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#### Submission Guidelines for the Academic Athletic Journal

#### **Audience**

The primary audience of the *Academic Athletic Journal* is the membership of the N4A, that is, professionals providing counseling, life skills, and academic support services to student-athletes.

#### Purpose

The primary purpose of the journal is to assist its readers in providing the best possible counseling, advising, and life skills services to student-athletes. Toward that end, articles should add new knowledge, challenge existing opinion, and/or explain the implications of research. The arguments should be well-grounded in theory or research and clearly related to practice. Articles should be original and stimulating, written in a clear and concise style. Where applicable, authors should strive for methodological and statistical soundness, while avoiding unnecessary technical excursions.

#### Subject Matter

Relevant topics include, but are not limited to, the following: historical overviews of topics related to student-athletes; reviews of publications related to student-athletes; practical applications of theoretical or research-based conclusions; research on student-athletes and on professionals working in support service capacities, including a full discussion of results and implications.

Do not submit a manuscript that has been previously published, is scheduled for publication elsewhere, or is being considered for publication elsewhere.

#### **Review Process**

Manuscripts will be reviewed through the blind review process by at least three members of the editorial board. Their comments will be sent to the authors along with recommendations for acceptance, rejection, or revision.

# Manuscript Format and Style Guidelines

Manuscripts should be prepared utilizing the format and style described in the fourth edition of the American Psychological Association *Publication Manual*. Articles should be 1250–5000 words in length (i.e., roughly 5–20 pages of typed, double-spaced text) with ample margins for comments. Amplify the text with appropriate headings/subheadings, figures, and reference citations. The references and all figures and tables should be typed on separate pages in accordance with the APA *Publication Manual*. Submissions that deviate substantially from *Publication Manual* format will be returned to the authors.

Authors should avoid sexist language at all times and terms such as subject when describing research participants.

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#### Manuscripts must include the following:

- A separate title page with the names and institutional affiliations of the authors.
- (2) An abstract of 50–100 words that briefly summarizes the major points of the paper. The abstract should be typed on a separate page and appear after the title page.
- (3) A brief biographical sketch for each author. Sketches may be combined on one page, but must appear on a page separate from manuscript text.
- (4) A cover letter briefly describing the nature of the manuscript. Include relevant telephone and fax numbers and electronic mail addresses.

Submit the original manuscript and three copies to: Eric Denson, Ph.D., Department of Intercollegiate Athletics, Graves Building Box 354070, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98195–4070.

Upon final acceptance of the manuscript for publication, authors should provide a copy of the final draft and the electronic version of the manuscript on computer diskette, formatted for Macintosh. Please do not submit diskettes prior to final acceptance.

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### Editor's Statement

Eric L. Denson University of Washington

From time to time, prospective authors ask me if the Academic Athletic Journal is an appropriate place to submit manuscripts they have written or are considering writing. This question frequently comes from new N4A members and nonmembers who have an interest in issues affecting student-athletes. My answer to this question is almost always "yes," followed by an attempt to explain what the scope of the AAJ is. Perhaps now is an appropriate time to articulate in greater detail what the editorial policy is.

While the audience of the AAJ is a diverse, all readers are bound by their common interest in working with student-athletes. Similarly, the scope of content appropriate for the journal is broad; the primary requirements are that manuscripts address issues having an impact on the experience of student-athletes, and that the implications for counselors and advisors working with student-athletes are fully discussed. This includes formal research papers and papers of an applied nature. Manuscripts that describe innovative support programs and methods of service delivery are always welcome, as are those describing research performed with student-athlete populations to better understand their personal, social, academic, and athletic experiences. Discussions of social and cultural factors affecting the student-athlete experience are appropriate as well, provided that such papers clearly address the implications of those factors for counselors and advisors working with student-athletes. Some would argue that discussions of such factors are better left to sociology journals, but because current models of student-athlete support services view student-athletes as holistic beings with concerns spanning many domains, it is important to examine relevant social and cultural influences in this journal.

The present issue offers an excellent illustration of the scope of content, with the articles by Hollis and by Andersen and his colleagues discussing important social factors and their implications for athletic counselors and advisors, while Hickmann and her colleagues describe a focused intervention program for student-athlete academic success. The AAJ is also an appropriate forum for sharing research conducted with professionals working in various advising and counseling capacities with student-athletes. Included here would be surveys of advisors and counselors that explore their training and experience, and their reactions to various aspects of their work with student-athletes. This is not an exhaustive list, but it does illustrate the types of manuscripts that are likely to appear in the journal.

There are other topics that provide excellent opportunities for publishing in the AAJ. One area of increasing significance is the role of technology, particularly electronic learning resources, in student-athlete support services. Discussions of the ways various institutions have developed their electronic learning programs for student-athletes would be most welcome. As always, the AAJ is interested in outcome studies. The desire to learn about new interventions and their effectiveness is clearly evident at professional meetings and in eavesdropping on on-line discussions. Because the literature on student-athlete services is sorely lacking in this important area, there are many publication opportunities available.

In closing, there are many topics waiting to be explored and discussed, whether in extended articles, or shorter submissions. The most important criterion used in judging a paper's worthiness for acceptance is clearly linking the topic in a meaningful way to our work with student-athletes. As long as that is done, almost any subject is fair game.

# The Ultimate Triple Jump: The Psychosocial, Historical, and Current Dynamics Affecting African American Female Athletes' Identity and Success

Leah Patricia Hollis Northeastern University

Much attention is paid to the retention of student-athletes, including those who are female, of color, and in revenue-producing sports. Little attention has been paid directly and specifically to African American female athletes. Psychosocial, historical, and multiconscious dynamics affecting African American female athletes' identity development and success in mainstream universities are discussed and a new perspective from which this cohort can be viewed and assisted is offered.

The African American female athlete has transcended multiple obstacles to matriculate to and through college campuses. While she has achieved numerous successes to gain athletic excellence and academic eligibility, she must often persist in university communities that do not fully appreciate her race, gender, or athletic participation. Aside from graduation rates, "an African American female's future career aspirations depend on her coping with her differences, developing a firm identity and formulating a realistic life plan for after her athletic/academic pursuits" (Hamilton, 1993, p. 153). Collegiate and postgraduate experiences may be determined by the African American female's college experiences and successes. This paper will review psychosocial dynamics, historical dynamics, and current dynamics in discussing how universities should support African American female athletes.

In similar discussions regarding women or people of color, terms such as "other" or "subculture" are often employed. These terms suggest that difference is subordinate and secondary, while mainstream culture is primary and superior. Consequently, I have derived the term "co-culture" which validates all differences. While this paper will survey the African American female athlete's quest to earn a degree from the potentially obscure culture of higher education, the term co-culture will be used to emphasize the view that one culture should not be perceived as being superior or inferior to another.

# Psychosocial Dynamics

Due to race, gender, and athletics, African American women athletes represent an amalgam of experiences which are central to them, but at the same time may marginalize them on college campuses. In the academic and athletic arenas, African American female athletes belong to a specific co-culture. The marginalization

embodied by the intersection of race, gender, and athletic activity often creates an isolating experience that must be transcended in order to achieve academic and athletic success. Gordon Allport's terms "in-group" and "out-group" provide a provocative vantage point from which to consider prejudice. In-group versus outgroup dynamics manifest along gender lines, along racial lines, or along any of the defining characteristics of a marginalized group. Psychologically speaking, out-group perception helps to shape in-group identity in contrast to the out-group. Hostility toward and rejection of out-groups strengthens the in-groups' sense of belonging. "To reject an out-group is a salient need" and results in five types of rejective behavior: antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and extermination (Allport, 1979, pp. 48-49). Those who cling to their in-group identity, do so at the risk of defining, stifling, rejecting, and possibly persecuting outgroup members by fortifying their own sense of belonging while simultaneously ostracizing people from different backgrounds.

