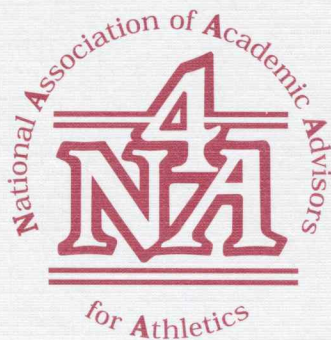


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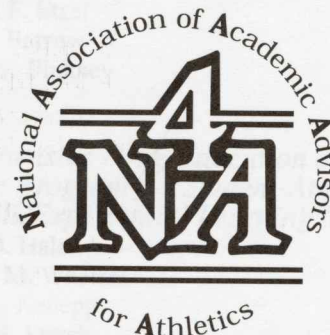
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REALITY THERAPY IN ATHLETIC COUNSELING: APPLICATIONS FOR COLLEGE STUDENT-ATHLETES

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ABSTRACT

Reality Therapy is a useful theoretical framework when working with the college student-athlete population. With its biological foundation in Control Theory, Reality Therapy offers an explanation of how and why human beings behave in this world and provides specific procedures to help clients make positive changes in their lives. This paper briefly outlines the major principles of Reality Therapy/Control Theory and applies them to some common issues facing college student-athletes.

INTRODUCTION

A number of writers (Ferrante & Etzel, 1991; Hurley & Cunningham, 1984; Jordan & Denson, 1990) have described the unique demands imposed on students who choose to participate in intercollegiate athletics. These demands—which include balancing academics and athletics while also developing personal identity and interpersonal relationships—require counselors working with student-athletes to choose appropriate theoretical frameworks. The nature of the student-athlete experience may render some orientations more useful than others. Because time is at a premium and attention is already diverted in a number of directions for both student-athletes and counselors, the most effective approaches are likely to be those which are reasonably easy to understand, comfortable and natural to apply, and versatile enough to be useful in treating a variety of issues. One such framework is Reality Therapy.

William Glasser founded Reality Therapy nearly three decades ago (Glasser, 1965). He has since developed and refined his ideas and has incorporated Control Theory to explain how and why human beings behave in the world (Glasser, 1972; 1985; 1989). This paper briefly outlines the major principles of Reality Therapy/Control Theory and applies them to some common issues facing college student-athletes.

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

An understanding of the major principles in Control Theory and Reality Therapy is essential for counselors working with student-athletes.

Control Theory

Control Theory makes the argument that all human behavior is a purposeful, internally generated attempt to fulfill four fundamental needs (Glasser, 1985). The four basic needs are belonging/love, power (achievement, self-worth), fun, and freedom. Glasser (1989) explains that human behavior always represents people's "best attempt to control the world so that they may best satisfy their needs" (p. 5). Human beings are said to have "pictures" in their heads of what they would like to be (their "ideal self") and the internal world in which they would like to live.

Out of this internal world human behavior is generated. People sense (look, listen, touch, taste, smell) the world around them and compare what they have to what they want (i.e., the pictures in their heads). When there is a discrepancy between what people have and what they want, the behavior they choose is an attempt to reduce that discrepancy (Glasser, 1989). Control theorists also contend that our behavior is made up of four components: acting, thinking, feeling, and physiology. The operational term for this is "total behavior" (Glasser, 1985).

The following example illustrates the conceptual framework of Control Theory. A client enters therapy and states that he/she is depressed. By using the word "depressed," the client assumes the posture of a victim. The depression is seen as something that simply happened to him/her. Control Theory argues against this mode of thinking. Instead, the client is choosing to depress, and his/her total behavior can be broken down in this manner: feelings (misery, pain); actions (staying in bed, moping around the house); thoughts ("why bother," "I give up," "there's nothing I can do"); and physiology (insomnia, nausea) (Glasser, 1985).

Quite simply, Control Theory states that "we choose all of the important things we do with our lives, which includes how we feel, and to a great extent, even our health" (Glasser, 1989, p. 2). Most importantly, the theory asserts that the only behavior human beings have control over is their own (Glasser, 1985). These ideas provide the foundation for Reality Therapy.

Reality Therapy

Reality Therapy refutes the medical model of mental illness. The term "medical illness" implies that the responsibility for healing someone lies more with the treating agency (i.e., the therapist) than with the client (Glasser, 1965). This theory posits that the problems people encounter occur because they are unable to fulfill their essential needs in a responsible way, often denying the reality of the world around them. In this model, responsibility is defined as the ability to fulfill one's basic needs and to do so in a way that does not deprive others of their ability to satisfy their own needs (Glasser, 1965; 1989).

It is the belief of reality therapists that the concept of responsibility can be learned at an early age by human beings, through exposure to people who care for and discipline them. The key, in terms of this healthy development, is that each individual has one person in this world who genuinely cares and for whom, in turn, he/she cares. In order to learn how to be responsible, people need to love and be loved, as well as feel worthwhile to themselves and others (Glasser, 1965).

The actual practice of Reality Therapy is based on these tenets in addition to the biological foundation provided by Control Theory. There are two major components in the practice of Reality Therapy: (1) establishing a counseling environment conducive to change; and (2) adhering to specific procedures that lead to these changes (Glasser, 1990).

Creating a Safe Environment. To create a warm, safe, supportive environment conducive to change, counselors should consistently follow these five directions (Glasser, 1990; Wubbolding, 1988):

- (1) Be friendly with clients. Establish feelings of involvement and trust. Use attending behaviors such as eye contact and non-verbal communication, paraphrasing, summarizing, and self-disclosure. Use humor. Share yourself. Be firm. Be enthusiastic. Be determined. Be ethical.

- (2) Avoid discussing the client's past, unless events of the past are easily related to present situations.

- (3) Relate the client's feelings and/or physiology to the concurrent actions and thoughts over which they have more direct control. Avoid discussing them as though they were separate entities.

- (4) Do not accept excuses for irresponsible behavior. A primary example is the clients not doing what they said they would do.

- (5) Avoid punishing and/or criticizing. Avoid protecting clients from the reasonable consequences of their behavior but allow the consequences to occur.

Encouraging Positive Change. There are also specific procedures used by therapists in Reality Therapy to encourage positive change on the part of their clients (Glasser, 1990; Wubbolding, 1988):

(1) Focus on the total behavior of clients (actions, thoughts, feelings, and physiology). Help them to learn the often difficult and painful lesson that all total behaviors are chosen.

(2) Ask clients to describe what they want now (i.e., their present pictures). Expand this discussion to cover the directions in which they would like to take their lives. A simple but useful question to ask the client is, "What do you really want?"

(3) Ask the core Reality Therapy question, "Does your present behavior have a reasonable chance of getting you what you want now, and will it take you in the direction you want to go?"

(4) Often, clients answer "no," which means that where they want to go is reasonable and makes sense, but their present behaviors will not get them there. Counselors should help these clients plan and practice new behaviors.

(5) Sometimes the clients answer "no" but then seem unable to get where they want even though they may try very hard. Counseling should help these clients change directions.

(6) If the clients answer "yes," this means that they do not see anything wrong with their present behavior or the direction in which they want to go. Counselors must then be patient, focus on the clients' present total behaviors, and keep repeating the core question in a variety of ways.

(7) Form a plan. The client and counselor should first agree that the plan has a good chance of succeeding, that it is realistic and attainable. Once a plan is agreed upon, ask the client to make a commitment to follow through with it. Commitments may be oral and/or written. Assigning homework is an option.

(8) Do not give up. Even if the client does not follow through with the plan, stay determined. If the counselor gives up, that may confirm the client's belief that no one cares enough to support and help.

APPLICATIONS FOR STUDENT-ATHLETES

These guidelines and procedures are extremely appropriate for work with college student-athletes. Student-athletes are faced with the challenge of balancing a full-time academic courseload with full-time participation in intercollegiate sports (Jordan & Denson, 1990). Added to the mix must be some time devoted to socializing and sustaining relationships. In order for student-athletes to succeed in all of these areas, personal responsibility and discipline are placed at a premium. Reality Therapy stresses the concept of responsibility. If they are to succeed in their college educational lives, student-athletes are forced to make good choices and maintain a sense of control. Control Theory supports this notion. In addition, the practice of Reality Therapy is designed to be a relatively short-term, intensive, teaching/training therapeutic model (Glasser, 1965; Wubbolding, 1988). Because of the time

constraints facing student-athletes, a great deal of work must be accomplished in a limited amount of time. Again, Reality Therapy is compatible with the needs of college student-athletes.

In the next three sections of this paper, the applicability of Reality Therapy to the academic, career, and athletic issues often encountered by student-athletes will be briefly detailed. The fourth section will include a summary and offer several conclusions.

Academic Performance

Of all the aspects of their college lives, the most important one for student-athletes to succeed in is academics. Three central types of academic development can be observed among this population: (1) student-athletes who do outstanding schoolwork in college and earn solid grades, much as they did during their high school years; (2) student-athletes who demonstrated some intellectual ability in high school but have not successfully navigated the transition to college-level work; and (3) student-athletes who have shown neither strong aptitude nor achievement in high school and maintain that pattern in college.

The first type of student-athlete generally does not occupy a great deal of the athletic academic advisor's time and/or resources. Simply encouraging the use of previously successful strategies may be sufficient for these individuals. However, the other two types of student-athletes may benefit from some of the procedures outlined in Reality Therapy.

Student-athletes in academic jeopardy may be scheduled into weekly meetings with counselors for the purpose of checking on their progress. These meetings, which usually do not last longer than thirty minutes, serve many important objectives. The student-athletes and counselor can review the past week and discuss the tasks the student-athletes must accomplish in the weeks ahead, especially in terms of academics. A calendar or planner can also be maintained to help further improve time management skills, and "to do" lists can be prepared for the upcoming week.

When the student-athletes fulfill their tasks and complete their required assignments in a responsible manner, it is critical for the counselor to be very enthusiastic and supply positive reinforcement. Words of praise and congratulations, hand shakes, back slaps, and even "high five's" are often warmly received by student-athletes and help to encourage increased responsible behavior in the future.

In the event that student-athletes neglect their responsibilities, the counselor must not accept any excuses for this behavior. It is important not to criticize or punish, nor to spend time dwelling on the problems the irresponsibility may have caused. The best response is to help these young people plan what they need to do now to rectify the situation. The counselor must allow the consequences of irresponsible behavior to occur (e.g., poor

grades or disciplinary action) and then focus on the necessary changes the student-athletes must make to prevent this situation from repeating itself. Always remember this key question when dealing with the irresponsible behavior of any client: "What do you really want?" Most often, the student-athletes want to do well in school, and it is the counselor's job to help them plan and practice new behaviors (e.g., new study skills) in order to realize this goal.

A simple case example may provide additional clarification of these points. I recently began to see a first-year student-athlete who was doing very poorly in his second semester of classes. "Bob" is a gifted football and baseball player, as well as an extremely personable and bright individual. When I received his mid-semester academic report cards, I noticed a significant drop-off in his grades compared to the previous semester. I called him and asked him to stop by the office the following day.

This student-athlete did come to the office the next day. It should be mentioned that, if he had not come to see me within a couple days of my call, I would not have initiated contact again. The student-athletes make the decision/choice either to accept or reject the support that is available if they choose to use it. In addition, a key concept of Reality Therapy is encouraging an increased sense of responsibility on the part of the clients.

When Bob and I met, I expressed my concerns. I told him that I was surprised to see his poor mid-semester grades because they were not usual for him. He agreed and explained that he was simply not doing the work he needed to do. I did not focus on the trouble he had caused himself as a result of this behavior or spend a great deal of time trying to find out why he was acting irresponsibly. I simply asked Bob if he wanted to improve his academic standing, and he said that he did. Together, we discussed the changes he needed to make, charted the academic tasks he needed to accomplish, and planned future meetings. We shook hands as a symbol of our commitment to see this situation through, and the student-athlete went to work.

The specific Reality Therapy techniques for creating a safe environment and encouraging positive change were invaluable in this case. Of particular importance were the following: (1) avoiding punishment and criticism; (2) clarifying the client's wants; and (3) devising strategies to help the client achieve these wants. Bob did not suddenly become an "A" student, but his grades did improve and he learned how he needed to behave in order to achieve his wants and goals.

