It was like, errr, and the

record stopped. But that is it. I couldn't it shocked me I didn't know what to say.

It shocked me, I never heard anyone say that before.

Later in the interview, Morgan stated:

If there were more black people, he would not have said it. No, there is no way…

he didn't even know I was there. (laugh) He didn't even know I was there. I

like….He was surprised that I was sitting there. Usually…. you know I was a

recruit…. There are a lot of people there… he didn't know that a black person

was sitting, there is no way that white boy would have said it. Had there been two

other black people there, and there would have been zero possibility.

Morgan believed that if there were more African-Americans present, the young

white male would not have said what he said. Morgan suggested that since he didn't see

her or know an African-American person was there, he felt like it was okay to say what

he said.

The second theme "Being the only one or one of few" is not a new concept. Hall

(2001) identifies this as the "Jackie Robinson" status. The "Jackie Robinson" status refers

to African- Americans being either the only African-American or one of few in a

particular situation. Hall (2001) states that some females of color leave their sport

because they are the only female of color on the team. Hall (2001) goes even further to

say that women of color athletes generate stereotypes, unwanted comments, and

exclusion from social events, since they do not have white skin privilege. Several women

of color athletes discover they are expected to modify their preferences to fit the majority,

which is an example of cultural and individual racism (Hall, 2001). For example, many

women of color are expected to adapt to white standards and participate in social

activities such as sunbathing, clothing choices, and even music preferences; when they do

not change to fit these standards they are viewed as resistant or not wanting to comply

(Hall, 2001).

Theme#3: "Stereotypes and racist assumptions". Each participant described

situations where stereotypes or racist assumptions were made, about them or other

African-American male or female athletes. In some situations, racial assumptions or

stereotypes were from one African- American towards another African-American. In the

following quote Monique describes her response to the stereotype that African-

Americans can't swim, from other African-Americans:

Um… well I did have a time at (name of school) where a lot of our people don't associate swimming and African-Americans. So some people said that… um you know that black people can't swim and stuff like that. I just tell them and explain to them … you know the myth how we sink to the bottom of the pool is untrue. So, you just have to you know a lot of African-Americans don't know how to swim because their parents are afraid of the water and so they don't teach them how to swim or bring them to lessons. So, I had to tell whoever that person was that black people can swim and that you just don't see a lot of them.

Monique was not the only participant who talked about receiving stereotypes or racial assumptions from other African-Americans. Ethel also described a situation where an African-American heard a racial assumption or stereotype from another African-American. The situation occurred between an African-American female teammate and her African- American male coach: "Oh yeah he was upset. I remember he also made the comment that she could be pregnant and barefoot on the side of the street… (laugh)…like no he didn't …no he didn't." Later on in the interview, Ethel mentioned that the coach said, "kind of things like you are real lucky to be at (name of school) as a black kid from um lets ...I think she was from [state] and he I think bought into a lot of the stereotypes." She proceeded to say that most of the racial comments were directed towards a certain group, "But if I want to call it his flip out period…um… it was really heavily directed at black student athletes."

Meg discussed a situation where she experienced racism from African-Americans who were non-athletes:

And then like…I am trying to think and yea...then there was always the African-American non-athletes and there was always that look… this little awkward feeling I would get, but no none ever said anything, they properly knew better".

When Meg was asked to describe, it she stated:

It's not hate on…I don't think it is hate on either…I don't know the words. It happens all the time…it happens between dark skin and light skin but I don't know what the word is. .It is just some tension I guess. Yeah…hey definitely thought they were better than the athletes. It's a 'you think you are better type' of thing.

Jean explained the stereotypes that are placed on African-American athletes at predominantly white institutions. She also talked about how she could relate to her athletes (as a coach now) because she was an African-American female athlete at a predominately white institution also:

I think it is an advantage having been an African-American female at a predominately white intuition and now that I am working in athletics, working with minority students that might go through uh… similar things that I went through and stereotypes in terms of professors and other staff on campus. Um…and kind of understanding that they are not given the benefit of the doubt and that they have to prove their intelligence or work ethic before people kind of put them on the same level as their non…as their Caucasian peers at times. Um and I think having been through that experience can better prepare me for students who might go through similar experiences in the future.

