

AN EXAMINATION OF HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES'
(HBCU) INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETIC DIRECTORS' UTILIZATION AND
EFFECTIVENESS OF RESOURCES TO FOSTER STUDENT-ATHLETE
ACADEMIC SUCCESS: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

by

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A Case Comparative Study Analysis

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Louis B. Perkins, Sr. and Harriette K. Perkins, my sister, Dr. Kimberley Perkins-Davis, my brother Attorney James A. Perkins and my children Alexia, Peri and Tripp Perkins, all of whom have supported and motivated me along the way. Thank you for believing in me as I have matriculated through this life long journey. Most importantly, I would like to thank my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ – with God by my side there is no situation I cannot deal with.

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An Examination of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) Intercollegiate Athletic Director's Utilization and Effectiveness of Resources to Foster Student-Athlete Academic Success:

A Case Study Analysis

Co-Chairs: Dr. Richard Phillips, Dr. Patricia Carlson

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between athletic directors from Historically Black Colleges and Universities and how they differ in utilization of resources to foster positive academic outcomes within their athletic departments. The primary goal of this study is to make recommendations for Historically Black Colleges and Universities and the National Collegiate Athletic Association leadership facing similar issues with limited resources and poor academic ratings within their athletic departments. This study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the perception of the utilization of resources at Historically Black College and Universities for Athletic Directors?
2. What are the beliefs and attitudes of Historically Black Colleges and University Athletic Directors towards academic success?

This qualitative analysis was conducted applying within-case and cross-case analyses, as well as with the ATLAS.ti 8 software. From this analysis three themes emerged. First, there are acknowledgements of resource disparities. Second, influences of Revenue/Funding were a

major factor. Third, insufficient financial resources are the primary cause for student-athletes to struggle academically.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Introduction to Research Topic

According to Gasman (2009), Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have suffered disproportionately in the current financial crisis. The difficult situations at these institutions have many causes, but they stem in large part from the commitment of HBCUs to serve the disadvantaged students and from the history of underfunding and discrimination that disadvantages HBCUs themselves. Tightening budgets and low enrollments have forced some HBCU leaders to take drastic steps to keep their institutions vibrant or, in some cases, afloat.

Dr. Dennis Thomas, Commissioner of the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference MEAC (one of two Division I HBCU conferences), points out that media reports that highlights the shortfalls attributed to HBCUs, such as low Academic Progress Rates (APR) and graduation rates among athletes, and lack of success on the field, are taken out of context. This former athlete, coach, and tenured professor refer to these problems as the symptoms with the underlying cause as a lack of resources. When the most recent APR results were published, none of the Bowl Championship Series (BCS) schools were in jeopardy; however, a large number of HBCUs were. Could one assume that their athletes are working harder than HBCU athletes or their athletic departments care more about academics? Thomas fervently argues that is not the case. These institutions, he says, have the resources for improved academic facilities with tutors, support staff, advisors, and everything else to help athletes succeed in the classroom (Gaither, 2013).

Brown and Ricard (2007) believe three institutions lay hold to the claim of the nation's first HBCU: Cheyney State, Lincoln, and Wilberforce Universities. Cheyney State University uses 1837 as date its date of inception. However, in 1837, Cheyney was primarily a preparatory school rather than a college, and did not begin offering collegiate level instruction until the early

1900s. Lincoln did not open its doors until 1866. Wilberforce, on the other hand, was incorporated in 1856 and opened its doors in the same year. Additionally, Wilberforce is the oldest African American-controlled HBCU in the nation during a time when many African American institutions (including Lincoln and Cheyney State) had Caucasian presidents, administrators, faculty, and boards of trustees. In the early years, rather than follow the trend of elite institutions that limited access to only a small segment of society, HBCUs opened their doors to anyone who was interested. Indeed, the first schools that opened to educate African Americans during the Civil War were used by people of all races and ages who felt that freedom would not be complete until they learned to read and write.

From their inception, HBCUs have experienced unequal treatment especially in the resource arena. This is particularly apparent in the treatment that public HBCUs face each fiscal year attempting to garner state resources from their legislative coffers compared with other institutions in their states. In the recent economic climate, institutional budget cuts are the norm; however, the impacts upon HBCUs have been hampered when compared with those institutions that can rely on support buffering from alumni, endowment, and athletic revenues (Johnson, 2013).