Career Development

In a sense, applying Reality Therapy to the career development of student-athletes is related to its application in terms of academic progress. In order to achieve career goals, it usually helps to attain a certain level of success in school. It is important to point out to all student-athletes that the chances of their making a living as a professional athlete are extremely small. Therefore, the type of career they have following graduation will be determined in large

measure by the choices they make while in school and the level of academic performance they maintain. In other words, the better they do in school, the more marketable they make themselves and the easier it will be for them to realize their career goals.

The crucial application of Reality Therapy to career development has to do with the exploration of the student-athletes' wants or "pictures" in their minds. The counselor needs to find out the type of career they want to pursue. Discussions must next center on the skills, interests, and values they possess. Standardized tests like the Strong Interest Inventory are often very helpful in that process. In addition, the young men and women must be cognizant of how their choices will affect others and others' expectations of them, especially parents. It is often helpful to prepare student-athletes for the possible repercussions of their decisions. Finally, student-athletes must conduct research to determine how the requirements and characteristics of particular jobs and careers match potential college majors and minors, as well as their own wants, skills, and values.

Once again, the core Reality Therapy question is meaningful: "Does your present behavior have a reasonable chance of getting you what you want now and in the future?" The counselor must consistently help student-athletes evaluate how their behavior is or is not moving them closer to achieving their goals. Behavior that is successful should be reinforced. Inappropriate or irresponsible behavior should be identified, and the planning and practice of new behaviors needs to begin.

On a number of occasions, student-athletes have come into my office to discuss possible changes in majors or minors. If the change has not yet occurred, this presents a nice opportunity to begin working on career issues. In one case, a student-athlete passed me in the arena and casually stated that she was thinking about changing her major from Physical Education to English Education. I asked her to see me the next day to talk about it. In our subsequent discussion of her career goals and wants, she repeated over and over her strong desire to teach English at the high school level following her college education.

I referred this second-year student-athlete to the university's counseling center to take the available interest and skill inventories and to use the career library for further research into the occupation of high school teacher. In addition, I directed her to the English Education Department to discuss the applicability of that particular major to her career interests and to find out the specific academic requirements of the program.

Following the clarification of her interests, skills, and values (determined through our discussions, standardized testing instruments, and her own research in the career library and the academic department), we settled on a plan to pursue her intended career as a high school English teacher. The plan included such elements as getting accepted into the major, scheduling the proper courses, and speaking with her own high school English teacher about

the field. I followed up with her regularly, often informally, and was extremely pleased that she was finding great satisfaction with her choice of major and overall career development.

In this case example, the answers to the key Reality Therapy questions (i.e., "What do you really want?" and "Does your present behavior have a reasonable chance of getting you there?") provided the foundation upon which to make specific plans, implement those plans (behaving, "doing"), and evaluate progress. This is a systematic, short-term, action-oriented approach to career development issues.

Athletic Performance

Perhaps the psychological element most crucial for successful athletic performance is control. It is extremely difficult to perform well in sports without a sense of being in control. Many student-athletes can describe how their coach will not play them, how the officials are out to get them, how the conditions of the field or gym are hampering them, how certain distractions are bothering them, and so on. With student-athletes who have performance-related issues such as these, the concepts detailed in Control Theory and Reality Therapy are useful.

As mentioned elsewhere in this paper, Control Theory emphasizes that the only behaviors a person can truly control are his/her own, and this holds true in sports. Thus, the student-athlete and counselor focus and concentrate only on the student-athlete's own total behavior, not the behavior of the coach, officials, parents, or teammates. Playing conditions and other common distractions such as travel, weather, and crowd conditions can also be ruled out, since they affect all participants. The student-athlete's performance must be dissected, with particular attention paid to what the student-athlete is doing. The student-athlete and counselor can then plan ways to improve upon those aspects of play that are unsatisfactory.

For example, a women's lacrosse player recently was referred to me by her coach because of poor play. I sat down with this student-athlete and asked her to describe everything that she was feeling, thinking, and doing when she competed (i.e., her total behavior). She listed several very common symptoms, including nervousness and anxiety (feeling), lack of focus and a sense of being out of control (feeling), thinking that she was a terrible player and that her teammates and coaches were thinking and saying the same thing about her (thinking), and not being able to catch the ball (doing).

After only two sessions, I helped her to realize that the feelings and thoughts she was having were all related to what she was doing—dropping the ball. I helped her to realize that the only thing she could control was her own behavior and her own play. She had no control over what her teammates and coaches were thinking or saying about her, nor did she have control over the tests and schoolwork she chose to worry about while she played. We did some relaxation and imagery training, but the key component in her eventually

improved play was the fact that she understood clearly that she had to focus and concentrate only on those things over which she had control, i.e., watching the ball right into her stick and letting her body instinctively take care of everything else while she played. As she practiced focusing solely on the ball while competing, the other aspects of her total behavior (e.g., nervousness and negative thoughts) disappeared. She took command of the only behavior over which she had control—concentrating on the ball.

CONCLUSIONS

Reality Therapy, with its basis in Control Theory, is an exceedingly useful tool for work with student-athletes. In several ways, this therapeutic model espouses many of the same ideas and philosophies found on the field of competition. Reality therapists, coaches, and athletes alike all stress present behaviors, acting responsibly, accepting no excuses, setting goals, and devising plans (game plans). These parallel processes are part of the reason why this unique form of therapy works well with student-athletes. Therapy takes place in a context with which they are familiar and comfortable. In addition, Reality Therapy is a very active, intense, relatively short-term intervention. This perfectly suits the time demands faced by college student-athletes, as well as closely mirroring the nature of athletic competition.

This paper has been an attempt to demonstrate how Reality Therapy/Control Theory can be applied to potential academic, career, and athletic issues that student-athletes must confront while in college. These same processes apply just as easily to personal counseling (e.g., with respect to relationships). The basic technique includes an exploration of wants ("pictures") and how total behaviors (acting, thinking, feeling, and physiology) are an individual's best attempt to satisfy these desires. When this present behavior is not working, new total behaviors are planned by the client and the therapist. The plans are then executed by the client alone. Evaluations are made, and the process continues. Amid all of this, the most crucial element must be in place: a friendly, safe therapeutic climate must be established by the counselor and perceived by the client. Without such an environment, it is extremely difficult to accomplish anything else.

The ideas and observations outlined in this paper are largely personal and anecdotal. The next important step is to perform more experimental research on the actual effectiveness of applying these concepts to the college student-athlete population. One possibility might be to do a detailed case study. Another may be a correlational investigation, comparing the grade point averages of student-athletes who have been counseled in Reality Therapy to a similar group who have not. Whatever the design, the most critical goal must always be kept in mind: improving the academic, career, athletic, and/or social development of college student-athletes.

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PERCEPTIONS OF THE INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETIC EXPERIENCE: PERSPECTIVES FROM NCAA DIVISION I AND DIVISION III

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ABSTRACT

Although the structure of intercollegiate athletics has been critiqued virtually since its inception, little is known about how that structure influences student-athletes' experiences. Differences between a business model (producing mass-scale, revenue-generating programs) and an educational model (operating athletics as a student service) were assessed by interviewing graduating senior male basketball and football players (N=14) from an NCAA Division I University and an NCAA Division III College. Results indicate differences including (a) time commitment, (b) motivation to participate, (c) role conflict/complementarity, (d) perceived attitudes of coaches, and (e) the role of athletics in the college experience. Findings are discussed with respect to recent rule changes and current advocacy in intercollegiate athletic programs. Implications for athletic academic counselors are addressed.

INTRODUCTION

I don't know why people question the academic training of a student-athlete. Half of the doctors in the country graduated in the bottom half of their class.

--Al McGuire, former basketball coach at
Marquette University

Smith (1985) discussed an historic amateur/professional dilemma in college sport that calls for a choice between two equally undesirable alternatives. If a college has truly amateur sport, it will lose prestige (and perhaps money) as it loses games. If a college admits to being professional, it will lose its respectability as an academic institution. According to Smith (1985), the unacceptable decision has been to claim amateurism to the world, while accepting a professional mode of operation.

The degree to which institutions embrace amateur or professional models will influence the experiences of student-athletes who participate in these programs. Although intercollegiate sport can facilitate the goals of higher education, it can also have independent or conflicting goals. The present study sought to assess the perceptions of student-athletes who participated in programs that followed two divergent models of intercollegiate athletics: the "educational" and "business" models.

Descriptions of the Educational and Business Models

An educational model structures intercollegiate athletics as a student service. There are nominal or no admission fees for athletic events. Athletics are supported by the general operating budget; there are no athletic "scholarships" (or grants-in-aid), special considerations, or special services for athletes. Coaches often have positions as professors, and athletics are viewed as a complement to the academic program.

In a business model, intercollegiate athletics may be structured under the finance department or could be governed by an athletic department that is separate from the university. There are substantial admissions prices, particularly for men's basketball and football. Most athletic programs under the business model are expected to be self-supporting and must prioritize income generation. Athletic "scholarships" are awarded, and athletes receive special considerations and services. Coaches are generally committed full-time to the athletics program. Athletics exist more as an "end," with few, if any, ties to the academic program. When the purpose of the program is to provide entertainment and to generate revenue, it necessarily assumes a business model in which providing educational experiences for student-athletes is secondary. Although there is not complete congruence between models and divisions, for the purposes of simplicity the educational model will be associated with NCAA Division III (Div3) and the business model will be associated with NCAA Division I (Div1).

PURPOSE

This study can be seen as having both phenomenological and hermeneutic intentions. In all respects the focus is to understand the various meanings of intercollegiate athletic experiences. It is phenomenological in its efforts to describe experiences lived by student-athletes. The study fits within

psychosocial hermeneutics in that "the aim of the inquiry is to expose distortions in the meaning of existing psychosocial conditions and implicit assumptions that otherwise limit freedom (Held, 1980; Howard, 1982; McCarthy, 1978)" (Fahlberg & Fahlberg, 1994, p. 105).

METHOD

Participants

For the purposes of this study, the population of student-athletes was limited to male basketball and football players who had completed their collegiate careers (generally graduating seniors). These athletes were selected in an effort to contrast the business and educational models of intercollegiate athletics and because it seemed that they would be best able to reflect upon their overall experiences. The great visibility of men's basketball and football programs and their extreme business orientation at the Division IA level were the basis for this limitation.

Selection of Schools. In an effort to represent the business and educational models of intercollegiate athletics, two institutions of higher learning were selected. The primary concern was to select schools that most closely approximated the models in question, one in Division I and one in Division III. Each of the schools selected had men's basketball and football teams that won their conference and/or participated in national post-season competition during the careers of the student-athletes who were interviewed. The intent of this decision was to examine the experiences of individuals who shared similar levels of competitive success within their respective divisions.

Selection of Student-Athletes. After obtaining permission from the athletic departments and obtaining a list of individuals who met the criteria, all potential participants were contacted by telephone. Appointments were made with all those who were available and willing to participate in the study. Several student-athletes were unavailable for a variety of reasons. Some were off-campus or had graduated. Several of the football players from the Division I school were attending National Football League camps or tryouts. At the Division III institution, of a total of 19 student-athletes meeting the criteria, eight were available and agreed to be interviewed. One of those eight dropped out for reasons unrelated to the study. At the other institution, of a total of 26 student-athletes meeting the criteria, ten agreed to be interviewed. Three of those 10 did not have sufficient involvement to be included in the study. As a result, the total number of participants was 14.