Jean continued by describing racial assumptions or stereotypes that have been placed on African-American athletes in the classroom:

> So, if you have an African-American athlete and the teacher does not expect much of them because they don't expect them to be intelligent… they don't expect them to work hard… and they just kind of let them slide along. Well they are not raising the bar and having them learn at the highest level they can learn. So that affects things in the classroom and I think that has an ability to also affect things on the field. Because it is all interrelated the interests of what goes on in the life of a college athlete everything is related…from friends to the sport they play…to the classes they are in.

Meg also suggested that African-American females have experienced stereotypes or racial assumptions in the classroom and on campus:

> I feel like everyone always assumed that black people on campus are on athletic scholarship and they probably don't get the grades. And I could just sense it in the classroom. There were two semesters my freshman year one was my Spanish class and one was my theology class. And maybe it was because I came from an [a religious] high school, I knew all the theology stuff. I was the main one in there answering all the questions and raising my hands. I feel like they probably were like, oh, maybe she is just not the black athlete who came here on scholarship. Or maybe she knows some stuff, but to me it was like, or maybe I was just making it up in my mind, but I feel like a lot of my classmates would you know just be weird or just stare... or be like oh she is answering questions or she knows what

that is… I just feel like a lot of times…I a lot of attention on myself. In a lot of

my classrooms I was the only black person… there would be like 30 people and I

would be the only female and only African-American person. No not the only on

female, but the only African-American person in my classroom. So, already I am

an oddball and then for me to be answering all these questions and then for me to

be actually getting them properly getting them right…they are like oh [expletive].

In addition, almost all of the participants talked about racial assumptions or stereotypes

made about their hair. In following quote, Monique described an interaction about her

hair with her teammates:

Um…I don't know if it would be…. I guess it would be indirectly maybe racism

or people are just ignorant about our hair. So … um… no one has ever made rude

comments….but there is just kinda just like how is your hair….can I touch it…

how do you do it this way…. So I did experience that in the locker rooms.

Later on in the interview, Monique described how she handled the situation, "Then with

the hair, I let them touch the hair and tell them what I do… because they don't know."

Similar to Monique, Janie experienced racial assumptions or stereotypes about her

hair. As Janie explained:

Sometimes they will do subtle things like asked if my hair is real. And I am just

like yes my hair is real… I don't have a weave. Like… and it seems to shock

some of them. I am like one I am mixed and my hair is different. And two, I

know that not every African- American female wears a weave and so… But I

mean it depends on like certain situations… My friend she is white blond hair and

she was curious she didn't know. I have also had teammates who want to adopt and have mixed children.

One participant also expressed a story about when she were mistaken for other African-American females, especially when there were not that many African-American females wherever they were. As expressed by Morgan who was mistaken for her teammate, who is also African-American:

Actually there was another black girl on the team and she played [position]. And then they confused us constantly! We looked nothing alike…. like nothing alike. People would swear like up-and-down that we were twins. (laugh) And if you saw this girl you would be like what you are not twins at all. Yeah no….Constantly being called like [name] and my name is Morgan. Like I played [one position] she was a [different position] like what the hell.

In this situation, Morgan were not only mistaken for another African- American individual, she was addressed by the other individual's name as well.

The theme "stereotypes and racial assumptions" relates to the stereotypes (e.g., pigeonholes) and racial assumptions (e.g., conjectures) that are made regularly regarding African- American females and female athletes. One participant mentioned the stereotype of being viewed as intellectually inferior to her counterparts in class. Sue (2010) supports this idea when he states that gender and skin color are often correlated with attributes of general intellectual inferiority and specific intellectual deficits. For African-Americans in particular, they are viewed as having lower intellectual skills and not capable of high-level thinking (Jones, 1997). African-American female athletes find themselves having to

prove that these lower expectations for African-American athletes are not correct. According to Sue (2010), it is these lower expectations, stereotypes, and the hostile invalidating climate that result in the inequities in education experienced by African - American female and athletes. Another stereotype or racial assumption discussed by participants in this study was being mistaken for another African- American female who was also on the team or in the work environment. Sue (2010) would describe that incident as "you people all look alike" (p. 79). When these participants were called the wrong name, this suggested that on a physical level individual differences do not exist and that all blacks are the same (Sue, 2010).