In-group and out-group members, socialized in various ways, come together to teach in, learn, administer, and maintain the collegiate institution. Any of these tasks can prove difficult to an individual who is unfamiliar with a university campus and its culture. Additionally, Brislin's (1993) commentary on in-groups and out-groups also provides a relevant perspective to understanding the cultural dynamics in the university community. In-group members have positive feelings for other in-group members. This familiarity fosters positive interactions between ingroup members, yet simultaneously excludes out-group members who are considered "too different to receive in-group member attention" (Brislin, 1993, pp.

Regardless of an individual's position in the university community, those who feel part of the in-group are likely to be more comfortable and more academically and professionally successful. As a member of the in-group he or she would be less likely to feel hostility in, or isolation from, the university environment, According to Brislin (1993), the out-group members are kept at a distance, feeling unwelcome, ostracized, and uncomfortable. In contrast, those welcomed into the mainstream often enjoy greater academic success and professional advancement than their out-group counterparts.

Environment is also a factor in determining a student's success in other ways. Bandura (1977) suggests that through self-efficacy—that is, the belief in one's ability to perform a given behavior—performance will be determined jointly by the strength of a person's conviction that he or she has the competency to execute the skills that are demanded by the situation and the responsiveness of the environment. Bandura identifies four major components of self-efficacy: performance accomplishments, vicarious experience, verbal persuasion, and physiological states.

Through vicarious experience, student-athletes who see others perform threatening activities without adverse consequences can generate expectations that they too will improve if they intensify and persist in their efforts. African American female athletes who see other women and minorities persisting successfully through coaching and administration will likely feel more confident in persisting through their own difficult educational and athletic experiences. If institutions can create

more positive academic and athletic experiences for African American female athletes which are supported by vicarious experiences, such support will result in a greater likelihood of success. In turn, success creates mastery expectations and subsequently higher self-efficacy and performance. Further, collective efficacy, or shared perceptions of efficacy within groups of people (Bandura, 1986), can affect a cultural group which may absorb the covert and destructive messages disseminated in mainstream culture. In turn, "weak efficacy beliefs may limit the level of future performance one is willing to attempt and the degree to which one will persevere under stressful conditions" (Lent and Hackett, 1987, p. 373).

In relation to postathletic careers, African American female athletes need to feel comfortable in their environment to develop themselves and their lives outside college. Therefore, this marginalized co-culture (i.e., out-group) needs to be able to navigate the in-group mainstream culture to develop despite the exclusionary nature of many collegiate institutions.

#### Multiconsciousness of Female Athletes

In addition to out-group versus in-group dynamics, consider Du Boisian theory as it applies to the cultural dynamics discussed previously. This theory provides some insight as to how co-culture members can progress through the university community. DuBois' classic, The Souls of Black Folks, deems the "Negro" as a sort of second son, born with a veil. With this veiled perception, the Negro sees himself as the world views him, creating the "peculiar sensation of double consciousness"; that is, looking at himself through another's eyes (Du Bois, 1969, p. 45). Being "too different" or kept at a distance, the Negro Du Bois speaks of shares a similar status of marginality with other co-cultures. While Du Bois speaks specifically of African Americans, the co-culture status of African Americans parallels the co-culture status of other marginalized groups. In order to maneuver through a "world that looks on in amused contempt and pity," (Du Bois, 1969, p. 45) coculture members are aware of themselves and how mainstream society views them.

In writing her chapter "In the Kingdom of Culture," Hine (1993) expands Du Boisian double consciousness theory. While Du Bois refers to a duality of vision, Hine considers the multiplicity in marginalization. That is, in addition to race, a co-culture member may face marginalization due to a complex amalgam of race, sex, class, or other nonmainstream attributes.

Had Du Bois specifically included the experiences and lives of black women in his lament he probably would have had to modify his prose. For Du Bois race was the master key to understanding American reality and the most potent factor shaping identity. Still, I suspect, had he considered the issue of gender, instead of writing "One feels his twoness," he would have mused about how one feels her "fiveness": Negro, American, woman, poor, black woman. An examination of the separate realities and complex identities of black women offers a greater illumination of the power relations that operate along the interlocking grid of race, sex, and class in America (p. 339).

These ideas demonstrate that co-culture members utilize multiplicitness; they must employ this multiplicit vision in relationship to their enculturalized values in order to participate in the mainstream collegiate setting. African American female athletes simultaneously are aware of race, gender, and athletic participation. In short, African American female athletes must be aware of how they see themselves. By developing confidence in their own identities, they can then deal with how the world views them and persevere through the potential conflict between self-awareness and the world's definition of them.

Female athletes experience a double conscious veil in relation to male athletes. Female athletes see the disparity when men are flown to competitions while they take the bus; they see the disparity when they raise funds for uniforms while men's teams purchase multiple uniforms. As African American females, they endure injustices and stereotypes when professors sometime believe they are "dumb jocks" admitted to college primarily for athletics. As athletes, these women must often sacrifice participation in mainstream activities such as sororities, student organizations, and other social activities to participate in their sport. This combination of experiences creates a unique co-cultural experience for African American female athletes.

#### Historical Dynamics

Historically, black women athletes' feminine identity has been challenged. Female athletes were often viewed as masculine or animalistic. For black women, who were already stereotyped as lacking feminine grace, and refinement, athletic participation conjured notions of African American women athletes as virile and mannish. African American female athletes then developed a heavy emphasis on off-the-field-appearances, and re-established their womanhood through nonathletic means (Cahn, 1994). This phenomenon continues today when many African American female athletes rush to have the hair and nails done before major track meets. In addition to fighting mainstream culture to achieve academic and athletic success, African American female athletes also struggle to maintain their feminine identity in a culture that has historically denied their womanhood.

In 1929, Tuskegee Institute formed the first highly competitive collegiate women's track team. While Tuskegee yielded to other women's track programs in the next decade at Prairie View A & M, Alabama State, and Florida A & M, such advances in women's athletics were coupled with rampant discrimination.

In the late 1940's and early 1950's efforts to end racial segregation in major league sports like baseball and basketball had made little impact... the white press gave minimal coverage to black sports and seldom printed photographs of African American athletes. Black women found that sex discrimination in the form of small athletic budgets, half-hearted backing from Black school administrators, and the general absence of support from white-dominated sport organizations further impeded their development (Cahn, 1994, p. 119).

Despite efforts to level the playing field for women in recent years, most male coaches earn more than their female counterparts or even their college presidents.

They receive more financial aid for their programs and generally are given more attention by the media (Phillip, 1993). Today, only 17% of women's programs are headed by a woman and women fill less than a third of all administrative positions in women's college sport. More than 25% of women's athletic programs have no female administrators (Cahn, 1994). Racial tensions are coupled with gender inequities to create situations which exclude African American females in athletics. Title IX was instituted in 1972 to develop needed equity; nonetheless, gender inequity in hiring, fiscal commitments, and facilities still persists in collegiate athletics. "Women are experiencing a backlash for the 1972 Title IX... as a result... men can now apply to coach women's teams... now women have to compete with them to coach women's teams" (Phillip, 1993, p. 24).