Interview Protocol

The interviews were conducted in private rooms in libraries, offices, or individuals' apartments. An interview schedule was used to organize questions. Two microcassette recorders were used to tape the interviews, and the

interviews were transcribed verbatim. The following is an outline of the interview topics but not the actual questions:

- I. Introduction
 - A. Explanation of research/interview
 - B. Collection of demographic/personal data
- II. Time commitment to athletics
 - A. Number of hours per week spent in athletics
- III. Participation motivation
 - A. Choice of college - importance of athletics
 - B. Scholarship?
 - C. Changes over four years
 - D. Athletics ever become like a job?
- IV. The student-athlete role
 - A. Roles complementary/conflicting?
 - B. Have classes/academics been missed for athletics?
 - 1. Professors' reactions
 - C. Have athletics been missed for classes/academics?
 - 1. Coaches/teammates' reactions
 - D. Athletics' influence on time for academics/studies
 - 1. How dealt with
 - 2. Academic support/tutoring
 - E. What has been learned from athletic experience?
- V. Coaches' interest in athlete
 - A. As performer
 - B. As student
 - C. Priorities
 - D. Attitude toward academics
- VI. Role of athletics in college experience
 - A. How enhanced
 - B. How deterred
 - C. Perceived effect on academic performance

ANALYSIS

Verbatim transcripts from the interviews were subjected to initial and focused coding (Charmaz, 1983; Glaser, 1978) and inductive analyses. The topic areas from the interview schedule served as an organizing framework. Initial analysis of the interview data led to the construction of codes that were then applied to the entire data set. For example, the code "pro" was used to denote student-athletes' references to potential careers in professional sports. Once this code was deemed relevant, the entire data set was searched for related material. The coding and analysis process resulted in five major themes: (a) time commitment, (b) participation motivation, (c) role conflict/complementarity, (d) perceived attitudes of coaches, and (e) the role of athletics in the college experience.

RESULTS

Student-athletes from both the Division I and the Division III institution reflected on their experiences during their collegiate careers. Their comments revealed differences with respect to several factors. In each case, the influence of the model of intercollegiate athletics can be seen under the five major themes.

Time Commitment to Athletics

Recent changes in NCAA rules can be seen as a response to long-term commentary on the amount of time student-athletes have invested in the athletic roles. As an example, Coakley (1982) commented in the following way:

The excessive time, energy, and mental commitment associated with the role of athlete often creates . . . intense role conflict. . . . The pressure to win and to attract spectators requires commitment on the part of athletes that can seriously interfere with the commitment necessary to be a good student. (p. 143)

In the past, NCAA Division I football players often spent 45-49 hours per week during the season preparing for, participating in, and recovering from football. With travel, the figure rises to over 60 hours per week. Basketball players have spent 35-40 hours per week with travel escalating the figures to over 50 hours per week (Underwood, 1980). Recent investigations and players' reports suggested that these figures underestimate the actual time being committed. It is striking when one considers that student-athletes are meeting their athletic obligation while the NCAA rules require full-time academic loads.

In each model of the current study, football players spent much more time in athletics than did their peers in other sports. The number of hours per week for Div3 was three-quarters to one-half the number for Div1. More significant were the student-athletes' perceptions of time commitment. Div3's uniformly felt that their time in athletics was reasonable. They made the following comments: "I quit lifting to give me more time for academics." "Practice never seems to be too long." "They make sure especially here that school comes first. You have time to balance both school and athletics. I really have no complaint about the amount of time."

Div3 student-athletes tended to put in less "extra time" in meetings, film viewing, weight lifting, and travel, and they missed fewer classes. Div1's, who reported they put in roughly six to nine hours per day in football, had mixed emotions about their time commitment. Several felt the time demands were unreasonable. Some felt the time was reasonable and justifiable if you want to be the best and win. One Div1 perceived that he was putting in 12 hours a day on football; however, further analysis of his comments suggested it was closer to 8 hours a day. He had this to say when asked if his time commitment was reasonable:

No. I don't think so. It's too much time, but I guess that's college life and that's what you have to deal with for college football, because it's a business, a lot of politics in it and everything. It's all business, so you really have to, you know, put your mind to it, so, I don't like it, but I guess that's what you have to do.

Another Div1 made this comment:

It was like, it felt like too much, you just felt like you were being drowned. . . . In football, it's almost like you're being brainwashed that that's why you're here, 'cause you're told, like that's kind of the over[riding message], what shadows you, on your shoulders—you're here for football and don't forget that. I mean it may not be said straight out, but it's implied in every aspect of living in the university. Here at [this particular] university, so it's almost like you feel obligated to any and everything you can to maintain your conditioning, your status as a football player. . . .

Either after discussing their time commitment or at some other point in the interview, student-athletes were asked if their athletic participation ever felt like a job. Virtually every student-athlete from both models responded affirmatively. There was a difference, however, in the reasons for that feeling and the degree to which that perception was held. One Div3 said that it was like a job when they had meetings at night, which occurred once or twice a week. Another said yes because it was a routine to go to classes and then go to practice, as it might be to go to an afternoon job. Several Div1's had similar sentiments; one expressed the extreme to which athletics could be a job:

Oh yes, that's what it is. It's a job. It's really a job. An eight-hour job, straight through. . . .but we spend more time than eight hours on football and academics. It's all a job. It's a big-time job. I mean if we don't win, if we don't do good, the coaches don't do good. They might get fired. So we have to do good; the coaches have to do good coaching us. It's all in a line.

Participation Motivation

All the student-athletes were asked how they made their choice of college and the importance of athletics in the decision. The general trend of their reasons is reflected in the following comments. A Div3 said, "To tell you the truth, [athletics] didn't really have that much importance as just wanting a good school to study at. . . ." A Div1 commented, "I thought about going to school just for academics, but somehow to make it as a pro. . . .I wanted to play in front of 15,000 people. So basketball was the biggest part of the choosing."

Scholarships and Motivational Changes over Four Years

Another factor investigated during the interviews was changes in motivation to participate in athletics. One area of interest was the effect of a scholarship on motivation. Ryan (1977, 1980) has indicated that student-athletes who receive athletic scholarships tend to exhibit a decrease in intrinsic motivation over their college years. Although no clear support for this contention was found, there were some interesting differences between scholarship (Div1) and non-scholarship (Div3) athletes.

The Div3's reported no significant changes in reasons for participation. Their comments focused on playing for the enjoyment and challenge of the sport as well as social ties with team members. It was suggested that with no scholarships, "you only get the guys who really want to play." One Div3 commented that as playing time and pressure increase, the excitement of playing wanes.

The Div1's, on the other hand, expressed changes in motivations during their college years. These changes took them in two interesting and different directions. The less common shift was expressed by a basketball player who found himself putting less effort into academics and focusing more on his sport; he said that he "became more materialistic" as he saw the opportunity to play professionally. The majority of Div1's, who tended to select their school or chose to attend college largely because of athletics, found that their interest in academics tended to increase during their college years. One football player exemplified the attitude that was expressed by several of his peers:

School became a lot more important to me and that, by your junior year you pretty much realize what football's done to you. . . 'cause you see people who have gone, and the reality of not everybody goes on to the next level starts to sink in and. . . you see yourself, and you see someone who you thought was a superstar go out and not even come close and. . . that puts a perspective on yourself. Of course, you may feel that you're better than that person and you may have a shot, but you also say that guy was good. He had a great career here on the college level and he didn't go anywhere—why is that? And you see them struggle, try to finish school, trying to get a job or are just still chasing the dream of the next level. . . .

Role Conflict/Complementarity

A primary concern of this research was to analyze how the two models affect the experience of the student-athletes. A major component of this effect is the perception of how the roles of student and athlete conflict with or complement each other. One assessment of how the two roles worked together

is the perceived effect of athletic participation on academic performance. The comments made by the Div1's support the argument that a business model of intercollegiate athletics is incongruent with the stated mission of higher education. Div3's stated that athletics do make considerable demands upon their time but do not create conflict. Most found that athletic participation had a positive effect on their academic performance. Several said that it was easier to study during the season. One found, "I had a higher GPA during football." This observation is in accord with Robinson's (1988) examination of the NCAA that reported "in the lower divisions, in which sports are more integrated into other aspects of college life, athletes tend to perform better academically than the student body as a whole" (p. 120).

The Div1's statements reflected profoundly different experiences. Even with special tutors and academic support services, the role conflict was seen as much greater and athletic participation was generally acknowledged to have a negative effect on academic performance. One Div1 said, "I would never miss athletics for academics. . . Finding a balance was the hardest thing." Another stated, "I was always more football-oriented than school. . . You sacrifice your school for athletics." One football player described his experience of trying to be a student and an athlete:

Yeah, it's hard, because it's easy not to be a student. I know a lot of athletes, even me, you come here to play football. . . because if you didn't get a scholarship you wouldn't be at this college. So it's hard to be a student, but you know you have to be a student if you want to stay eligible and do good, but I'm graduating. . . and that was. . . important to get my degree, 'cause there's only so many people who go play pro football.

Most Div1's had trouble finding a balance, and they felt their classroom performance suffered because of athletics. One Div1 said, "I think I would have got better grades, a lot better grades if I wouldn't have played football." Another talked about problems with taking challenging courses during the season: "I tried to take a computer class during the fall once and it just didn't work. So I saved all those. I took those in the summer or in the spring. That's how I did it. Some people can, depending on your major, you can do certain things. . . I felt that I could do better. You can look at my grade point and see it suffered a lot during the fall, definitely."

Perceived Attitudes Of Coaches

Whereas athletes' performances may be seen as a reflection of the coaches, the coaches play a central role in constructing the student-athletes' collegiate experiences. Although the participants observed a very limited number of coaches, their observations may support what might be expected about coaches in the two models. One Div3 said of his basketball coach, "He looks at us as student-athletes, in that order. He really stresses academics

before anything." Another said his football coach "really stresses being a student a lot; he. . . looks at you more as a person before he does an athlete." A third said his football coaches are "really pushing academics. I'm sure Coach [X] pushes academics, but I'm sure that's the way he really feels inside. They go out of their way—way, way overboard to stress that this is Division III and you're first a gentleman, then you're a student, then you're an athlete in that order. He seems to really believe that and seems to think that's the way it should be. . . I don't have any complaints about that. I think they do take a backseat role to academics."

Div1's tended to suggest that their coaches saw them as performers first. One remarked, "The coach wants you to do your best in athletics first." Coaches in the business model were seen as emphasizing the importance of athletics, and their concern with academics was primarily eligibility and working toward a degree. A few individuals stated that coaches are taking a growing interest in academic achievement and graduation rates as these issues receive more media attention.

The Role of Athletics in the College Experience

On the Bright Side. Each student-athlete was asked, in an effort to get the "bottom-line," if he felt that his athletic experience had enhanced or detracted from his college experiences. With one exception, the student-athletes reported that athletics had, in fact, enhanced their collegiate careers. There were, however, some noteworthy differences between the two models. The Div3's were more purely and enthusiastically positive, whereas the Div1's tended to express a generally positive experience with some significant drawbacks. The following comments illustrate this interpretation.

One Div3, when asked if his college experience were enhanced by athletics said, "Yeah, ten times, I've seen. . . in four years here. . . more places than I've been in my whole life before that. . . It's only been positive. . . It's been fun. I wish I had four more years." Another remarked, "I don't have a negative feeling about basketball in the sense that it's totally enhanced my four years here. I think without it, I would have left [my] college with something missing. I learned a lot from the academic part of it, but basketball, the sports part of it. . . gave me a whole different outlook and added to that experience in education. . . I wouldn't have traded it for anything."

The Div1's had positive feelings about their overall experiences: "Football has enhanced my college career in its own special way. . . It's enhanced my character and when I look back at these times and the guys that I've played with and everything. I really love the guys and it's enhanced it in that way. It's been an overall good experience." Yet, they felt that there were drawbacks not mentioned by their Division III counterparts, such as time taken away from school, the difficulty of the training, the loss of privacy, and the inability "to be seen as just another classmate."

The Business of Sport: Student-Athletes' Views

As can be witnessed in the interview schedule, there were no attempts during the interview to elicit any comments about intercollegiate athletics as a business or the NCAA as a cartel. There were, however, some interesting remarks that are quite germane to issues raised by the relevant literature. Many of the Div I's felt like they were involved in a big business, and several seemed to feel that they had been exploited. One student-athlete talked about the business nature of football and its effects:

Here there's a lot of big money; that's basically what it is, is money. . . . That's all it is; it's a huge business. We're free, we're free athletes, I guess. Scholarships, that's nothing, how much money do we make for the college? . . . It's [the coaches'] job to make sure that [the university] has a winning team, no matter how it gets done, so if we have to do extra stuff, they don't care as long as we win. . . . I don't think it's fair, but that's the way the system is, but you really can't change the system like this. It'd be tough.