African-American female athletes also spoke of internalized racism. The internalized racism for these participants came from coaches or other African-Americans who were non-athletes. Internalized racism can have positive or negative stereotypes; however, in the case of African-American female athletes, they tend to all be negative. Jones (2000), states that internalized racism "reflect systems of privilege, reflect societal values, erodes individual's sense of value, and undermines collective action" (p. 1214).

Theme #4: "Speaking up could reinforce stereotypes". Many participants discussed how African-American females are viewed by society as being "angry" or having an "attitude", particularly when they speak up about racism. As expressed by Osceola:

> I teach at a predominantly white intuition now and I know a lot of my students
> that interact with me…I know that some of my evaluations are….driven by race
> and you know students tell other professors that they are not comfortable with me.

Yeah…I make people feel uncomfortable and I have an attitude and I know a lot

of that is race. 99% of them have never had a black professor…have never had a

black anything…sort of in a position of authority. You know I guess I just see it

as par for the course.

Like Osceola, Janie expressed also being viewed as being angry or having an attitude:

 I think it is the right thing to do just because you want to disprove what they are

saying. It only takes a few to really do that. And for myself I don't want to be you

know….known as a hot headed black woman who gets angry all the time. That is

how they portray us in the movies and I don't want to be like that. I want to be

logical and reasonable and of course they're going to be times when I am going to

flip out when I need to. Most of the time I rather have thick skin and just kinda

live my life. Because one person's comment does not define who I am…it is not

going to rule my life.

Participants also discussed the assumptions made about them because they are

African-American females, such as being angry. Many of these assumptions are made out

of a lack of cultural awareness. The racial and gender stereotypes made about African-

American females come from both historical and current times. Imagine being associated

with the following stereotypes day in and day out, "hostile, angry, prostitutes,

unintelligent, low abstract thinking, animalistic, abnormal, sexual appetite, natural

athletes" (Sue, 2010). These are some of the stereotypes that are associated with African-

American females. Through micro-aggression, African-American females have these

insults and invalidations constantly pushed on them. Some offenders don't realize when

they are delivering racial micro-aggressions towards African- American females. According to Sue (2010), "a micro-aggression process model assumes that micro-aggressions are stressful… and that significant harm can result unless mitigated through effective coping or external intervention" (p. 92). African-American females constantly find themselves trying to work against the assumptions made about them that are based out of ignorance which can be very stressful. African-American females are constantly grappling with life stressors, race-related stressors, and gender-related stressors. The way African-American females respond to the stressors has caused many to be stereotyped as "the mad black woman". There is a lack of understanding of what an African-American female goes through, especially when it is race-related stress. The following quote helps to capture this:

> I don't think white people, generally, understand the full meaning of racist discriminatory behaviors directed towards Americans of African descent. They seem to see each act of discrimination or an act of violence as an "isolated" event. As a result, most white Americans cannot understand the strong reaction manifested by blacks when such events occur….They forget that in most cases, we live lives of quiet desperation generated by a litany of daily large and small events that, whether or not by design remind us of our "place" in American society. (Feagin & Sikes, 1994, pp. 23-24)

 In a previous study, Utsey et al. (2008) found that race-related stress was more psychologically negative than stressful life events. It is important to remember that racism, racist attitudes, and behaviors are in multiple areas of an individual's life and are

constant, whereas stressful life events usually occur for a limited time (Utsey et, al., 2008). Research has found a negative impact biologically, cognitively, behaviorally, and/or emotionally in an individual caused by microaggressive stressors (Sue, 2010).

In conclusion, the ethnic and racial identity of NCAA DI African-American female athletes plays a role in their perception of racism and how they use their "voice" when dealing with racism. For example, how they relate and identity with their ethnic and racial identity can impact how they respond to different racist situations.

Guiding Research Question #2: How Did Discrimination in Sport Affect the Performance of These Athletes?

Each of the following themes: (a) depends on the relationship, (b) being the only one, (c) stereotypes and racist assumptions, and (d) speaking up could reinforce stereotypes are important because they can impact the performance of NCAA DI African-American female athletes. Narrative descriptions for three of the participants are provided to help express how some of the athletes believed racism affected their performance.