Such equity dynamics make it difficult for African American female athletes to connect to the athletic mainstream culture. With a dearth of women and minorities in athletics, African American females have few role models with whom to identify. In the face of racial and gender induced tensions, African American female athletes must often struggle to gain support while their athletic counterparts benefit from their mainstream culture.

Despite efforts to connect people of color to athletics, racial inequity continues to be a problem in athletics, as few African Americans are hired into leadership roles as head coaches, athletic directors, or other administrators. Phillip (1993) found that minority women comprise fewer than 5% of all women coaches. Furthermore, "women have a better chance of becoming president of an NCAA institution than athletic director of that same institution" (p. 25). With the paucity of female and African American leadership roles, African American female athletes have few positive athletic role models in their own image.

A special report on the five-year trend in minority degree production cites Howard University at the top of the list with an average of nearly 1,500 degrees per year during the period 1988–1992. Many of the top ten institutions are historically black colleges and universities ("Five-Year Trends," 1996). It would seem from this report that historically black colleges and universities provide the environment and staff for role models which better support African American students, thus, more African American students can find their way to graduation and successful careers with the help of role models and mentors.

Hale (1996) reflects on the importance of role models early in her educational career: "During my public school years and in college, I was surrounded by strong Black role models. These individuals...challenged me in a manner that made me extend myself to greater heights and never doubt my abilities (p. 22)." In relation to her current employment at the University of South Carolina she states:

For... Black females to be successful, more must be hired to provide the role models needed to inspire them. For this reason I stay in higher education... I know I will be successful and be able to serve as a role model for other Black females in higher education (Hale, 1996, p. 22–23).

Educational success which is demonstrated through graduation rates, and postcollegiate careers is the fruit of encouraging environments staffed with posi-

tive role models.

#### Recommendations

In the June 28, 1995 issue of The NCAA News, the National Collegiate Athletic Association reported that Black female athletes demonstrated significant graduation rate gains over the past decade. The 58% graduation rate for black female student-athletes is almost a third higher than the 44% rate for black female student-athletes who entered school in 1985 ("Black Female Athletes," 1995). In addition, this particular co-culture out performs black female students by graduating at a rate 17% higher than nonathletes. While these data demonstrate a positive graduation rate, African American female athletes still graduate at a rate 11% below that of white female student-athletes. As Dr. Bernice Resnick Sandler, Senior Scholar in Residence, National Association for Women in Education, states, "women of color have different experiences than white and other women" (Morgan, 1996, p. 21). These differences discussed previously yield the current trends which create this graduation rate disparity.

To rectify this disparity, institutions should provide or extend individualized attention for this co-culture. Individualized advising regarding academic decisions, time management, study habits, and adjustment to student life can help African American female athletes feel connected to and comfortable in the mainstream culture (Greenlee, 1995). When students feel comfortable and connected, they persevere through college to graduation (Pascarella, 1982). Individualized outreach to, and connection with, this co-culture can minimize the exclusionary effects perpetuated by the in-group mainstream.

Administratively, the support needed to help African American female studentathletes must come from, and continue to come from, executive- or senior-level administration. During the contemporary surge in diversity education, the highest authorities within the mainstream university culture must invest in programs which support a variety of co-cultures. The NCAA has started such support for the student-athlete co-culture by giving over \$15 million to Division I schools for academic enhancement ("Budget Boosts," 1995). Once this money is distributed, the upper administration at these institutions must make a commitment to supporting African American females in their athletic co-culture. If decision makers are passive, they condone the negative status quo. Subsequently, such passivity maintains power for the privileged group to the exclusion of various co-cultures.

Second, administrative support for the student-athlete co-culture should consider that the institution needs to assist the acculturation of the student-athlete. By providing support programs, hiring women and minorities, and providing academic assistance, institutions will be able to continue and augment services which help the African American female student-athlete to navigate the mainstream university culture.

Academic advisors should be provided who can relate to and connect with African American female athletes to assist them as they progress through college. "Students should be given clear academic expectations of the college environment in addition to assistance in formulating academic as well as personal goals"

(Roper & McKenzie, 1988, p. 93). Further, such advisors should be willing to utilize alternate methods to reach African American athletes and real life experiences should be incorporated into support for African American female athletes. The historical lack of role models at predominantly white institutions has persisted as a current dynamic. Career mentors are a tremendous benefit to young women at the onset of their careers, therefore, it is imperative that such role models be available to African American female athletes (Hamilton, 1993). Academic advisors or African American alumni should be encouraged to "facilitate workshops on coping strategies for the work world, developing and enhancing self-concept, and successfully matriculating through the university" (Hamilton, 1993, p.157). African American female athletes should be given a guide who can assist them as they maneuver the mainstream university culture.

Third, in addition to the specific methodology for assisting African American female student-athletes, the NCAA should continue to contribute monetary support for the diverse population in athletics. The NCAA Council Subcommittee to Review Minority Opportunities in Intercollegiate Athletics is aimed at creating better opportunities for ethnic minorities in coaching, athletics administration, and officiating. Since 1987, 10 postgraduate scholarships have been awarded as part of the Ethnic Minority Enhancement Program. Ethnic minority students who have earned their bachelor's degrees and plan to enter sport administration or related fields are eligible for a \$6,000 scholarship ("Ethnic Minority," 1995). In borrowing from the NCAA's model for vocational support, colleges and universities could create internships of cooperative educational opportunities which introduce women and minorities to athletic administration. Even if such programs created unpaid position for students, positive experiences in these positions could further guide women and minorities to careers in athletics.

A review of the literature revealed a dearth of empirical research addressing the potential value of African American female role models. Research findings on special populations, such as the degree production report, and anecdotal information, such as Hale's comments, suggest that there is a value in having more African American female role models. Nonetheless, there is a need to empirically study institutions that have hired African American females in athletics to determine if such hirings have positively affected the graduation rates of this cohort.

# Summary

Given the aforementioned examples, the rising graduation rate of African American female athletes, or any co-culture should be supported and funded by the mainstream administration. Such support is necessary to assist co-culture graduation rates. While co-cultures are able to employ a multiplicit consciousness to survive, universities need to continuously employ more inclusive practices; such practices would include supportive programs, diversity in hiring, and mentoring programs.

Supporting the African American female co-culture or any co-culture will only strengthen any athletic department. Support translates into academic and athletic success; yet, to reap the benefits of athletic and academic success, athletic depart-

ments must create an environment which fosters such success. Winning seasons and rising graduation rates are powerful recruiting tools. Athletic departments that have records of such success can in turn retain top administrators, coaches, and athletes. However, the foundation of such success is developing an environment in which all co-cultures can thrive.

In summary, the university culture needs to provide the resources and sincere commitment from upper administration throughout the entire university community. This would not only include more diverse hiring practices, but would also include diversity training for existing faculty and staff. Further, such a commitment would include the necessary monetary support. Mentoring programs that provide role models for co-culture members need to be established and maintained. Such role models would be able to guide fellow co-culture members through the university culture. Administrative support, which yields individual attention for co-culture members, would be coupled with the co-culture members' ability to employ a multiplicit consciousness. The combination of co-cultural support and multiplicit adaptive behavior will assist co-culture members in obtaining their goals within the university mainstream culture. While African American female athletes navigate the university culture, the university host culture must take on the responsibility of facilitating this navigation, which will directly affect the success of co-cultural students.

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#### **Author Note**

Leah P. Hollis is the Director of Student-Athlete Support Services at Northeastern University, Her professional interests include African American female athletes and student retention in special populations. Portions of this manuscript were presented at annual convention of the National Association of Academic Advisors for Athletics in Arlington, Virginia, June 1996.