Another football player discussed his frustrations with the NCAA:

But the biggest thing is the NCAA. I think they're kind of screwed up; after college that's my biggest thing I realize. The NCAA kind of screws everything up, I think. . . . They're not in the best interests of the athlete; they're in the best interest of themselves. . . . So I don't think the NCAA does anything. I think it's a big joke, but they're making a lot of money somehow. They say we really care about the players, then why don't they outlaw astroturf? . . . If the NCAA really cared, they'd do something about it.

A major resulting factor of the business model is the tremendous emphasis on winning. A football player described his perspective on the subject:

Winning is what you play for. Winning is what you do all this for. That's why you do it, to win. I mean there's a lot, in football, of extra stuff you have to do all the time, and the only reason you do it is for Saturday so you can go out and play and win. That's the only reason you do it.

DISCUSSION

This attitude reflects what Schmitz (1968) called "the exaggeration of the importance of victory . . . [one of] the abuses which can kill the spirit of play within sport and reduce sport to something less than its fullest human possibilities" (p. 27). All that is bad about the zero-sum paradigm of sport is highlighted with the introduction of a business model. Winning, in addition to

whatever intrinsic satisfaction it may bring, carries with it economic gain. When an athletic department is asked to support itself, its survival comes to depend on winning programs in sports that can generate substantial revenue. Just as hunger supplants intellectual pursuits, educational goals are subjugated when survival is predicated on victory.

Yet victory "in sports is not absolute, and it should not be allowed to behave like an absolute. The policy of winning at all costs is the surest way of snuffing out the spirit of play in sport. The fallout of such a policy is the dreary succession of firings in college and professional sport" (Schmitz, 1968, p. 27) which have only increased in the past decades. In addition, such beliefs lead to dealing with a distorted form of sport. To focus on the product of sport is to neglect the process. By focusing on the process of the sport experience, athletic programs can be better equipped to be of educational value to participants.

The central tension surrounding the business model has been between amateurism and its loss of prestige, professionalism, and respect. The unacceptable solution has been to espouse values of education while operating in a business mode. Institutions of higher learning should not be depending on business-oriented intercollegiate athletics for prestige.

Part of the difficulty rests with the fact that "the nexus of economic relations between consumer and educational institutions [today] resembles the exchange of consumer goods in a market economy where the demand functions dominate, both qualitatively and quantitatively" (Botstein, 1983, p. 23).

IMPLICATIONS FOR ATHLETIC ACADEMIC COUNSELORS

For those individuals who have been involved with counseling student-athletes, many of the comments above are probably familiar. What is interesting to note, however, is the relation between the type and quality of student-athletes' experiences and the model of intercollegiate athletics under which they participated. Fortunately, recent rule changes within the NCAA (e.g., restrictions on time commitment) may mitigate some of the negative aspects of what Div I's tended to report. It remains important, however, to continue to question the appropriateness of sport as a business on our campuses.

As concerned professionals, athletic academic counselors can heighten awareness about the pressures placed on student-athletes when they are put in the position of being entertainers in revenue-producing ventures. The present study indicates that when student-athletes participate in programs that operate under a business model, the overall quality of their experiences declines. The student-athletes' perceptions discussed above reveal that by maintaining intercollegiate athletics within the context of the goals of higher education, they have a more positive, balanced college experience. Although counselors can do a great deal to help student-athletes to cope with the stresses they face in their dual roles, those professionals can also reduce the challenges by working to shift programs toward more educational models.

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THE ATHLETIC DREAM: THE QUEST FOR WORK EQUALITY IN AN UNEQUAL SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

African American males have not been afforded adequate access to the work place, and therefore, their work history has been characterized by underemployment and unemployment. However, many African American males have adopted the athletic dream as a path to fame, status, and equality. The purpose of this article is to discuss the quest for equality through the athletic dream in a society where social, cultural, and economic factors limit career development and subsequent work experiences.

INTRODUCTION

This article provides a discussion of the quest for equality through the athletic dream in a society where inherent social, cultural, and economic factors limit career development and subsequent work experiences. The "athletic dream" is defined as the desire of African American youngsters to pursue super stardom through athletics (Parmer, 1987; 1993; 1994). The perception is that athletic performance provides a quick and easy path to success. Such pursuit presumably results in upward mobility characterized by fame, fortune, and status. The athletic dream is especially significant for certain sports where males have traditionally excelled. While the quest for super stardom can exist for any athlete, proportionately more black than white males seem to pursue the dream (Braddock, 1980; McPherson, 1974).

Pursuit of the dream by black males is not a new phenomenon. In the past, other ethnic groups have attempted to utilize the dream as a means of gaining upward mobility. Typically, this has been true for male ethnics of lower socioeconomic status who resided in urban areas (Axthelm, 1980; Braddock, 1980; Weinberg & Arond, 1952). Weinberg and Arond (1952) noted that there has been an ethnic succession to sport. For example, this pattern existed in basketball for Jewish and Irish youngsters in New York City in the 1940s and 1950s (Axthelm, 1980, p. xi). In a pattern similar to that of other ethnic groups, the lives of black males have also been influenced by sport, but the pattern has become problematic for them. Very often black male athletes see athletics as a more attainable career goal than one requiring academic training (Edwards, 1984; Oliver, 1980; Rosenblatt, 1967). Subsequently, their lack of academic training may limit career development, work experiences, and eventually, status attainment.

Dillard noted that career development theories are formulated on two assumptions: freedom of choice, and unlimited access to upward mobility. However, career development research has generally not been designed to account for the inherent social, cultural, and economic factors which influence work within the African American community (Dillard, 1980). According to Smith (1983), "...race is the more prepotent factor in determining one's status, income and career development patterns. . . .A major issue in career literature is untangling what is truly racial about an individual's career development" (p. 167). Historically, African American males have not been privileged to have access to the work place. Without access, economic and social conditions such as limited educational resources and knowledge often serve as barriers which impinge upon career development and subsequent work experiences.

WORK IN AN UNEQUAL SOCIETY

Work is an interactive process, defining who we are as individuals and how we see ourselves and others in relationship to society (Cook, 1991). Work is a viable part of the human existence and is therefore important to the development of a psychologically healthy individual. Those who are unable to obtain a level of satisfaction in their work are likely to develop a negative self concept (Super, 1953). Understanding the role of work for all individuals is a complex process. However, because of different social, economic, and cultural experiences, understanding what is important about work for minorities, specifically African Americans, is often problematic (Leong, 1991; Parmer, 1987; Smith, 1983). The literature suggests that career development for African Americans has been examined more frequently than for any other minority group (Smith, 1983). But the literature continues to be incomplete and inconsistent about African Americans' actual work experiences. It has been documented that a large portion of this group continues to be unemployed and underemployed, which leads to a history of negative work satisfaction. For example, African Americans historically have worked in low paying and low status Social, Realistic, and Conventional Work Environments (Arbona &

Novy, 1991; Gottfredson, 1978; Holland, 1985; Parmer, 1987). Thus, it is essential to understand the qualities that African American males seek in their work experiences as well as the barriers that prevent them from achieving a desirable level of satisfaction in their work.

African American males and females have always worked in America (Chester, 1983). However, after almost 400 years in the workforce, numerous racial barriers remain. Racial barriers are detrimental to the career development process because they limit access and exposure to the world of work. The significance of studying race as an influence on barriers to career development is supported by a number of scholars (Sims, 1979; Smith, 1983). For instance, Sims (1979) has made the following assertion:

It is particularly important to study the educational and occupational expectations and aspirations of black high school students because of the many social, political, and economic factors impinging upon the lives of the entire black race. The history of black people has been characterized by the existence of oppression from the dominant white culture in America. Thus, Blacks have always been denied many educational and occupational opportunities (among other things). (p. 175)

Racial barriers to the career development of blacks often translate into underemployment and unemployment (Coleman & Barker, 1991, 1992; Parmer, 1987). For example, one study of underemployment and unemployment rates suggested that "the jobless rates for black youth were more than twice those of white youth across every educational attainment category" (Devens, Leon, & Sprinkle, 1985, p. 31). In other words, black youth with less than four years of high school have an unemployment rate double that of white youths with similar educational experience. For black youth with one to three years of college, the unemployment rate is statistically three times higher than that of white youth. Consequently, black youth often receive no reward for the desire to work and thus often are not motivated to make career plans.

Many black youth will never work; instead they will remain permanently idle and unproductive members of the underclass (Auletta, 1982). Although there are working members of the underclass, many will be constantly unemployed and never achieve socioeconomic mobility. The underclass typically has been composed of black, urban, inner city youth who lack mobility and are removed from mainstream society. Consequently, many members of that population adopt behaviors inconsistent with the values and mores of society. Work, as it relates to unemployment and underemployment, is the norm for many black adolescents within the urban population; some have attempted to overcome barriers by adopting the athletic dream as a way out of the underclass.

SPORT IN AMERICA

The desire to pursue a career in athletics can be attributed to the position that athletics has been afforded in American society. Sport as a social phenomenon can be observed because of its pervasiveness at all levels (Leonard, 1980; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1983). For example, Boyle (1963) reported that sport affects all of life such that "for better or worse, it gives form and substance to much in American life" (p. 85). This phenomenon can be observed in the amount of time, money, and energy devoted to sport. As spectators, Americans have become consumed with sport fever, as evidenced by what is paid for tickets to athletic events and by the amount of money spent by the media to produce athletic activities (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1983).

Besides watching athletic events, average Americans have also increased their participation in sports (McCallum, 1984). Many Americans work out with Jane Fonda, run marathons, jog, play tennis, ski, and hold memberships in health clubs. Spreitzer and Snyder (1975) found that a majority of both men and women felt that "sports are part of being a well-rounded person. . .that sports are valuable because they teach youngsters self-discipline" (p. 90). The magnitude of the fitness craze can be understood in terms of the revenue generated. As a forerunner of the fitness craze, Jane Fonda's workout book sold 1.25 million hard-back copies and 500,000 copies in paperback sales (McCallum, 1984).

Television has become a major socializing force in American society. In addition to the media generating interest in sport, it is also a major influence on the black male's selection of role models (Berry & Mitchell-Kerman, 1982; Loy, McPherson, & Kenyon, 1978; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1983). For example, powerful media attention to sport may be partially responsible for the fact that Michael Jordan and Magic Johnson are more recognizable than the late Thurgood Marshall. This is significant because low income minority children watch more television than children from higher socioeconomic levels (Berry & Mitchell-Kerman, 1982). Generally, television has a negative impact on the minority individual. Through stereotypical presentations of families, males, and females, it devalues and often communicates inaccurate information about cultures and values. Such information may impair the sense of self and transmit values which would not facilitate wholesome development (Berry & Mitchell-Kerman, 1982). However, because of the media status of athletes, emulation is often viewed as positive.

Parents are also attracted to the sport role model. Edwards (1982, 1984) stated that they are the first to encourage and reward athletic involvement. Due to the prevalence of elite African American athletes who are starters in revenue-producing sports, parents believe that their child can achieve a similar status. This vicarious dreaming by parents may be a means of accepting their own limited accomplishments. Thus, parents see their child's success in athletics as an attainable goal, whereby they themselves can become vindicated and recognized in a world which has proven to be a struggle for them (Edwards, 1984). Parents also view sport values as being important in the

process of socialization. They often see early participation as another way to enhance the socialization process of children. The utilization of sport as another means of socialization is substantiated by Snyder and Spreitzer (1973), who found that "one is socialized into sports in the same manner that one might assimilate a religious or political orientation" (p. 249). Therefore, the family, because of its initial influence, is certainly primary in this process.

SPORT AND THE BLACK MALE ATHLETE

For blacks, sport holds an even greater significance than for many other groups. For over three centuries, black Americans have been struggling for citizenship and equality in American society. Yet, only in sports and entertainment can it be said—with some reservations—that blacks have made considerable progress toward equality. For black Americans, many role models have been athletes and entertainers (Ashe, 1977; Hines, 1964; Olsen, 1968). Arthur Ashe (1977) stated that black role models have been individuals who were "runnin' and jumpin' and singin' and dancin'" (p. 2).