Ethel. The discrimination that the team experienced affected the performance of the team. People dreaded going to practice and it affected the morale of the team. It was clear and people didn't want to be there. Since they didn't want to be there it would cause them to become tense and angry at practice. There were no fights, at least that I remember or anything breaking out between athletes on the team. You know, it took a lot of energy. You have to go to practice and you also have to go to class, on top of that you also have homework. Then you have to add the meetings you have to attend to discuss why Coach Arms is tripping. The entire situations created a lot of stress for people, and it

affect the morale of the team and people's grades. You know there was a time when it was difficult out there….it was really difficult to be out there.

Osceola. I think that racism might have impacted my performance in the sense that some of my anxiety and other stuff that comes with having those type of experiences impacted my performance, which appear to steam from micro aggressions. The experiences didn't change how I interacted with the team or how I did something on the field. There was probably spill over. I guarantee there was spill over, however it was indirect and not direct.

Morgan. I think my interactions with racism made me play with a chip on my shoulder. I think I played better when I have adversity. You know like with passion. It gives me like a passion for the game that I don't think other people had. I was playing for something much more than just myself. So, I think it gave me an edge for better or worse. I would have preferred no to have been different but I didn't have a choice and so you do what you can with what you've got.

Making the Connection

NCAA DI African-American female athletes are the minority within the minority as well as the majority in sport. They can spend a considerable amount of energy dealing with both indirect and direct racism; this certainly can deplete their performance in sport. Also, there are other issues that surfaced in the interviews that relate to sport performance such as experiencing anxiety and playing with a "chip" on one's shoulder. Interview results suggested that it is important to note that since these are NCAA DI athletes there is more demand for them to perform at the highest level compared to non-NCAA DI

athletes. For these athletes racism is an added stress to an already highly stressful situation.

When dealing with racism it was common for these current and former African-American female athletes to deliberate on whether or not they would utilize their energy to confront racist incidents. Hall (2001) states that managing racism and sexism are additive stressors at the individual and cultural level for women of color athletes, even though they are skilled at managing the stress of competition. It is important to note this is an added stress that their Caucasian counterparts do not have to experience while they are trying to perform. Hall (2001) also states that "the stressors frequently emerge unexpectedly in a racist or sexist comment or behavior" (p. 395). The energy spent confronting the above issues could have been spent improving their performance in sport. As Ethel stated earlier, it took a lot of energy to deal with a racist coach, run track and go to school. Having to deal with all these different issues was detrimental and some ended their sport experience. According to Loehr and Schwartz (2003), "Physical, emotional and mental energy capacity all feed upon another" (p. 94). This means that African-American female athletes who spend a considerable amount of energy contending with racism and micro-aggression are not only going to be drained mentally and emotionally, they will also be drained physically.

Loehr and Schwartz (2003) noted that when faced with high demand, focus and optimism can be interfered with by feelings such as anxiety, frustration, and anger. Sue et al. (2009) found that the emotional functioning and well-being of participants was greatly affected by micro-aggression. Loehr and Schwartz (2003) discussed the importance of

having adequate recovery time in order to gain energy back. However, that is difficult for African-American female athletes who experience racism and micro-aggression which is constant. Loehr and Schwartz (2003) also mention that we use a great deal of energy by thinking. With that said, African-American female athletes are constantly thinking of how to cope or respond to micro-aggression and racism, which means they are constantly using a great deal of energy every day on racism or micro-aggression alone.

In the next chapter, I conclude and provide future recommendations.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Recommendations

In conclusion, NCAA DI African-American female athletes wrestle with racism in and out of sport. The racism they face comes in many forms; it can be verbal and nonverbal, overt and covert. Not only do African-American female athletes have to struggle with life's general stress, stress comes from competition as well as from racism. The manner in which NCAA DI African-American female athletes cope in these situations is related to how they decide to utilize their "voice".

Recommendations for Sport Psychology Consultants

It is imperative for sport psychology consultants to understand how racism affects the African-American female athlete. It is vital to remember that sport does not protect African-American female athletes from experiencing racism. Stereotypes and racial assumptions faced by them can occur anywhere including the classroom, on campus, even on their own teams. It is important to note that everything is connected the experiences in the classroom, on campus, and on a team has the potential to affect their performance in sport. The amount of energy depleted when grappling with racism detracts from their ability to provide necessary energy toward sport.