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# The Use of an Incentive Program to Increase Motivation for Academic Performance

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The effects of an incentive program on academic performance were examined. Sixty student-athletes on academic probation at a Division I university participated. Points were awarded for positive, measurable efforts towards improving academic standing. Although grade point average (GPA) did not significantly increase from one year to the next, 62% of student-athletes did demonstrate improvement on this measure. Total points earned by each individual was not significantly correlated to GPA, however, class year was significantly negatively correlated with points earned, suggesting that this type of intervention may be more effective with younger student-athletes.

The importance of providing academic support for intercollegiate athletes is well acknowledged (Lang, Dunham, & Alpert, 1988; Walter & Smith, 1986; Zingg, 1982). An informal survey of NCAA Division I athletic programs conducted in conjunction with the present study indicated that many universities require freshmen, transfers, and those on academic probation to attend some form of academic improvement program. Maloney and McCormick (1993) found that athletes often have weaker academic credentials—which are the most important determinants of lower grades—than nonathlete students entering the university. On average, they found that student-athletes' high school rank is about 19 percentage points lower, and their SAT scores average about 150 points lower than the rest of the student body. In addition, 42% of student-athletes fail to maintain the 2.0 GPA required to graduate from their university.

In an attempt to better understand the factors related to the academic success of collegiate football players, several risk factors for academic failure were identified (Lang et al., 1988). Among them were low high school GPA; failing a year in school; low socioeconomic status (determined by type of high school education and mother's level of education); being disciplined frequently by their high school coach; and feeling like they were "majoring in eligibility" (i.e., viewing their education as primarily a means by which they are allowed to compete in athletics). In addition, Brackney and Karabenick (1995) found that students who were on academic probation were less likely to effectively regulate their study environment, persist in the face of difficulty or distraction, and seek academic assistance from others when necessary.

These characteristics describe the type of students who most frequently attend

academic improvement programs. It has been demonstrated that students' efforts to regulate and manage their time and study environment correlate positively with grades in undergraduate classes (Pintrich & Garcia, 1991). Instilling study habits, such as managing time and controlling the study environment, is a primary goal of academic support programs.

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Academic performance is often not a high priority for student-athletes (Berkow, 1992; Moran, 1993). The value of engaging in academic tasks is assumed to depend on intrinsic interest (e.g., satisfaction of performing well or interest in the subject matter), extrinsic sources (e.g., grades or approval), and the perceived utility of reaching subsequent academic goals (e.g., fulfilling graduation requirements: Weiner, 1985). Intrinsic interest is frequently at a low level for freshman studentathletes entering the college environment. If they have not been academically successful or had positive learning experiences, they will tend not to see the importance of succeeding academically, nor are they likely to recognize the relationship between academic success and potential future goals such as graduate school or professional careers (Kaufman & Creamer, 1991).

For student-athletes whose intrinsic motivation is low, it may be necessary to focus on extrinsic motivation techniques, such as arranging the environment to increase the probable occurrence of positive consequences related to the desirable behavior. Although improvement programs contribute to the academic success of college student-athletes, a negative stigma is often attached to study hall (i.e., mandatory study sessions) and students sometimes do not take advantage of support services offered to them (Berkow, 1992; Walter & Smith, 1986). Typically, the consequence for a student-athlete not attending study hall is the delivery of some form of punishment. Additional running, calisthenics, and early morning study sessions are often used as consequences for misbehavior and may contribute to student-athletes believing that engaging in academic pursuits is a painful and negative experience. These forms of punishment do not teach desirable study behaviors and their long-term effects are unknown.

Conversely, the use of positive reinforcement, including token economies, has been shown to be effective in changing behavior in diverse settings (Stipek, 1993). Using motivational techniques in the form of a game has also been shown to be effective for learning, as this includes a form of competition which is attractive to students with a high need for achievement (Klein & Freitag, 1991). The incentive program in the present study, coined the "Free Hours Point Program," was designed to increase the focus on positive, constructive behaviors and reward the student-athletes for making an effort to improve their academic performance. The program was administered in a manner that allowed students to "score" points similar to a game—something with which they were already familiar. The program utilized positive reinforcement (in the form of points) for students going above and beyond the minimum requirements set by the athletics department, such as spending extra time reading, taking notes, coming to a tutorial session with questions and meeting with an academic advisor.

Most often students need more time and support for their academic responsibilities than the minimum that the department requires. Academic improvement programs are designed as a supplement to other behaviors, not as the sole means of academic success. If students are rewarded for exceeding the minimum requirement, it is more likely they will learn the appropriate behaviors to assist them with becoming successful, and incorporate them into their repertoire of academic behaviors.

It has been consistently demonstrated that for reinforcement to be effective, it must be easily administered and valuable to the participant (Stipek, 1993). Two things which are often very important to student-athletes are playing time and personal time. Academic counselors and support personnel need the cooperation of coaches to influence playing time and sometimes this is not possible to implement. However, counselors do often determine which student-athletes are required to attend study hall and what their hourly commitment will be in the program. The demands of intercollegiate athletics participation (e.g., classes, practice, meetings, weights, and study hall) leave little personal time for student-athletes. Time away from study hall was selected as a reward that could be regulated by the academic counselor. Students were allowed to take several hours away from academic improvement if they accumulated enough points by performing the desirable behaviors previously mentioned. These hours were chosen by the student-athlete and they had to be taken off during the semester in which the points were earned.

#### Method

#### **Participants**

Sixty student-athletes, members of the football team at a Division I-A institution and participants in the Academic Improvement (AI) program, participated in the study. Participants were evenly distributed across academic class: 25% freshman, 23% sophomores, 23% juniors, and 28% seniors. Student-athletes with a cumulative grade point average (GPA) of less than a 2.25 were required to participate in the AI program. Students with less than a 2.00 GPA were required to attend the program for 8 hours per week (71% of the sample) and those with between a 2.00 and 2.25 were required to attend 4 hours per week (29% of the sample). The time requirement was fulfilled in a variety of ways including meeting with tutors and mentors, attending computer lab hours and participating in quiet reading/studying hours. Participation in the Free Hours Point Program was voluntary by all attendees, however all student-athletes participated.

#### Incentive System

Students were encouraged to take part in the Free Hours Point Program during an introductory meeting for the AI program. They were given a handout describing the variety of ways they could earn points. These included spending extra time in AI with tutors; reading or working on the computer; attaining an A or B grade on a midterm exam, class assignment or grade check; or achieving at least 80% on the written evaluations that the tutors and mentors were asked to complete. Written evaluations included the rating of behaviors and qualities such as being on time to a session, being prepared, taking comprehensive class notes, and mastering course material. Each method of earning points had a predetermined value (e.g., 80% on a tutor evaluation was worth one point, 90% was worth three points, and 100% was worth five points).

Points were tallied and distributed weekly. The points were signified with colorcoded dots that were placed on index cards. Red represented five points; blue, three points; and green, one point. Each card also contained the following information: student's name, how points were earned (e.g., Psych 101 tutor evaluation), date points were earned, and the initials of the academic counselor. Students were told that they were responsible for the dots and the academic counselor was not keeping records of the points; lost points would not be replaced. They were also told if they were caught forging or transferring points, they would lose all point privileges.