In these two areas, no ethnic group with similar restrictions has made as much progress in such a short time (Young, 1963). As a result of the visibility and performance of black athletes and the collective pride in their accomplishments, sport has been assigned a certain significance. Male athletes as symbols for the black race have been significant since the boxing careers of Jack Johnson and Joe Louis propelled them to notoriety in the early 1900s and 1930s, respectively. This trend has become more prevalent since the 1940s, when Jackie Robinson became the first black athlete admitted to major league baseball. Since that time, sport has been thought to serve as a method of mobility if an individual demonstrated athletic ability and a competitive spirit (Govan, 1971). Olsen (1968), in an interview with noted historian Sterling Stuckey, described the role and influence of early sport role models for blacks:

All along, the black athlete like Joe Louis has meant something to black middle-class people that is quite different from what athletes mean to the society at large. The black athlete is like the black poet in that he is able to do something—in this case on the field—that the Negro is not able to do off the field, or in life in general. The old-style black athlete, within the narrow confines of the sports setting, could meet the white man on his own terms and demonstrate his worth. (p. 18)

An excellent example of a legendary sport role model was Joe Louis. It has been said that "the Brown Bomber was black America's silent deity" (Chalk, 1975, p. 180). In order to explain what Joe Louis meant to blacks, Young (1963) provided an example of an old gentleman encountered in a hotel lobby who was inquiring about the presence of Joe Louis at the hotel. After Young responded that Louis was indeed in the hotel and provided directions, the old gentleman said, "Thank you. I just want to see him before I die. I just

want to touch the hem of his garment" ((p. 8). Touching the hem of Joe Louis' garment is symbolic of a traditional desire for people, and more specifically black people, to have a messianic individual who will help them overcome the types of oppression that they have faced. This statement by the old man was a traditional expression of hope for future generations.

Seemingly, accessibility to certain sports prompts black youngsters, parents, and others to see sports figures as acceptable role models. Olsen (1968) examined one of the many reasons for their attraction to sport role models. He offers the explanation that in a racist and segregated society, sports afford an opportunity for the black man to dominate on the field or court, something he is unable to do elsewhere in society. Further, the attraction to sport role models is influenced by the ability of the model to dominate and to obtain power and recognition relative to the style of play (Riley, 1974). Riley (1974) stated that it was a style characterized by "passion and grace and urgency. . . the movement, the act, the fact of living whole can be contained in an instant like that. . ." (p. 96). The implications for such style suggest that for "those denied other accesses to power, here is life" (Riley, 1974, p. 96).

If opportunities in other areas are perceived as limited, blacks will attempt to demonstrate competence through athletics. The perception of limited opportunities in a society where social, economic, and political realities historically limit access supports the notion that it is easy to be a professional athlete. Therefore, because of the status and esteem given to athletes, blacks have tended to identify athletics as a profession which will provide both work and a professional career with status.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELORS AND MENTAL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

Why should academic counselors and other helping professionals be concerned about the athletic dream as a means to equality for the African American male athlete? One reason is that "elite" or star athletes are likely to be African American males who are very visible because they participate in the revenue-producing sports. These individuals come to counseling with different issues around work and career and thus challenge the expertise of a counselor who functions as though monoculturalism continues to be the norm. In fact, ethical guidelines require that counselors, when working in a diverse environment, no longer operate from the values of the dominant culture (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992).

A second reason for counselors to consider this issue is that more and more counselors who work with African American athletes are being called upon to provide services beyond the realm of athletics (Parmer, 1993; 1994). New demands require that counselors become more accountable for addressing all aspects of the African American athletes' experiences while in school and beyond their playing careers. Therefore, the counselor must have a greater understanding of who African American athletes are and what motivates them

as people. Thus, counselors who work with African American male athletes must have an understanding of the significance and role of the cultural milieu in shaping their dreams. An intervention within this context may involve recruiting, as personal mentors and academic advisors, African American males who have had similar urban experiences or former athletes who are able to work closely with student-athletes.

Counselors may be inclined to ignore the need to examine their current system as it relates to the personal and career development services to African American male athletes. However, monocultural techniques and those that do not provide services which are congruent to the career and work needs of the athletes are no longer appropriate. Because the educational goal of the athletes is to strive for work equality through athletics and because the goal of the institution is to provide the education which will facilitate this process for the athletes, there are significant implications relating to policy, training, counseling, and research.

First, understanding and resolving work and career development behaviors can be difficult for anyone. But when compounded by minority status, young adulthood, and athletic status, these issues become even more problematic. The athletic dream for African Americans begins when families and significant others realize that a child may have athletic ability which peaks in college as the last entree to a job in professional sports. Yet, there is very little emphasis on career development in the elementary and middle school (Seligman, Weinstock, & Helfin, 1991). Further, little attention has been paid to the career experiences of young adults as they make the transition from school to work (Salomone & Mangicaro, 1991). Policy must be changed in order to provide career development information across the life span of the athlete (Petitpas, Danish, McKelvain, & Murphy, 1992). Because personal problems can confound career issues, what is needed are systematic programs designed to ensure that athletes work toward three goals: (a) pursue dreams other than the athletic dream; (b) learn to make a smooth transition from the job of athletic performance to a job in the workforce; and (c) make post-athletic career plans and psychological adjustments. For example, a number of developmental models designed to assist athletes in identifying life skills useful in making transitions from the profession of athletics to a career in the work force have been outlined (Danish, Petitpas, & Hale, 1992; Petitpas, Danish, McKelvain, & Murphy, 1992).

A second significant implication for counselors to understand is that the role of work and the process of career development for African American male athletes is complex. In order to facilitate the career development of this population, academic counselors and other helping professionals who work with them must acquire specialized skills and knowledge of their community and environment. This is significant because many "elite" athletes live in urban black communities. Although no monolithic black community exists, there is a body of literature that acknowledges the presence of "a social system. . . value consensus and congruence. . . held together by adherence to commonly shared

values and goals" (Blackwell, 1985, p. 14). Billingsley (1992) identified four factors which describe the presence of a black community. He noted that most black people are bound geographically in communities, and within this environment there is a sense of community which fosters a shared set of values, an identification with a common heritage, and an identification with various organizations and institutions, such as churches and schools (p. 72). Counselors must assess their skills by asking, "What do I know about the black community? What do I know about the career development of this population?"

The third point for counselors to remember is that Eurocentric or traditional counseling techniques may not be appropriate for counseling African American student-athletes. Counselors must be aware of their limitations when counseling this population, as well as ways to overcome these obstacles that may interfere with the counseling process. Counselors must be aware of their stereotypes about African American athletes and how these may facilitate bias in the helping relationship. For example, what assumptions do the counselors hold about the families of African American male athletes (Parmer, 1992)? Issues such as values, language and communication style, assessment techniques and practices, and learning style must be considered (Richardson, 1993). Pre-college training may be in traditional educational environments but is also pursued in non-traditional settings such as community centers and/or religious institutions provided by those individuals more familiar with the values and culture of the black community. In addition, counselors must be aware that although they may have training in specific techniques, given their limited world view the best source for learning about African American male athletes may be the athletes themselves. This notion is consistent with the goals of counseling, which are "to help clients to understand and clarify their views of their lifespaces, and to learn to reach their self-determined goals through meaningful, well-informed choices. . ." (Burks & Steffle, 1979, p. 14).

Finally, there continues to be a dearth of research and literature related to the career development of African American student-athletes. A wealth of opportunity exists to explore topics such as the qualities athletes seek in work before and after a career in sports, the role of parents in the athletic dream process, the impact of life skills training on work behavior, the role of longitudinal studies in assessing specific aspects of career and work across the life span, and the influence of the black community in fostering work values. An examination of the work behavior of African American males would provide information about motivations, aspirations, and decisions made relative to career behavior. The significance of work and the absence of systematic research which would provide a clear picture of the career behavior of African American male athletes dictate the need to know more about the process of career development for that population.

CONCLUSION

This article has outlined issues associated with African American males' desire to achieve work equality and overcome barriers to status attainment by pursuing the athletic dream. There continues to be a major deficiency in the research literature in understanding how the athletic dream affects the career development of such athletes. Academic counselors have the responsibility to develop programs which will foster a successful transition from the job of an "elite" athlete to a career in the workplace. Overall, some gains have been made in addressing the school-to-work needs of African American male athletes. However, many programs have not adequately addressed the needs of black athletes because academic counselors are not always culturally aware of the athletic dream within the context of the African American experience.

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CAREER COUNSELING AND STUDENT-ATHLETES: A NEEDS ASSESSMENT

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ABSTRACT

The self-reported personal/social needs of a random sample of college student-athletes and a general student sample were compared. Survey data revealed that both groups shared many needs. Respondents indicated that career-related concerns and various sources of stress associated with participation in athletics were of primary concern. Findings provide suggestions for the planning and delivery of helping services to student-athletes and non-athletes.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Student-athletes have been identified as having collegiate experiences that are quite different from the experiences of their non-athlete peers. There have been suggestions that they should be viewed as a special population or subculture much like minority students (Etzel, Ferrante, & Pinkney, 1991; Chartrand & Lent, 1987; Lanning & Toye, 1993; Parham, 1993) or be

considered non-traditional students (Heyman, 1987; Sedlacek & Adams-Gaston, 1992). These suggestions derive from observations that student-athletes face all of the developmental and academic tasks of college plus the demands of involvement in competitive athletics. While the literature contains speculation and recommendations about dealing with student-athletes, data-based literature on the special needs of student-athletes is less available.

Bostic (1979), using the Mooney Problem Checklist, reported that a small sample of student-athletes (38 football players) experienced a significantly greater number of academic, vocational, and personal/social problems when compared to students in general. Etzel (1989) surveyed 263 male and female student-athletes at a medium-sized NCAA Division I institution. Those student-athletes reported more stress-related concerns and stress reactions than students in general. Selby, Weinstein, and Bird (1990) studied the stress sources of 267 student-athletes at Stanford University. Respondents indicated that the threat of injury and academic concerns were their greatest sources of distress. Smallman, Sowa, and Young (1991) surveyed 53 female and male, African-American and Caucasian student-athletes about their life stress. More than a quarter of them said they experienced high levels of stress. African-American and male student-athletes indicated that the stress they experienced was more bothersome than the stress reported by others.

Sowa and Gressard (1983) observed that student-athletes formulated less well-defined career plans and reported feeling less satisfied with their educational experiences. Kennedy and Dimick (1987) surveyed male varsity football and basketball players. Participants reported having significantly less mature career attitudes than the norm. Others have found that many student-athletes have unreasonable expectations of professional sport careers and financial success (American Institutes for Research, 1988).

Given the limited amount of data-based information, it appears that the concept of student-athletes as a unique population is largely based upon the informal, shared perceptions and value judgments of coaches, administrators, sport psychologists, and counselors who provide on-campus services to student-athletes. Therefore, a systematic investigation of the nature of perceived student-athlete needs is indicated. Such data-based information would be useful in the planning and delivery of helping services to these unique students.

Two additional reasons for investigating the perceived needs of student-athletes are time constraints and the identification of accessible resources for student-athletes. A survey of 4,083 female and male NCAA Division I student-athletes conducted by the American Institutes for Research (1988) revealed that participation in organized athletics requires a significant amount of time, up to thirty hours a week for some student-athletes. Accessing support services when needed may be difficult, and help from typical sources may not be available when student-athletes have time (Pearson & Petitpas, 1990).

Brooks, Etzel, and Ostrow (1987) surveyed counselors working in athletic departments to determine the focus of their counseling time. The

primary focus of these counselors was academic performance and maintaining eligibility for sports. While academic success is important for all students, other needs that student-athletes may have (e.g., career-related, developmental, or personal-social) should also be addressed.

The purpose of this study was to survey systematically the expressed needs of student-athletes for various counseling services. In order to understand these needs, the degree of perceived need, preferences for different delivery modes, and a comparison with general students' expressed needs were also included in the survey.

METHOD

Sample

The participants surveyed were 170 male and female student-athletes and 300 general students at an NCAA Division I university of approximately 9,500 full-time students, of whom 6,000 were undergraduates. The student-athlete sample was obtained by drawing every third name from a list of all student-athletes participating on one or more varsity athletic teams. The random sample of general students was drawn by computer to be stratified for undergraduate standing. A total of 201 student-athletes and general students returned usable surveys for a return rate of 46%.