What can we do with this knowledge? It is essential for sport psychology consultants who are working with African-American female athletes to not discard the role race plays in their lives. Not every African-American female athlete is impacted by stereotypes and racial assumptions in the same manner. Some African-American female athletes might use racism as a fuel to prove that dominate groups are wrong, such as

Morgan did. Another athlete might find struggling with racism to be very stressful which may cause unwanted anxiety, such as Ethel's teammates.

Finally, it is important for sport psychology consultants to realize that racism remains a powerful force in the world of sports and it can occur at any moment. Using my own experience mentioned in Chapter I, this was true about the racist moment that I encountered at Lillywood University. When this moment occurred I had to dig deep within myself to find the strength and determination to perform on the field. I did not have the privilege of consulting with a sport psychology consultant. It is important to note the way NCAA DI African-American female athletes cope with stress from racism may be different from how they cope with stress due to having to perform at a high level. It is very important that Sport Psychology consultants understand this when working with African-American females. In order to help African-American female athletes who are coping with stress from racism, it might be helpful to ask them the best way for you as an SPC to work with them during these experiences.

Recommendations for Future Research

In the future, more studies need to be conducted about African-American female athletes and the role that expectations, depression, anxiety, and isolation play in their performance. For example, we could explore: How does being the only or one of few impact them in sport? Do they have a support system and if so who are they? Is there a difference between how African American athletes cope with stress from racism compared to stress from a highly competitive environment? What role does anxiety play in performing at a high level for African Americans athletes? These are just a few ideas

for where the research can go in the future. Also, it would be interesting to examine the role and impact of African-American coaches on teams. For example, we could explore: Does having an African-American coach for a majority African-American team influences their performance? Lastly, it would be interesting to study the role music plays in decreasing stress and preparing athletes for competition. For example, what role does music selection play in impacting the athlete's pre-performance routine? How does music help either cope or prepare to cope with stress at a high level? These are all questions to consider in future studies.

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Appendices

Appendix A

E-mail sent

Email Title: Current or former Division I African American Female Athletes' Experiences of Racism

Dear

My name is Ivy Pierce, a master's degree candidate at the University of Tennessee. I am interested in current African American Division I athletes' experience with racism in sport, and I am currently in the process of collecting data for my thesis research on this topic. For those of you who meet the criteria indicated below, and would be willing to share your experiences with me, please contact me at ipierce@utk.edu or by phone at 865-974-9973.

The participants I am hoping to speak with should meet the following criteria. You:
- Are an African American female athlete who currently competes at the Division I level at a predominantly white institution (PWI).
- Have experienced some form of racism while participating in sport that may or may not have impacted your performance in sport.

Thank you for your time and I hope you have great day!

Sincerely,

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Appendix B

Informed Consent Statement

Project Title: Current or former Division I African American Female Athletes' Experiences of Racism

Investigators: Ivy Pierce, Master's degree candidate and Leslee A. Fisher, Ph.D., Faculty Advisor

What is the purpose of this research study?
You are invited to participate in an interview focusing on current Division I African American female athletes who have experienced racism in sport and how it impacts their performance. *This study has been approved by the institutional review board of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.*

How many people will take part in this study?
It is anticipated that 8-12 current Division I African American female athletes will participate.

How long will your part in this study last?
In-person interviews should last between 30-60 minutes. If at any time you wish to remove yourself from the study, you may leave with no negative consequences.

What will happen if you take part in the study?
At a time and location convenient to you, you will be interviewed and asked about your experience with racism in sport, and how you have addressed such issues. **The audio of the interview will be recorded.** You will receive no monetary compensation for this study. After the interview, you can review the transcript of your interview and tell us to make any changes to it to better reflect your experience.

What are the possible risks from being in this study?
There are no known physical risks to participating in this study. During the interview you may talk about events that were distressing to you in the past. If at any time you feel you should speak to a mental health professional, the researcher, Ivy Pierce, will help you find a local Counseling center number and address, if needed.

What are the possible benefits from being in this study?
It is hoped that this experience will provide you with an increased self-awareness of your own experience of racism within sport and how it can affect your performance. It is also hoped that sport psychology consultants will then have a better idea of how to help Division I African American female athletes deal with the issue of racism in sport.