If students earned 35 points, they were allowed to exchange them for one hour of mandatory study hall time, and if they earned 50 points they were allowed to exchange them for two hours. This was done to encourage students to continue earning points. Students were also encouraged to exchange points for their mentor sessions or reading hours rather than tutoring sessions, however, they were allowed to use the points as they deemed necessary. The only requirement was that they must give the points to the academic counselor prior to the time they were going to miss, up five minutes before the session began. Points could not be exchanged to clear up an unexcused absence after it occurred.

# Data Analysis

Students' GPAs for the previous the fall semester, when the point program was not in use, were compared to the fall semester when the system was implemented. Correlations were examined among total points earned, GPA, and year in school.

#### Results

A one-way ANOVA did not indicate a significant difference between semesters with and without the point system in place, F(1,35) = 3.33, p = .07, although there was a moderate trend toward higher grades during the semester when the system was in place. Sixty-two percent of the student-athletes improved their GPA. A Pearson product-moment correlation indicated that the correlation between total points earned and GPA was not significant (r = .156, p = .262). Year in school and total points earned by individuals were significantly negatively correlated (r =-.6164, p = .000), with the youngest students earning the highest number of points (See Table 1).

TABLE 1 Mean Points Earned by Academic Year

Year in School	n	М	SD
1	15	80.73	38.19
2	14	40.53	26.90
3	14	25.92	17.67
4	17	22.58	13.13

#### Discussion

Although GPA improved from the first to second fall semesters, it was not related to the frequency of study points earned in the Free Hours Program. There are many factors that can contribute to an increase in GPA, such as life events, stress, coaching influence, being in competition, and course load and selection. The factor of in-season versus out-of-season was controlled in this particular study, but there seem to be other influential factors that are more powerful than the use of incentive programs.

On a subjective note, the students seemed to enjoy receiving the points. They looked forward to receiving them each week, and expressed frustration if they did not. To ensure that the students understood what was expected of them, tutors and mentors were encouraged to discuss their evaluations with student-athletes prior to them turning them in to the counselor so the student would not be surprised when or if they did not earn points. The statistical results seem to indicate that this kind of program is more likely to be more effective with younger student-athletes, such as freshmen or sophomores. These are often the students targeted by an academic counselor since they are at the highest risk, and in need of establishing good study habits from the beginning of their academic careers.

The Free Hours Point Program is cost-efficient in terms of time and materials, and it can easily be implemented. The most time-consuming portion of the study was keeping track of the number of points earned and spent. In general, it was a very basic program that can be tailored to almost any student population. The average number of days that the athletes actually cashed out was one (two hours). This is positive in the sense that points were not easily earned and the athletes did not miss a significant amount of time scheduled in the AI program, yet they were still rewarded and given the feeling they could exert some form of control over their personal time. It will be important to explore ways of encouraging more students to earn a higher number of points. Posting the points, for example, might create a more competitive situation where student-athletes strive to outdo one another. Awards for such categories as "most points earned" by each academic class (freshman, sophomore, etc.), and by each team could be given at the end of the semester.

One major limitation of this study was the lack of a control group. Comparisons should be made between students who were on probation and did not utilize the point program and those who did participate. Since this sample was limited to football players, student-athletes from other sports also need to be examined before more definitive conclusions can be drawn. It would also be beneficial to examine the effects over an entire year, including both in- and out-of-season. A study done by Maloney and McCormick (1993) found that football players and others in revenue sports received, on average, a letter grade lower than nonathletes in approximately half of their courses during the semester of participation.

Lastly, alternative incentives need to be evaluated. The lack of a significant relationship between total points earned and GPA suggests that the reinforcer might not have been strong enough. It is possible that time away from study hall is not sufficiently motivating for student-athletes. As with any token economy or rein-

forcement program, the reinforcers must be valued by the participant in order to foster motivation (Stipek, 1993). It might be valuable to survey the population prior to implementation to find out what they feel would motivate them. One limitation that must be considered is the restrictions placed on the institutions by the NCAA. What would typically be very powerful reinforcers for athletes such as money, food, and clothes are prohibited by the rules that are in place. Finding reinforcers that are both effective and legal makes the job of motivating studentathletes with relation to academic performance more challenging.

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# Homophobia and Sport Experience: A Survey of College Students

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Athlete (n = 246) and nonathlete (n = 135) students from a mid-sized, rural university completed the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG; Herek, 1984). Average ratings for attitudes toward and perceptions of gay men and lesbians ranged from negative to mixed. Females scored significantly lower on homophobia than males, while athletes rated significantly higher on homophobia than nonathletes. The results suggest that athletes, at least those from primarily rural areas, have less tolerance for lesbians and gay men than nonathletes. Results and implications for counselors are discussed in the context of the conservatism of athletics, sport as an arena of masculinity, heterosexism, lack of knowledge about lesbians and gay men, and other sociocultural influences.

#### **Historical Context**

Attitudes toward lesbians, gay men, and homosexuality in general have received considerable attention in the current sociological and social psychological literatures. Kinsey's pioneering studies (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953) were the first major attempts to scientifically and statistically describe homosexual behavior, but studies on attitudes toward lesbians and gay men did not begin in earnest until the 1970s. Studies on attitudes toward lesbians and gay men have proliferated during the past 25 years (e.g., Beach, 1977; Bell & Weinberg, 1978; Brown & Amoroso, 1975; Dunbar, Brown, & Amoroso, 1973; Glassner & Owen, 1976; Gurwitz & Marcus, 1978; Henley & Pincus, 1978; Hudson & Ricketts, 1980; Laner & Laner, 1979; Levitt & Klassen, 1974; MacDonald & Games, 1974; Nyberg & Alston, 1976; Weinberg & Williams, 1974) and currently continue to grow and expand (e.g., Herek, 1988, 1991, 1994; Herek & Glunt, 1991, 1993). Since the emergence of AIDS, research on attitudes toward gay men and lesbians has become even more widespread. Rudolph (1990) reported that from 1974 to 1985, the period in which the AIDS outbreak occurred, the number of respondents who believed that lesbian and gay male relationships are "always wrong" increased from 67% to 73%. Further, there was a reported increase in the number of violent attacks on lesbians and gay men

over a similar time period. It is not clear whether these changes represent true increases in homophobia or a greater willingness to voice homophobic attitudes and more reporting of violent homophobic acts, crimes most assuredly underreported in the past.

#### Homophobia and Heterosexism

Schreier (1995) defines homophobia as the "illogical fear (of)... people who are gay, lesbian, or homosexual" (p. 19). The word "homophobia" has entered, and is firmly established, in the social psychology lexicon. In some ways it is an unfortunate word in that it emphasizes fear. Fear is only one of the many negative cognitive and emotional responses people may have to lesbians and gay men; other reactions include anger, dislike, disgust, and even pity. Because homophobia is the accepted term, we will use it in this paper with the qualification that it covers the broad range of negative reactions and attitudes people may have toward those with gay and lesbian sexual orientations. Such fears and attitudes can lead to intolerance, hatred, and violent acts against lesbian and gay individuals.

Homophobia is a common and inimical result of a heterosexist world view. Heterosexism is the belief that the only proper intimate sexual behavior for humans is between members of the opposite sex, and that other types of intimate behavior are wrong and even punishable. "Love" is not a gender-free term for the heterosexist, in that expressions of romantic and physical love are reserved for only one type of coupling: male-female. Any other types of romantic couplings are perverted and forbidden. Lesbians and gay men threaten the heterosexist position along with threatening basic heterosexist beliefs about what it is to be a man or a woman, and to be masculine or feminine (Schreier, 1995). This threat can lead to retaliation against lesbians and gay men in the form of prejudice, discrimination, and violence. Much of the sport world remains a bastion of heterosexism (Messner & Sabo, 1994; Pronger, 1990a).