Instrument

The needs assessment survey, containing 54 Likert format self-report items, was derived with slight modifications from a needs assessment survey developed by Talley and his colleagues (Talley, 1985). Participants were asked to indicate on a scale of one ("No importance") to five ("Extreme importance") the degree to which each item was a personally important concern. Participants were also asked to indicate which of three service delivery modes (one-to-one counseling, group seminar at the counseling center, or educational presentation elsewhere) they would be most likely to use if they sought counseling or needed information about an issue. An open-ended response item then asked participants to describe any areas of concern or need that were important to them but not included on the survey.

The student-athletes were asked 13 additional items directed at their athletic competition. Of these items, 10 concerned personal issues (such as athletic burnout and the stress of sport competition) and 3 concerned sport enhancement (such as imagery and concentration control). The last item asked about their interest in feeling more comfortable using counseling services.

Procedure

The 170 student-athletes and 300 general students were mailed a cover letter, the survey, and a stamped return envelope with no identification. Participants who had not responded after three weeks were sent another survey

and modified cover letter. The second cover letter reminded them that the survey had been sent and again requested cooperation. Informed consent was based on the voluntary return of a survey.

Results

The means, standard deviations, and ranks for those 14 needs assessment items with means greater than 3.0 ("Of some importance") are shown in Table 1 for student-athletes and for general students. The five items rated highest by student-athletes pertained to career development. The other career development item was rated seventh by the student-athletes. A between group t-test using the means of these six items was significant ($t = 2.55$, $df = 10$, $p < .05$), indicating that student-athletes expressed more concern about career development assistance than general students.

Of the other items with means greater than 3.0, six represented social-personal concerns. A between group t-test on the means of these items was not significant ($t = .93$, $df = 10$, $p > .05$). The other item, concerning time management, was "of some importance" for both groups.

The preferred delivery mode for five of the career development items was one-to-one counseling for the student-athletes (49.5%). The exception was the item on finding career information, where an educational presentation was preferred (51.5%). One-to-one counseling was also the preferred delivery mode for the personal/social items (64.1%), except for issues of communication, assertiveness, and leadership, where the respondents preferred group counseling.

These preferences were closely paralleled by the general students, with three exceptions: (1) the general student group favored educational presentations over group counseling for leadership and time management; (2) they favored one-on-one counseling over group counseling for assertiveness; and (3) they favored group counseling over one-on-one counseling for relationship enrichment.

No comparison was possible between student-athletes and general students for the items the student-athletes answered that were specific to their athletic involvement. It is noteworthy that these items all had means above 3.0 with the exception of "The amount of time and effort I must spend practicing my sport" ($M = 1.11$, $SD = .32$).

DISCUSSION

While student-athletes appear to have some specific and unique needs that distinguish them from general students, more similarities than differences may exist between the needs of these two groups of students. This possibility is not surprising since both groups are working through the same basic developmental tasks of young adulthood (Chickering, 1969; Perry, 1970). Furthermore, differences between student-athletes and the general student

Table 1

Needs Assessment Items with Means Greater than 3.00
for Student-Athlete and General Student Samples

Item	Sample					
	Student-Athletes (n=63)			General Students (n=138)		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Understanding career-related interests	3.75	.92	2	3.40	1.32	2
Understanding career-related skills	3.75	.92	2	3.40	1.31	2
Planning my career or vocation	3.75	1.11	2	3.46	1.33	1
Understanding career-related personality	3.51	1.22	4	3.27	1.39	5
Understanding career-related values	3.41	1.16	5	3.19	1.38	7
Communicating more effectively	3.29	1.11	6	3.29	1.32	4
Finding written information about careers and educational programs	3.24	1.21	7	3.02	1.36	12
Making decisions and solving problems	3.17	1.17	8	3.14	1.34	9
Developing leadership skills	3.14	1.15	9	3.22	1.26	6
Assertively standing up for myself	3.13	1.40	10	3.09	1.36	11
Developing self-confidence and self-esteem	3.08	1.34	11	2.86	1.35	13
Coping with the stresses in my life	3.06	1.16	12	3.12	1.22	10
Enriching a relationship I have	3.00	1.33	13	2.61	1.36	20
Managing my time effectively	2.95	1.28	15	3.15	1.31	8

sample may not have been so pronounced because the institution these students attended was an academically challenging one.

While important needs are similar for student-athletes and general students, certain manifestations of needs may be more characteristic of student-athletes. For instance, career development issues were highly rated by both groups. With student-athletes, however, concern about the role of sport in future career/life planning may significantly flavor the need for career development services. A number of authors (Blann, 1985; Nelson, 1983; Pearson and Petitpas, 1990; Remer, Tongate, & Watson, 1978; Sowa & Gressard, 1983) have described how preoccupation with professional athletics can impede personal and career development.

The possibility that student-athletes are more concerned about career development than personal/social issues was not anticipated. Career development and planning may be delayed or even ignored by student-athletes who cling to the unlikely hope of a professional athletic career. Even when

student-athletes are realistic about the improbability of a professional sports career, being an athlete may have assumed a core importance in their identities. Student-athletes may have career planning problems because they have "foreclosed" on their identities too early in their development (Nelson, 1983). The astute counselor should be sensitive to the overlapping of personal/social concerns (e.g., "retirement" from athletics or injury) with career-related concerns when working with these clients (Pinkerton, Etzel, Rockwell, Talley, & Moorman, 1990).

Etzel (1989) found that student-athletes report greater frequencies and intensities of stressors and stress reactions; this sample of student-athletes reported that the stress of competition was the area in which they most strongly felt the need for help ($M = 4.15$ on a five-point scale). However, concern about career development and the need for assistance in career development ($M = 3.75$) was close behind stress associated with competition as an expressed need.

Because of the time constraints on student-athletes, career counseling and career development resources may be difficult for them to access if such services are offered in the usual time frame of eight a.m. to five p.m. If many student-athletes feel that they have a clear career plan and goal (i.e., being a professional or elite amateur athlete), traditional career assessment may be seen as unnecessary or intrusive. Career development and counseling with student-athletes requires creative and involving strategies that are accessible when they have the opportunity to use them.

With some student-athletes, it may be important to meet them where they are—with an athletic-dominated view of career options. Rather than recommending that they approach career planning like general students, the strategy of encouraging "back-up" plans as a goal of career planning might be more productive than assuming the student-athlete will not be a professional or elite amateur athlete. Some may need to be reminded that even highly successful professional athletes need to change careers when they are injured or too "old" to compete at that level.

Another possibility would be to develop a resource about careers in sport and those careers that occur in athletic settings. A section in a career library about sport-related occupations could entice some student-athletes into using occupational information resources that they might otherwise choose not to tap. Perhaps instructors could be surveyed for ways in which their majors are related to sports and athletic settings. Sport is an industry, and numerous examples exist in a variety of careers and majors which can be practiced with an athletic component.

Pinkney (1983) suggested an approach to career counseling that does not use traditional assessment but the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. Some students assume that career assessment will deliver a single, right answer by giving them career titles. This mindset can preclude their involvement or investment in the career planning process. Student-athletes might be better

served by an assessment that is based on what type of person they are and how their athletic experiences could translate into successful careers. After all, student-athletes tend to be dedicated to improvement and have learned the need to work together with diverse people and bosses (coaches).

The majority (49%) of the student-athletes and general students preferred one-on-one counseling for many of their career planning needs. A clear implication is that individual counseling should be an option in any career planning program, service, or agency. Student-athletes may be more open to exploring career development and the personal aspects of career planning, such as identity constructs, if they were seen individually. Individual counseling sessions would also address the student-athletes' response to the item on feeling more comfortable with using a counseling service.

The high need scores for wanting to feel more comfortable using counseling services would certainly suggest that individual career counseling is a necessary option in terms of the comfort level of student-athletes who seek help with their career planning. This might also help student-athletes be more accessible for counseling on some of their developmental issues. Petitpas and Champagne (1988) note that student-athletes may be behind their peers in important issues such as handling relationship and emotional maturity.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of the present study suggest that career planning is important to student-athletes. The issues of response rate and using a single institution's student-athletes do not support broad generalizations. But the likelihood that some significant proportion of student-athletes perceive a need for career development and have some discomfort with seeking counseling suggests that more active attempts be made to reach this student group. It would also seem reasonable that counseling strategies that do not ignore student-athletes' long and demonstrable enthusiasm for sport would be more productive.

The results also support the idea of action research investigating career planning strategies that would be effective with student-athletes. The results would not support the description of student-athletes as the "privileged few" (Lanning, 1982) or the "over privileged minority" (Remer, Tongate, & Watson, 1978). Student-athletes have many needs in common with general students, plus some unique needs of their own. The need for career development is not one of the unique needs of student-athletes.

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A COMPREHENSIVE DRUG EDUCATION AND PREVENTION PROGRAM FOR STUDENT-ATHLETES: A LIFE SKILLS/EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING MODEL

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this longitudinal drug prevention program sponsored by the NCAA was to provide a unique experiential learning approach for student-athletes. Data were obtained from freshman student-athletes before and after a fall semester drug education course via a questionnaire measuring self-esteem, knowledge, attitudes, frequency of usage, risk factors, and demographic variables. The effectiveness of the freshman program was analyzed, and further comparisons were made with other student-athlete and non-athlete groups. Alcohol was found to be the most widely used drug, while use of performance and societal drugs was extremely low. The freshman program was found to

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have a significant impact on enhancing drug knowledge. Additional multivariate analyses examined other attitudinal and psychological variables.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A special group of college students exists which may need additional education concerning drug and alcohol use: the intercollegiate student-athlete population. Nattiv and Puffer (1991) found that intercollegiate student-athletes had a higher proportion of "risky" lifestyle behavior patterns when compared with non-athletes. They reported that student-athletes appear to be at higher risk for negative lifestyle behaviors such as higher quantity of alcohol consumed, driving while intoxicated with alcohol and other drugs, riding with an intoxicated driver, not using seat belts, and other health-related issues.

On the other hand, other research studies have reported conflicting findings concerning knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors in student-athletes and non-athletes. Recently, Overman and Terry (1991) found that college student-athletes and non-athletes did not differ significantly in drinking behaviors when compared on athletic participation, sex, and race. In addition, they indicated that the more negative attitudes of student-athletes toward alcohol consumption did not result in drinking behaviors which were different from those of non-athletes. Similarly, Toohey and Corder (1981) reported that drug use among intercollegiate athletes at six American universities and their non-athletic counterparts was virtually identical. However, Anderson and McKeag (1985, 1991), in two studies of alcohol and drug use among 10 different sports at 11 NCAA institutions, revealed a slightly lower percentage of student-athlete use than that among the general college student population. In contrast, Carr, Kennedy, and Dimick (1989) recently reported that high school male student-athletes consume significantly more alcohol than male non-athletes, and that these male student-athletes drink to intoxication more often than female student-athletes.

Current research on drug use among student-athletes suggests possible reasons for this specific population to be at increased risk for using alcohol and other drugs. For instance, McGuire, Tricker, and Cook (1990) and Roberts-Wilbur, Wilbur, and Morris (1987) hypothesize that pressures resulting from participation in intercollegiate sport and the necessity of meeting increased academic standards required by the NCAA and their respective universities may make student-athletes more vulnerable to drug use. These additional pressures can include vigorous daily practices, continuous competition, public scrutiny, adjustment to being away from home, making the team, and possible thrill-seeking personalities. A recent study by Evans, Weinberg, and Jackson (1992) indicated that student-athlete drug users may also show gender differences in selected psychological variables; reduced self-esteem; differences in anger, fatigue, and vigor scores; and increased academic/athletic stress.

According to Wadler and Hainline (1989), student-athletes may be at particular risk for trying to increase their "competitive edge" through drug use because of other possible factors:

- They are afraid of being "cut" or not making the team.
- They may wish to "beef up" or "cut down."
- They may wish to play with pain/injury.
- They choose to cope with environmental pressures by using recreational drugs.
- Those whose careers are almost over may use drugs in an attempt to refuse to change or grow up.

A select number of athletic departments (Hochberg, 1991; Scott, 1991), usually in conjunction with their medical staff, require student-athletes to attend isolated, information-based programs on alcohol education, performance-enhancement drug use, and recreational drug use. These programs are based on the premise that knowledge will result in behavior change (Girdano & Dusek, 1988) and are intended to serve as a potential deterrent to any drug use.