How will your privacy be protected?
The researcher will exercise every possible effort to ensure that your privacy is protected. The information in the study records will be kept confidential. Your name or any reference that could link you to the study will not be used in any oral or written reports of the results. Additionally, all of the interview recordings will be destroyed once they are transcribed. The informed consent forms will be stored in a secure location, and the recorded interviews will only be accessible to

the investigators. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed your data will be destroyed.

Initials_____

Contact Information
If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures (or you experience adverse effects as a result of participating in this study), you may contact the researcher Ivy Pierce, 865-974-9973 or Dr. Leslee Fisher, 336 HPER Building, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 865-974-9973. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, contact the Office of Research Compliance Officer at 865-974-3466.

Participant's Agreement:
I have read all of the information provided above, and I have asked any questions that I may have at this time. I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study, and I am aware that I may withdraw at any time without penalty and without loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I have received a copy of this form

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

_____   _____
Investigator Signature   Date

Appendix C

Interview

Background Information Questions

Sport _____   Year in School _____   Age _____

Amount of years participating in this sport_____

Major_____

Do you define yourself as African American? Why/why not?_____

Does your self-definition as African American relate to culture in any way? _____

Male or female head coach (current)?_____Assistant coach?_____

Race of head coach?_____ Assistant coach_____

Coaching you for how long?_____

Participate at any other DI school?_____

Plans for after graduation?_____

Questions

Many Division I African American female athletes have experienced a situation where they experienced racism during the time that they were involved in Division I sport and were not sure what to do. Would you describe a situation where you experienced racism and you had to make a decision but weren't sure what you should do?

1. What was the situation?

2. Why did you believe this happened to you?

3. In thinking about what to do, what did you consider? Why? Anything else you considered?

4. What did you decide to do? What happened?

5. Do you think it was the right thing to do? Why/ Why not?

6. What was at stake for you in this dilemma? What was at stake for others? In

    general, what was at stake?

7. How do you feel about it? How did you feel about it for the other(s) involved?

8. Who did you talk to about the problem and how did you cope with the situation?

9. Is there another way to see the problem (other than the way you described it)?

10. When you think back over the conflict you described, do you think you learned

    anything from it?

11. Do you consider the situation you described a moral problem? Why/why not?

12. What does morality mean to you? What makes something a moral problem?

13. From the situation what have you learned about racism during your sport

    participation?

14. Did this interaction with racism affect your performance in sport? In what ways?

The above is a revised version of the Gilligan's (1990) Moral Conflict and Choice
Interview (see Appendix D).

Appendix D

Carol Gilligan's Real-Life Moral Conflict and Choice interview

Gilligan, Carol (1982). *In a different voice*. Harvard University Press.

All people have had the experince of being in a situation where they had to make a decision but weren't sure of what they should do. Would you describe a situation when you faced a moral conflict and you had to make a decision but weren't sure what you should do?

1. What was the situation?
2. What was the conflict for you in the situation? Why was it a conflict?
3. In thinking about what to do, what did you consider? Anything else you considered?
4. What did you decide to do? What happen?
5. Do you think it was right thing to do?
6. What was at stake for you in this dilemma? What was stake for others? In general, what was a stake?
7. How do you feel about it? How did you feel about it for other(s) involved?
8. Is there another way to see this problem (other than the way you described it)?
9. When you think back over the conflict you described, do you think you learned anything from it?
10. Do you consider the situation you described a moral problem? Why/ why not?
11. What does morality mean to you? What makes something a moral problem for you?

Appendix E

Confidentiality Statement: Research Group

1. As a member of the Thematizing Group, by signing below, I agree to keep any information discussed regarding interview transcripts from the study *Misunderstood: Current Division I African American Female Athletes' Experiences of Racism* by Ivy Pierce, confidential.

Name: _____   Date: _____

Name: _____   Date: _____

Name: _____   Date: _____

Name: _____   Date: _____

Name: _____   Date: _____

Name: _____   Date: _____

Vita

Ivy Pierce was born in New Orleans, Louisiana on May 1st, 1988, the daughter of Mitchell Pierce and Ivy Prout. She attended Howard University from 2006 to 2010 and received a Bachelor of Science in Psychology degree in 2010. She began work toward a Master of Science in Kinesiology degree at The University of Tennessee in the Fall of 2010.