# Homophobia in Sport

Recently, a great deal of media attention has been dedicated to the examination of homophobic attitudes and homophobic acts (Seltzer, 1993). Television talk shows, popular magazine articles, and nationally-circulated newspapers commonly feature stories about anti-gay attitudes and violent "gay-bashing" incidents. In the socially conservative realm of sport, however, limited focus has been placed on the lives of gay and lesbian athletes. A few personal accounts of gay and lesbian athletes—and the prejudices they faced—have appeared in the popular press. For example, David Kopay (football; Kopay & Young, 1977), Martina Navratilova (tennis; Navratilova & Vecsey, 1985), Dave Pallone (baseball; Pallone & Steinberg, 1990), and Greg Louganis (diving; Louganis & Marcus, 1995) have discussed their personal experiences and the homophobic atmosphere of professional and international sports. These accounts provide an enlightening glimpse into the lives of gay and lesbian athletes.

Aside from the few examples mentioned above, the scholarly inquiry into competitive sports has, for the most part, remained relatively limited in discussing

homophobia. This suggests a few possible conditions: Homophobia does not exist in sport to the same extent that it exists in the general population; the level of homophobia in sport is comparable to that of society in general, but the topic is avoided for some reason; or that homophobia is an extremely powerful force in sport, keeping men and women "in their places" and pushing lesbian and gay male athletes to stay in their closets (see Griffin, 1992). Given the limited, yet dramatic nature of the discussions that do exist about homophobia in sport (e.g., Kopay & Young 1977; Navratilova & Vecsey, 1985), the last suggestion seems most probable.

Social psychology and sociology researchers are forging ahead in studies of lesbians, gay men, and homophobia. The subject of lesbians and gay men in sport has also received some attention in fields of sport psychology and sport sociology. Recently, there have been discussions related to gay and lesbian athletes at Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology (AAASP) conferences, American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance (AAHPERD) meetings, American Psychological Association (APA) Division 47 programs, and other national and international meetings (e.g., Aker, 1993; Bailey, Anderson, & Pacheco, 1994; Butki, Andersen, & Heyman, 1996; Genasci, Genasci, & Griffin, 1994; Greendorfer, 1991; Griffin, 1987; Heyman, 1987; Heyman, Butki, & Andersen, 1994; Krane, 1995, 1996; McConnell, 1995).

Book chapters and published accounts of research on lesbian and gay athletes and homophobia in sport have appeared, but are not plentiful (e.g., Blinde & Taub, 1992a, 1992b; Griffin, 1989; Griffin & Genasci, 1990; Lenskyj, 1991; ni Cobhan, 1982; Pronger, 1990a, 1990b). Garner and Smith (1977) conducted the first study on the prevalence of lesbians and gay men in sport, but attitudes *toward* lesbians, gay men, and homophobia were not central concerns in that study. Homophobia in sport received some consideration in the late 1980s (e.g., Harris, 1987; Heyman; 1987) but was not extensively examined. Rotella and Murray (1991) wrote the first article in the mainstream sport psychology literature that focused specifically on homophobia in sport. The article may have helped alert sport psychologists to an area of practice and research in need of attention, but it was anecdotal, cited no references from the large literature on homophobia, and appeared to represent primarily the opinions of the authors.

In 1992, in a special issue of *Quest* on women in sport, Griffin (1992) directly addressed the issue of homophobia and lesbians in sport. This work provided an excellent introduction to the roots and problems associated with homophobia. The reference section of this paper offered a glimpse at the state of the discussion of lesbians and homophobia in sport. Many of the references came from conference presentations, the more general feminist literature, and the popular press. This raises a striking question: In light of the large literature on lesbians, gay men, and homophobia, why, until recently, has there been so little published in the sport and athletic counseling literature? We can only speculate, but a tentative suggestion might be that the subjects of lesbians, gay men, and homophobia in sport have only recently gained acceptance as areas of serious inquiry and that their "taboo" and stigmatizing status has only now started to fade. Maybe we are beginning to realize that homophobia is part of sport, a part that helps taint the

mosphere of sport with fear, suspicion, innuendo, alienation, and threatened violence (Griffin, 1992).

Herek (1988) has found that several psychosocial and demographic variables (e.g., sex, education, religion, political ideology, past experiences with lesbians and gay men) may influence prejudicial and homophobic reactions to gay men and lesbians. We would like to add the variable of organized sport. Organized sport is a stronghold of heterosexism, exemplified by the title of Garner and Smith's (1977) article "Are there really any gay male athletes?" [sic]. Sport is a major arena for exhibiting masculine behavior (Whitson, 1990) and is also a place where homophobia and the fear of being labeled a "faggot" or "dyke" is pervasive.

Another factor that may have an influence on homophobia is geography. In urban settings, the chance of coming in contact with gay men and lesbians, hearing about local gay events, and having generally a greater exposure to a variety human behavior is probably higher than in rural America. Along with assessing differential levels of homophobia in athletes and nonathletes, demographic variables, and past experiences with gay men and lesbians, the present study chose participants from a predominantly rural area. Because this study took place at a university serving a primarily rural population in the middle of the United States, we did not believe any results would necessarily generalize beyond rural North American populations. Nevertheless, rural populations comprise significant parts of the American population and American student-athletes, and their attitudes are worthy of investigation. In an attempt to begin to expand the range of studies on homophobia in sport and to conduct data-based research, this study sought to examine if there were differences in the levels of homophobia among athletes and nonathletes.

#### Method

#### **Participants**

The sample was comprised of college students (N = 381) enrolled in introductory psychology courses. Participants formed four groups: female nonathletes (n = 85), female athletes (n = 107), male nonathletes (n = 50), and male athletes (n = 107) 135). A participant fit into the "athlete" category if he or she had participated in at least one varsity sport in college (participation in a varsity sport implied at least a high school career in organized sport, and probably longer). Four participants did not state their gender or athletic history and were excluded from the analyses. Another participant was also excluded (see below), resulting in a total of 376 analyzable records.

#### Questionnaires

The demographic questionnaire contained items related to age, sex, ethnicity, major, year in college, participation in high school and college sports, type of sport (contact, noncontact), and sexual orientation. The sexual orientation item was a checklist ranging from exclusively heterosexual to exclusively homosexual.

Herek's Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG; 1984) was used to measure students' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Herek designed

the ATLG primarily as a measure of heterosexual people's attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. It contains 20 items that express different attitudes toward gay men and lesbians (e.g., "Female homosexuality is a sin"; "Male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men"). Participants respond to each item on a three-point scale (i.e., 1 = agree, 2 = mixed, 3 = disagree). The ATLG produces three scores for these 20 items (i.e., homophobia for gay men, homophobia for lesbians, and a total homophobia score). The ATLG also contains three other items; the first item concerns whether the participant personally knows gay men or lesbians, and if so, how many of each. The final two items concern perceptions when meeting gay men or lesbians (i.e., how the gay man's or lesbian's sexual orientation affects perception of that individual positively or negatively). Participants rate these two items on a five point scale, ranging from 1 (I see them very negatively) to 5 (I see them very positively).

The ATLG has undergone extensive development, testing, and refinement. Herek (1994) has reported alpha coefficients for the gay male homophobia and the lesbian homophobia subscales of .91 and .90, respectively, with an alpha of .95 for the total scale. Test-retest reliability coefficients have ranged from .83 to .90.