A thorough meta-analysis by Tobler (1986) made several assertions about the effectiveness of drug education programming. He concluded that programs emphasizing knowledge or emotion-based content are ineffective, and that effective prevention programs are multimodal in nature and contain peer training programs that include peer modeling and specific skill training. A similar conclusion was reached by Botvin, Baker, Renick, Filazzola, and Botvin (1984), who posited that prevention programs should focus on knowledge and the development of general life skills. They asserted that, by learning problem-solving skills such as decision making, coping methods, assertiveness training, and self-improvement, students can reduce interpersonal pressure to use or abuse drugs.

Recently, several universities have developed programs that attempt to prevent substance abuse by utilizing specific components of the life skills model. Marcello, Danish, and Stolberg (1989) offer a program consisting of three components (education, skill training for prevention, and skills to deal with peer pressure) which were tested with a university student-athlete population. Unfortunately, because of problems in format, subject motivation, and pre-existing social/environmental factors, the results were not consistent with program goals. More recently, Damm (1991) reported on a similar life skills-oriented course to promote the overall development of the student-athlete and to reduce drug use.

Few universities have initiated comprehensive drug programs solely for student-athletes because of time demands and funding problems. However, it is critical that student-athletes develop an accurate knowledge base about drugs not only because they need to develop adequate coping skills, but also because they are subjected to year-round drug testing. In an effort to prevent

drug problems, an innovative life skills/drug education program sponsored by the NCAA was undertaken with student-athletes at a large midwestern university. It provided a unique educational experience using a decision-making and experiential-learning approach based on studies (Botvin, Baker, Remick, Filazzola, & Botvin, 1984; Crew, 1987) which concluded that learning occurs most effectively when students are personally involved. Experiential learning occurs when a person engages in an activity, reflects on the activity critically, abstracts some useful insight from the analysis, and puts the result to work (Kolb, 1984).

In this program, freshman student-athletes are required to enroll in a one-credit health education "Values and Health" course during the fall semester. Topics include stress management skills, sports nutrition, eating disorders, sexuality, date rape, and, most importantly, five sessions on alcohol use and abuse. Sophomores participate in a workshop dealing with steroid use and other performance-enhancing drugs. Junior student-athletes attend workshops discussing societal drugs and peer pressure. In their last year, seniors receive programming that focuses on effective transitions to life outside of competitive college athletics.

PURPOSE

In summary, the purpose of this research was threefold. An initial goal was to collect and analyze more descriptive data on drug use, knowledge, and attitudes among Division I student-athletes and inferentially compare the data to several non-athlete control groups in order to further investigate the contradictory findings of the last decade (Anderson & McKeag, 1985, 1991; Nattiv & Puffer, 1991). A second goal was to investigate the effect of drug use on selected psychological factors (self-esteem, at-risk factors) in college student-athletes (Evans, Weinbert, & Jackson, 1992; McGuire, Tricker, & Cook, 1990; Wadler & Hainline, 1989). A final purpose was to undertake preliminary evaluative research on the innovative, life skills-oriented drug education program for freshmen by examining behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge before and after the intervention.

METHOD

Subjects

Varsity Student-Athletes. The freshman drug questionnaire was collected prior to the drug education program from 158 student-athletes. Complete matched data (pre- and post-intervention) were available from 43 student-athletes for direct comparison of pre- and post-intervention self-esteem, drug knowledge, attitudes, usage, and risk factors. The low return of post-test questionnaires was a result of student-athletes being involved in seasonal competition and not being regularly available in a class format. Completed senior data were collected from 33 student-athletes, all from the sport of track. These data served as an athletic control group in comparisons with the freshman

group since the seniors did not participate in a formal drug intervention program.

Non-Varsity Athletes and Non-Athletes. Additional control group data have been acquired from two other sub-samples in order to compare baseline drug use and psychological variables among elite varsity student-athletes, non-recruited athletes, and a sample of the general student population. Sixty student-athletes from four club sports (women's soccer, men's and women's bowling, men's rugby, and ice hockey) completed the questionnaires. Finally, 87 non-athletes from a physical education class composed the last non-athlete control group.

Demographic data from all samples revealed that most groups were predominantly male, white, and upper middle class; they had no athletic scholarship and indicated little worry about family drug abuse (see Table 1).

Table 1

Demographic Frequencies of Sample Groups (N=338)

	Percent of Males	Percent of Females	Number of Sports	Median Parental Income	Percent of Athletic Grant	Percent of Family Abuse
Freshman Student-Athletes (n=158)	66.7	88.6	25	>\$51,000	41.7	15.7
Senior Student-Athletes (n=33)	66.7	96.9	1	>\$51,000	54.5	33.3
Club Sport Student-Athletes (n=60)	83.3	100.0	4	>\$51,000	NA	9.8
Non-Athletes (n=87)	41.4	94.2	NA	>\$51,000	NA	21.8

Questionnaires

All subjects completed the six-part Student-Athlete Survey Questionnaire (SASQ). Section I is composed of the 10-item Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (SES) (1979), which has a total score range of 10 to 40 where a lower score indicates higher self-esteem. Test/retest reliability for the SES has been found to be 0.85 over a two-week period, and its internal consistency is estimated at 0.75.

Section II is an attitude scale consisting of nine questions concerning attitudes toward drug use (total score range 9 - 36); a high score indicates a

negative attitude toward drug use. A Cronbach alpha coefficient was calculated (0.69) which suggested an acceptable level of reliability for the scale.

The knowledge scale in Section III is comprised of 10 true-and-false questions about drug use and effects that were taught during the course, and the number of correct answers constitutes the total score.

Drug use frequency was compiled from a list of 19 recreational and performance-enhancing drugs and one "dummy" drug ("menotropins") to check the honesty of responses in Section IV.

Sections II-IV were constructed by the authors by adapting and shortening a survey from the campus health education office that had been used in several prior campus-wide surveys of drug use (Health Education Department, 1989).

Section V contains 10 questions combined into a scale (total score range 10 - 50) that examines a psychological profile of potential risk factors for drug abuse culled from the drug use literature. Questions were included about team membership, team approval, ability to express emotions, interest in high-risk activities, locus of control, optimism/pessimism, aggressive tendencies, avoidance behavior, and potential depression.

Finally, Section VI contains seven demographic questions concerning gender, birth date (for identification of subsequent comparison data), race, sport, family income, grant-in-aid, and family history of substance abuse.

Total scores for Sections I, II, and IV were obtained by adding positive-scored questions and reversed-scored negatively worded questions. In the knowledge section (III), the total correct score is the number of correct answers out of the total number of questions. These four scores (self-esteem, knowledge, attitude, risk factors) were used as dependent variables in the inferential analysis.

In the drug use section, frequency of use was scored separately for each drug on a five-point Likert scale. For all inferential statistics involving drug use as an independent variable, subjects who scored a 1 or 2 ("never used" or "used yearly") were combined to form a sub-group of "non/low users." Scorers in the remaining three categories ("monthly," "weekly," and "daily" use) were categorized as a "moderate/heavy user" sub-group. Demographic questions from the final section were used to form other independent variables.

Procedures

Freshman student-athletes were required to enroll during their first fall semester in a one-credit "Values and Health" course. Within this 15-week course, five weeks were allotted to alcohol education and prevention. The format included a series of five lecture presentations, experiential activities, homework assignments, and journal writing about alcohol and other drug issues. The freshmen were pre-tested during class with the SASQ and post-tested with the same instrument five months later during required study hall hours.

Senior (fourth- and fifth-year) student-athletes were invited to participate in a four-hour workshop concentrating on transitional life skills, alternative interests outside of athletics, individual employment expectations, and potential work opportunities. The SASQ questionnaire was administered to the seniors as they arrived for the workshop. Data from the club sport student-athletes and non-athletes were obtained on a voluntary basis as they anonymously completed the SASQ in their free time during the Spring 1991 semester and returned it to the experimenter.

Data Analysis

The descriptive drug use data between groups were analyzed using a chi square analysis on the ordered data. Non-parametric sign tests were calculated for within-subjects analysis of pre- and post-intervention use in freshman student-athletes.

In order to reduce the number of univariate analysis and potential type I errors, multivariate analyses of variance of the interval data were computed using four dependent measures (self esteem, knowledge, attitude, and risk factors). Independent variables (drug user/non-user categories, subject sex, sport type, parental income category, financial aid status, and time) were examined for each drug category in a separate within-subjects repeated measure design and in several between-subject analyses involving the control groups. When overall significant multivariate values were calculated, subsequent ANOVAs and follow-up tests were computed to identify significant differences. To simplify understanding of the critical findings in the numerous between-subjects analyses, only significant mean differences are reported.

RESULTS

Drug Use

Freshman Student-Athlete Pre-Intervention Data. Preliminary frequency analysis of pre-intervention freshman data revealed virtually no incidence of drug use in 11 of the 20 drugs listed (see Table 2). As a result of significant correlations between beer and wine ($r = 0.47$, $p = 0.05$) and beer and liquor ($r = 0.61$, $p < 0.05$), only one alcohol variable was used (i.e., beer) and therefore only seven of the drug variables (beer, marijuana, caffeine, laxatives, anti-inflammatories, smokeless tobacco, and pain medications) were retained for further inferential analysis.

Control Groups. Comparisons in drug use were made with student-athlete and non-athlete control groups who did not undergo the experimental drug education program in order to ascertain the relative status of baseline incidence measures. Examination of the frequency data for senior student-athletes, club sport student-athletes, and non-athletes revealed a similar profile of social and recreational drug use (primarily alcohol) to the freshman data (see

Table 3). Consequently, only the seven previously mentioned drugs were retained for further inferential statistical analysis.

Table 2

Percentages of Drug Use Among Freshman Student-Athletes

DRUG	Pre-Intervention Student-Athletes (1990, N=158)				
	Never	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Alcohol:					
Beer	19.0	8.9	27.8	43.0	1.3
Liquor	35.2	28.2	30.2	5.0	0.6
Wine	42.8	45.3	11.3	0.6	—
Amphetamines	98.1	1.9	—	—	—
Anabolic Steroids	99.6	—	0.6	—	—
Anti-Inflammatories	72.3	12.6	8.8	1.9	4.4
Caffeine	24.1	5.7	12.7	25.9	31.6
Cigarettes	77.4	16.4	3.8	1.3	1.3
Cocaine	98.7	0.6	0.6	—	—
Crack	100.0	—	—	—	—
Depressants	98.7	0.6	0.6	—	—
Hallucinogens	96.9	3.1	—	—	—
Heroin	100.0	—	—	—	—
Inhalants	95.0	4.4	—	0.6	—
Laxatives	91.8	5.7	1.9	0.6	—
Marijuana	81.2	13.2	3.1	1.9	—
Menotropins (dummy)	100.0	—	—	—	—
Pain Medications	11.3	15.7	46.5	19.5	6.9
PCP	100.0	—	—	—	—
Smokeless Tobacco	76.1	9.4	4.4	4.4	5.7

Note. Due to rounding, some percentages may not total 100%.

Because the incidence of drug use was very low in many of the five categories established for each drug, the use of chi square analysis between the four groups was potentially invalid. Only caffeine and pain medications (common drugs readily available) had adequate cell numbers, and no significant differences were found.

Perusal of Tables 2 and 3 indicates several trends in the incidence of drug use. In beer consumption, as expected, freshman student-athletes drink beer less often than the three control groups. Smokeless tobacco is used daily by a few senior student-athletes. Cigarette use, as might be expected, is higher in weekly and daily incidence for non-athletes than for freshman student-athletes.

Freshman Pre- and Post-Intervention Use. To make a direct comparison of the effects of the drug education program on freshman student-athlete drug use, five-point frequency scores of the seven drugs with sufficient incidence were compared before and after programming ($n = 43$). Sign tests were analyzed for the seven drugs, and non-significant changes occurred in their use.