#### Procedure

The volunteer participants completed standard consent forms that assured anonymity. After brief instructions (e.g., "please answer the items as honestly as possible") and clarifications (e.g., responses were anonymous and that individuals would not be identified), participants completed the demographic questionnaires and the ATLG. The experimenter then collected all the surveys, answered any questions the participants had, and thanked them for taking part in the study.

#### Results

#### Description of the Sample

Participants averaged 20.6 years of age (SD = 4.5) and were predominantly Caucasian (90%). They represented a variety of majors, with many psychology students (50%) and a substantial number with undeclared majors (24%). Most of the participants were freshmen and sophomores (79%). The majority of the sample had organized athletic experience (64%). All but one of the participants described themselves as exclusively heterosexual; that participant was not included in the analyses. For the total sample, 40% reported that they knew gay men or lesbians. For those reporting knowing gay men or lesbians, the mean number of gay men and lesbians known was 2.2 (SD = 2.5) and 1.7 (SD = 3.2), respectively.

#### Analyses of Variance

Two-by-two (Gender x Athletic Status) analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted on the dependent variables of gay male homophobia, lesbian homophobia, total homophobia, perception of gay men, and perception of lesbians. Means and standard deviations for the dependent variables are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1 Means and Standard Deviations for Lesbian, Gay Male, and Total Homophobia, and Perceptions of Gay Men and Lesbians for Males, Females, Athletes, and Nonathletes

Homophobia						Perceptions				
Gay N	Male	Lesbia	in	Total		Gay l	Male	Lesbi	an	
М	SD	M	SD	M	SD	М	SD	M	SD	
19.8	2.6	19.2	3.2	39.1	5.1	2.4	.80	2.3	.85	
21.3	2.2	20.8	3.3	42.1	5.0	1.7	.81	2.1	.92	
21.0	2.4	20.5	3.2	41.6	5.0	1.9	.80	2.1	.88	
20.3	2.6	19.8	3.4	40.1	5.4	2.5	.89	2.4	.88	
	M 19.8 21.3 21.0	Gay Male  M SD  19.8 2.6 21.3 2.2 21.0 2.4	Homop Gay Male Lesbia M SD M  19.8 2.6 19.2 21.3 2.2 20.8 21.0 2.4 20.5	Homophobia       Gay Male     Lesbian       M     SD     M     SD       19.8     2.6     19.2     3.2       21.3     2.2     20.8     3.3       21.0     2.4     20.5     3.2	Homophobia  Gay Male Lesbian Total  M SD M SD M  19.8 2.6 19.2 3.2 39.1  21.3 2.2 20.8 3.3 42.1  21.0 2.4 20.5 3.2 41.6	Homophobia       Gay Male     Lesbian     Total       M     SD     M     SD     M     SD       19.8     2.6     19.2     3.2     39.1     5.1       21.3     2.2     20.8     3.3     42.1     5.0       21.0     2.4     20.5     3.2     41.6     5.0	Homophobia         Gay Male       Lesbian       Total       Gay I         M       SD       M       SD       M         19.8       2.6       19.2       3.2       39.1       5.1       2.4         21.3       2.2       20.8       3.3       42.1       5.0       1.7         21.0       2.4       20.5       3.2       41.6       5.0       1.9	Homophobia         Percel           Gay Male         Lesbian         Total         Gay Male           M         SD         M         SD         M         SD           19.8         2.6         19.2         3.2         39.1         5.1         2.4         .80           21.3         2.2         20.8         3.3         42.1         5.0         1.7         .81           21.0         2.4         20.5         3.2         41.6         5.0         1.9         .80	Homophobia         Perceptions           Gay Male         Lesbian         Total         Gay Male         Lesbian           M         SD         M         SD         M         SD         M           19.8         2.6         19.2         3.2         39.1         5.1         2.4         .80         2.3           21.3         2.2         20.8         3.3         42.1         5.0         1.7         .81         2.1           21.0         2.4         20.5         3.2         41.6         5.0         1.9         .80         2.1	

Note. For homophobia, higher scores represent greater homophobia. For perceptions, higher scores represent more positive perceptions.

There were main effects for gender, with males rating higher than females on homophobia for gay men, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, p < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, P < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, P < .0001; lesbian homophobia, F(1, 372) = 37.58, P < .0001372) = 16.88, p < .0001; total homophobia, F(1, 372) = 28.91, p < .0001; and negative perceptions of gay men, F(1, 273) = 39.72, p < .0001 (99 participants did not answer this item). The athletic status (athlete/nonathlete) variable also produced several main effects. Athletes had greater homophobia for gay men, F(1,372) = 4.68, p < .03; homophobia for lesbians, F(1, 372) = 4.66, p < .03; total homophobia, F(1, 372) = 4.60, p < .03; and more negative perceptions of gay men, F(1, 273) = 24.27, p < .0001; and lesbians F(1, 273) = 6.18, p < .02 than nonathletes. None of the ANOVAs produced significant interactions.

Males in noncontact (e.g., swimming, track and field) sports were no different than males in contact sports (e.g., wrestling, football) on any of the attitude and perception measures. Finally, for all of the homophobia measures, those participants who personally knew a gay man or a lesbian rated no differently than those with no personal acquaintance. Table 2 presents the effect sizes (Cohen's d) for the ATLG and the perception items.

TABLE 2 Effect Sizes (Cohen's d) for Lesbian, Gay Male, and Total Homophobia, and Perceptions of Gay Men and Lesbians by Sex and Athletic Status

	Homophobia		Perceptions		
	Gay Male	Lesbian	Total	Gay Male	Lesbian
Female/Male	.58	.50	.59	.88	.24
Nonathlete/Athlete	.27	.21	.28	.67	.34

#### Discussion

It was surprising that all but one of the participants claimed they were exclusively heterosexual. We were interested in heterosexual attitudes towards gay men and lesbians and would have eliminated any gay participants from the analyses, but having to eliminate only one participant was unexpected. The exact prevalence of lesbians and gay men in the general population is debatable, but it is quite likely greater than the 0.4% represented here. It may be that the homophobic atmosphere is so pervasive (and internalized) in the part of the country where this study was conducted that denial has become a major defense, for some, as a response to a perceived hostile environment. In light of the highly negative perceptions of gay men and lesbians found in this study, this result may not be so surprising. Fear of stigmatization and the exposure of one's sexual orientation can be particularly strong in this age group (Martin & Hetrick, 1988), and may be even stronger in rural settings where "everyone knows everyone."

Scores on the ATLG can range from 10 to 30 for gay male and lesbian homophobia and from 20 to 60 for total homophobia. Table 1 shows that average scores for gay male and lesbian homophobia ranged from 19.2 to 21.3 for all participant groups: females, males, athletes, and nonathletes. Many of the differences between males and females, and athletes and nonathletes for homophobia were statistically significant, but the actual differences between groups appear rather small. These "middle mean" scores represent predominantly mixed or ambivalent attitudes toward gay men and lesbians.

The perceptions of gay men and lesbians data, however, offer a clearer picture. Average scores for perceptions of gay men and lesbians among the four groups of participants ranged from 1.7 to 2.5. These scores represent much more negative reactions than the ATLG scores on attitudes. The differences between the attitude scores and the perception scores may be due to the more abstract and general nature of the attitude items and the more personal nature of the perception items (e.g., "Female homosexuality is a sin" versus "When you meet a lesbian, how does her sexual orientation affect your perception of her?" [italics added]).

The effect sizes in Table 2 reveal that gender is the stronger variable when considering attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Males have more negative attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, with effect sizes in the moderate or medium range. For perceptions of gay men, however, males have substantially more negative perceptions than females, and the effect size is in the large range. Males and females, on the average, have negative perceptions of gay men, but among males, the negative reactions appear stronger. These results follow previous patterns of homophobia found among males and females (Herek, 1988; 1994). Males also had more negative reactions to gay men than to lesbians. It may be that gay men represent more of a threat to beliefs about masculinity than lesbians do.

For athletes versus nonathletes, all of the differences, except for perceptions of gay men, fall in the small effect size range. The effect size of .67 (medium range) for athletes having more negative perceptions of gay men than nonathletes may be confounded by there being 135 male athletes and only 50 male nonathletes. Thus, this medium effect size may be due in part to differences between males and females in athletic status.

Personally knowing a lesbian or gay male was not a factor in levels of homophobia or perceptions of lesbians and gay men. This somewhat surprising result could be due to how the question was asked. The question was: "Do you personally know a lesbian or a gay man?" "Knowing" does not necessarily mean "associating with." Thus, one could know lesbians and gay men but really have nothing to do with them. The results would probably have been different if we had asked "Do you have a friend, relative, or acquaintance who is a lesbian or gay man?"

The results of this study seem to indicate that ambivalent attitudes and negative perceptions of gay men and lesbians remain fairly strong among college students at this school. This university serves a predominantly small town and rural population; a similar study at a large urban university might produce different results.

As in previous research with the ATLG, females exhibited less homophobia than males (Herek, 1988; 1994). The athlete/nonathlete variable, while significantly different on all the attitude and perception variables, did not produce effect sizes outside the small range except for the perception of gay men variable. Thus, it appears that participation in organized sports has a small influence on homophobic responses, but one's gender, or more likely, the different socialization patterns experienced because one is male or female, have a greater influence on how one views gay men and lesbians.

The present results suggest somewhat higher levels of homophobia than Herek's (1994) major study, which found that males were more homophobic than females and that participants from the central part of the United States were more homophobic than participants from the northeast and the west coast. For example, Herek found that males had mean total homophobia scores of 40.1, and for females the mean was 32.2. It seems then, that homophobia among athletes at this school is at least as strong, if not stronger, than homophobia in the general society.

A variety of factors may contribute to homophobic attitudes and perceptions. Herek (1994) found that homophobia is sometimes related to demographic variables such as gender, ethnicity, education, age, geography, religion, and political ideology. We might now add that participation in organized sport (at least in the region of this study) may account for a small portion of the variance in homophobia. Why might this be so? Sport, in the area served by the university, plays a central role in communities and embodies conservative and traditional American values (e.g., the central role of the family, sturdy religious ties, patriotism, strong work ethic). Bonded firmly to those traditional American values is a heterosexist world view. Also, knowledge of, and encounters with, gay men and lesbians may be more restricted in rural America than in urban areas.

This is one of the first data-based studies examining homophobia in athletic populations. As a first study it has some weaknesses, but those weaknesses point to future directions in this line of inquiry. For example, the term "athlete"-which has always been associated with operational definition problems—was rather broadly defined as participation in organized college sports programs. Future research may want to define athlete more restrictively (e.g., four years in organized college sports) to determine if extensive involvement in sport truly does influence homophobic attitudes. Almost half the participants were psychology majors, and this may have affected the results in that psychology students might be more liberal than college students in general. Thus, it is possible that we have underestimated the extent of homophobia at this university. This study also involved a predominantly small town and rural population. Future comparisons between urban and rural populations, different ethnic groups, and different political ideologies might give us a better picture of homophobia in the sport environment.

#### Implications for Athletic Counselors

This study probably confirms what many academic athletic counselors already know: The world of intercollegiate athletics is an area where homophobia is alive and well. Combating homophobia in intercollegiate athletics is a daunting and threatening undertaking. In many cases, the hint that someone in intercollegiate athletics is a lesbian or gay man is enough to be dropped from a team, not have a contract renewed, or be fired outright (Squires & Sparkes, 1996). For the academic athletic counselors who push for diversity education and foster the confidences of athletes suspected of being lesbian or gay, suspicion may descend on them concerning their own sexual orientation. Athletic counselors may wish to familiarize themselves with the concerns of lesbian and gay male athletes and consult with the main student counseling centers on programs and workshops available for lesbian and gay male students. They may also wish to add books (e.g., Kopay & Young, 1977; Navratilova & Vecsey, 1985) that could serve as valuable reading material for lesbian and gay male intercollegiate athletes to their professional libraries.

What else can athletic counselors do? Whether athletic counselors like it or not, they do become role models for athletes. Modeling an intolerance for all the "isms" (e.g., sexism, racism) and homophobia may help communicate to athletes that it is just not acceptable to be prejudiced. One athletic counselor we know, in her first meetings with new athletes under her care, specifically mentions that racism, sexism, and homophobia are not going to come into her office. She then talks about women athletes, athletes of color, and even brings up Greg Louganis as an example of excellence. Her modeling of tolerance for all athletes and intolerance for prejudice probably helps some athletes get the message that accepting diversity in athletics is also a way of encouraging excellence.

Most athletic departments are probably not ready for a "Combating Homophobia in Sport" workshop. Combating homophobia is more likely to occur at the individual and personal level as athletic counselors work with athletes. In terms of working with lesbian and gay male athletes, athletic counselors do not usually have the level of confidentiality that a clinical psychologist has, but the message can be given to athletes that they are welcome to discuss anything with the athletic counselor and that personal information will be kept confidential. The athletic counselor we mentioned above says to her athletes: "In my office we can talk about anything on your mind, your girlfriend, your boyfriend, your family, and whatever we discuss in those personal areas will not go outside my office walls. If, however, you start telling me about the \$1,000 you got from a booster, then I am going to have to be talking to someone else about it." Many times athletes just want, and need, someone to talk to, and often that will be the athletic counselor. Sending out the message of tolerance and confidentiality opens the door for athletes to discuss important personal issues such as sexuality. The athletic counselor's office can become a place where lesbian and gay male athletes can feel safe and can also be a place where heterosexual athletes can learn from a model of tolerance and acceptance.

#### Conclusion

Athletic counselors in intercollegiate athletics departments work with lesbian and gay male athletes on a regular basis whether they know the athletes' sexual orientations or not. Anyone working in such departments would recognize that open discussion of the problems and concerns of lesbian and gay male athletes is not in any way common. The problems of lesbian and gay male athletes usually have less to do with their sexual orientations and more to do with the homophobic environment in which they find themselves. Many lesbian and gay male athletes are quite comfortable with their sexuality, but the problems that occur for them are connected to negative attitudes in the athletic community. For example, if it were revealed that an athlete was lesbian or gay, the results of that knowledge could lead to less playing time, being removed from the team, and even violence from other teammates. Thus, fear of being "outed" could be a strong concern of lesbian and gay male athletes, and this is not a problem of sexual orientation. Rather, it is a problem because of the attitudes towards lesbian and gay men in society in general, and in the world of sport in particular. Understanding homophobia in sport, its prevalence, its correlates, and its effects will help us begin to start change in sport aimed at moving from intolerance to acceptance (the loftier goal of celebrating diversity in sport seems quite a long way off). Academic athletic counselors are in a unique position to influence the growth of tolerance among athletes and athletic department staff, and where that growth can start is with academic counselors as models themselves.

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