Drug Knowledge

Freshman Pre- and Post-Intervention Data. To reduce the probability of Type I error, multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) with repeated measures on the last factor were calculated (user/nonuser X sex X sport type X parental income X grant-in-aid X time) for each of the four dependent measures of the 43 pre-/post-intervention freshman athletes. Because of the insufficient sample size for several drugs, only three drug categories were analyzed (i.e., beer, caffeine, pain medications). An overall within-subjects' significant main effect (Wilks's lambda statistic) was calculated for knowledge scores across time for these three drug categories. The repeated measures univariate ANOVAs on knowledge scores supported this significant difference. Examination of the means indicated that freshman student-athletes significantly improved from a mean of 7.3 on the knowledge score before participating in the drug education program to a mean of 7.9 after the program.

Student-Athlete and Non-Athlete Data. The additional data later collected from the other student-athlete groups and the non-athlete control group were compared with the pre-intervention freshman student-athlete data (total $N = 330$) for six drug-use categories (beer, caffeine, marijuana, laxatives, anti-inflammatories, and pain medications). MANOVAs in a between-subjects' design (user/nonuser X sex X group X grant-in-aid) were computed using the four scale scores as dependent variables.

Several significant results were calculated for the between-groups independent variable. For the analyses on pain medication, anti-inflammatories, marijuana, and caffeine use, significant Wilks's lambda and univariate ANOVA statistics were produced for knowledge scores. The non-athlete control group

Table 3

Percentages of Drug Use Among Senior Student-Athletes, Club Sport Student-Athletes, and a Non-Athlete University Sample

DRUG	Senior Student-Athletes (1991, N=33)					Club Sport Student-Athletes (1991, N=61)					Non-Athletes (1991, N=87)				
	Never	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Never	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Never	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Alcohol:															
Beer	9.1	12.1	21.2	57.6	—	4.9	4.9	21.3	68.9	—	6.9	4.6	19.5	66.7	2.3
Liquor	27.3	24.2	36.4	12.1	—	11.7	20.0	56.7	11.7	—	9.2	21.8	50.6	18.4	—
Wine	27.3	45.5	27.3	—	—	25.0	46.7	25.0	3.3	—	20.7	44.8	31.0	3.4	—
Amphetamines	100.0	—	—	—	—	96.7	3.3	—	—	—	94.3	3.4	—	2.3	—
Anabolic Steroids	100.0	—	—	—	—	96.7	3.3	—	—	—	98.9	1.1	—	—	—
Anti-Inflammatories	72.7	15.2	6.1	3.0	3.0	68.9	23.0	6.6	1.6	—	79.3	17.2	1.1	2.3	—
Caffeine	24.2	—	15.2	39.4	21.2	25.0	11.7	10.0	15.0	38.3	2.3	2.3	16.3	32.6	46.5
Cigarettes	69.7	21.2	6.1	3.0	—	73.8	13.1	8.2	3.3	1.6	57.5	12.6	6.9	6.9	16.1
Cocaine	97.0	3.0	—	—	—	96.7	3.3	—	—	—	89.7	10.3	—	—	—
Crack	100.0	—	—	—	—	98.3	1.7	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	—
Depressants	100.0	—	—	—	—	98.4	1.6	—	—	—	94.3	5.7	—	—	—
Hallucinogens	97.0	3.0	—	—	—	93.7	4.9	1.6	—	—	87.4	10.3	2.3	—	—
Heroin	100.0	—	—	—	—	98.4	1.6	—	—	—	98.9	1.1	—	—	—
Inhalants	97.0	3.0	—	—	—	96.7	3.3	—	—	—	88.5	10.3	1.1	—	—
Laxatives	90.9	9.1	—	—	—	96.7	3.3	—	—	—	86.2	9.2	3.4	1.1	—
Marijuana	69.7	30.3	—	—	—	82.0	8.2	3.3	6.6	—	57.5	20.7	11.5	3.4	6.9
Menotropins (dummy)	100.0	—	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	—
Pain Medications	12.1	18.2	42.4	24.2	3.0	6.6	14.8	52.5	18.0	8.2	3.4	10.3	55.2	25.3	5.7
PCP	100.0	—	—	—	—	98.4	1.6	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	—
Smokeless Tobacco	66.7	9.1	3.0	6.1	15.2	88.5	9.8	1.6	—	—	94.3	4.6	1.1	—	—

Note. Due to rounding, some percentages may not total 100%.

($\bar{M}$ = 7.80) was found to have significantly higher drug knowledge scores than pre-intervention freshman student-athletes ($\bar{M}$ = 7.46).

For the gender variable, significant Wilks's lambda statistics were calculated when the data were characterized by the categories of pain medication, marijuana, and caffeine use. Further examination of the univariate ANOVAs and Tukey tests for the drug knowledge scores revealed that males ($\bar{M}$ = 7.73) scored higher on drug knowledge than females ($\bar{M}$ = 7.45).

Attitude Toward Drug Use

For data categorized by use of pain medications, laxatives, marijuana, and caffeine, significant Wilks's lambda statistics and univariate ANOVAs were calculated for the attitude scores. Tukey tests showed that freshman student-athletes ($\bar{M}$ = 31.44) had significantly higher negative attitudes toward drug use than club sport student-athletes ($\bar{M}$ = 29.59).

When data were analyzed according to the categories of beer, marijuana, and pain medication use, significant Wilks's lambda statistics occurred for the main effect of users/nonusers. Significant univariate ANOVAs and Tukey follow-up tests for drug attitude scores revealed that low/nonusers ($\bar{M}$ = 33.1) showed a significantly higher overall negative attitude toward drug use than moderate/heavy users ($\bar{M}$ = 30.3).

Psychological Factors

Student-athletes were divided into independent variable categories to ascertain if group differences occurred within the freshman student-athlete pre-intervention sample (N = 158) on self-esteem and risk scores. The categories of independent variables were as follows: high/moderate user vs. low/non-user for each of previous seven drugs; three sport types (collision, contact, non-contact); and high or low parental income (more than \$30,000 vs. less than \$30,000). The collision sports listed were football, wrestling, and men's lacrosse; the contact sports were men's and women's basketball, men's and women's fencing, women's field hockey, women's lacrosse, and men's soccer. The remaining sports were considered non-contact sports.

To reduce the probability of Type I error, MANOVAs were calculated (user/non-user X sex X sport type X parental income X grant-in-aid) for each of seven drugs. If an overall multivariate effect was found, then univariate ANOVAs were used to determine what specific variables were responsible for the significant differences on the four dependent variables.

Pre-Intervention Freshman Data. For the caffeine analysis, the significant Wilks's lambda was 0.88 (p < .05) for the main effect of sport type. A univariate ANOVA indicated that sport type participants differed significantly ($F[2,131]$ = 4.16, p < .05) on the risk-factor scale scores. Tukey's Studentized Range (HSD) Test for the means revealed that non-contact athletes ($\bar{M}$ = 30.3) scored higher on potential psychological risk factors for drug abuse

than either collision sport student-athletes ($M = 28.8$) or contact sport student-athletes ($M = 27.7$).

For data categorized by high and low users of laxatives, a significant Wilks's lambda statistic was calculated for the main effect of drug use (Wilks's lambda = 0.92, $p < .05$). A univariate ANOVA for drug use ($F[1,131] = 10.87$, $p < .01$) was significant for self-esteem scores. Examination of the Tukey results revealed that moderate/heavy users of laxatives ($M = 18.4$) had significantly lower self-esteem than low/non-users ($M = 15.2$).

For the drug use category of pain medications, a significant Wilks's lambda statistic (Wilks's lambda = 0.90, $p < .01$) occurred for the main effect of gender. A univariate ANOVA was significant for self-esteem scores ($F[1,131] = 5.03$, $p < .05$). Tukey tests on the means indicated that females ($M = 16.5$) had significantly lower self-esteem than males ($M = 14.9$).

Student-Athlete and Non-Athlete Data. Finally, when all-groups data ($N = 330$) were categorized by use for all six drug use categories, significant Wilks's lambda statistics and subsequent univariate ANOVAs were calculated for drug use risk factor scores. Tukey tests revealed that freshman student-athletes ($M = 29.40$) scored higher on the risk factor scale for potential drug use than senior student-athletes ($M = 27.62$) and non-athlete controls ($M = 27.96$).

DISCUSSION

Based on written and verbal feedback, this comprehensive life skills/drug prevention program sponsored by the NCAA provided student-athletes with innovative, interesting information and experiences that encouraged exploration of the issues about alcohol and other drugs. Examination of the lie scale data (drug use of "menotropins") also supported the honesty and integrity of the data. Through individual assessment, group activities, and discussion, student-athletes received a dynamic opportunity for exploring their own drug knowledge, beliefs, and use patterns. Senior student-athlete feedback reinforced our assumption that transitional life skills issues need to be addressed to help prevent negative coping behaviors (such as abuse of alcohol and other drugs) following college.

Analysis of demographic variables for the pre-intervention student-athlete and non-athlete samples revealed very similar profiles. The samples consisted predominantly of male, white, upper middle class student-athletes who do not receive athletic grants-in-aid. This socioeconomic background may explain the low incidence of drug use reported in "hard" drugs and performance enhancers as well as the high incidence of alcohol users, similar to the findings of Evans, Weinberg, and Jackson (1992); Overman and Terry (1991); and Toohey and Corder (1981).

This previously noted "floor effect" (Anderson & McKeag, 1985) in drug incidence may help explain why substantial changes in drug use did not occur several months after the drug education program. While there were

several positive changes in drug incidence, it may be premature to expect substantial decreases in alcohol use behaviors. First, substantial changes in attitudes toward drug use may need to change before actual drug use behaviors change (Overman & Terry, 1991). However, the overall negative attitude toward drugs, apparent in all samples, bodes well for future interventions.

As might be expected, the pre-program incidence factor for the use of alcohol and marijuana indicated that low/non-users had a significantly higher negative attitude toward drug use than moderate/heavy users. A similar between-groups finding indicating that freshman student-athletes have stronger anti-drug attitudes than club sport student-athletes is also to be expected, since varsity student-athletes compete under the threat of drug testing and may also have more invested in their competitive training than part-time club sport student-athletes.

When general knowledge about drugs is examined, the athletic and non-athletic samples seem fairly well educated. As expected, inferential statistics did support the beneficial effect of the drug program by indicating that freshman student-athletes improved significantly in drug knowledge after the course experience. Furthermore, specific analyses by certain use categories also supported commonly predicted outcomes that users and males are more knowledgeable about drugs than nonusers and females, respectively. Finally, the non-athlete control group was found to be more knowledgeable than the freshman student-athletes. It may be fairly safe to conclude that experience with drugs probably enhances knowledge, although the inability to compare the incidence data between groups statistically makes this conclusion somewhat risky. Age and life experiences may also contribute to these findings.

The findings concerning various psychological factors should be viewed with caution. In particular, since the risk factor scale is an unvalidated exploratory measure that was created to lump potential abuse factors, the reliability and validity of this new scale must be thoroughly analyzed before the findings merit more trust.

The reported gender effects for self-esteem differences among student-athletes are somewhat unexpected. For the data categorized by pain medication use, the reported finding that female student-athletes had lower self-esteem than male student-athletes may be indicative of an overall gender effect (Evans, Weinberg, & Jackson, 1992). Perhaps female student-athletes must deal with the role conflict of femininity, athletic ability, and athletic participation which could reduce self-esteem. But a closer examination of the interaction of gender and laxative use, which had insufficient cell means, may explain this result by the pronounced effect of the scores of several female moderate/heavy users ("outliers") who substantially lowered the self-esteem mean for all females.

The findings indicating that freshman student-athletes (in particular, those in non-contact sports) are at a higher risk for recreational drug use than other student-athletes and non-athletes suggest that drug education in the first year of college may be helpful, but almost too late. Elementary and secondary

schools must instigate innovative, effective drug education programs throughout the formative years if any positive impact on drug incidence is to occur.

CONCLUSION

In summary, freshman student-athletes appear to show very low incidence of drug use, particularly with "hard" and performance-enhancing drugs. As predicted, alcohol (i.e., beer) is the most prevalent drug used, which justifies the alcohol-oriented drug education program implemented in the freshman year. The overall negative attitude toward drug use noted in the survey may indicate that student-athletes are open to changing negative behavior in alcohol and drug use. Initial evaluations of program effectiveness were positive; additional analyses will be undertaken to maintain the maximal impact of the experiential program.

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