As reported by Foster (2014), according to USA Today there are only 23 out of 228 athletics departments at NCAA Division I public schools that generate enough money on their own to cover their expenses in 2012. All 23 of the self-sufficient schools are from conferences whose champions automatically qualify for the Bowl Championship Series. The Football Championship Subdivision (FCS) public HBCU doing the “best” without a subsidy is Mississippi Valley State University, with a deficit of \$2.4 million. In last place, Delaware State

University with an egregious \$10.5 million deficit without subsidies. With subsidies, the most profitable team is Morgan State University at almost \$475,000 in the profit column. Florida A&M, as has been reported recently, even with subsidies still manages to run an almost \$1.1 million deficit. The report shows that in order for FCS public HBCUs to be able to operate without a subsidy and still produce the \$177 million in revenue annually, they would need to set up an endowment of \$3 billion, greater than the sum all HBCUs, public and private, have in their endowment coffers combined. If alumni wanted a number that it would take to make HBCUs athletically competitive, this would be it. However, remember this is only for public FCS HBCUs (Foster, 2014).

HBCUs have also seen low graduation rates as a challenge. Many students who attend HBCUs come from low-income families, and a number of them are first generation attendees. These students are at-risk for dropping out, not primarily for the academic reasons, but because many find themselves financially unable to continue. Low resource schools can find themselves unable to provide assistance. As an example, Johnnetta Cole, president emerita of Spelman College in Atlanta and Bennett College in Greensboro, N.C., says that adding the endowments of all 103 HBCUs together would amount to approximately \$2 billion. When compared with the approximately \$35 billion in the Harvard endowment, the differences are stark. Although, HBCUs constitute only 3% of American higher education institutions, they graduate about 24% of all African American college students (Cole, 2007).

According to Charlton (2011), former NCAA President Myles Brand publicly voiced a widespread concern in 2006 that Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) are disproportionately represented in the bottom of the NCAA Division I graduation rates for student-athletes and academic rankings. Four years later, the concern is still valid as the most

recent statistics reveal seven of the ten worst institutions in graduating student-athletes are HBCUs. A review of NCAA Division I member institutions indicates that HBCUs represent less than 7% of the total membership.

Former President Brand and Dennis Thomas, Commissioner of the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference (MEAC), an HBCU conference, argued that the lower graduation rates in HBCUs are primarily due to fewer economic resources to provide academic support for their students. President Brand voiced this explanation again in 2007 with data concerning the NCAA Academic Progress Rates (APR). The 2007 APR data also disproportionately represented HBCUs in the lower ratings. The problem is again attributed to lower financial resources for those institutions (Charlton, 2011). The APR measure is essentially a percentage of athletes who remain in school and in good academic standing, with teams that fail to meet a four-year average of 930 at risk of NCAA sanctions.

Background of the Problem

Historically Black Colleges and Universities have traditionally educated a significant number of the nation's African Americans. However, they continue to face substantial challenges while attempting to enhance their academic and research capabilities. Some of these institutions have numerous problems, such as aging infrastructures, limited access to digital and wireless networking, absence of state-of-the-art equipment, low salary structures, small endowments, and limited funds for faculty development and new academic programs for their students. Similar problems exist in other institutions; however, they appear to be considerably more serious in HBCUs (Matthews, 2011). According to the NCAA's annual Academic Progress Rates, HBCUs aren't getting the job done for their athletes in the classroom, ostensibly the schools' most important battleground. The APR, which measures the eligibility

and retention of student-athletes, is calculated for every team at each Division I school, using data collected over a rolling four-year period. Teams are rewarded for retaining athletes and for having athletes make progress toward degrees that year. Low scores lead to penalties, including bans on postseason play and a reduction in scholarships.

Spanning the academic years from 2006-2007 to 2009-2010, 103 teams at 67 schools were sanctioned for poor academic performance. Of those teams, 33 hail from HBCUs. Of the eight teams that suffered postseason bans, half hail from the historically African American Southwestern Athletic Conference. The numbers are alarming because they are so disproportionate. More than 340 NCAA Division I schools were evaluated for APR, but only 24 are HBCUs which is only 7%.

Resources, or the lack thereof, are cited as the main factor in HBCUs' lagging performances. The powerhouse programs at predominantly Caucasian institutions employ an army of academic advisers and professional tutors to help student-athletes, surrounding them with substantial infrastructure and support systems. And those student-athletes never have to take time to participate in fundraisers, or make long road trips solely to play in big-money "guarantee" games to help balance the athletic department's budget (Synder, 2011).

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between athletic directors from HBCUs and how they differ in utilization of resources to foster positive academic outcomes within their athletic departments. In addition, this study will look at the scope of the NCAA's Academic Progress Rate (APR) and how it negatively impacts the perception of HBCUs athletic departments. The primary goal of this study is to make recommendations for the NCAA and

HBCU leadership facing similar issues with limited resources and poor academic ratings within their athletic departments.

Significance of Study

A public warning or penalty such as losing scholarships was handed out to 19 HBCUs in the most recent posting of APR (Sander, 2009). Administrators and coaches both describe being impacted by APR and the potential to lose scholarships. Receiving negative publicity for penalties is certainly foremost in their thoughts. Along the same lines, several HBCU leaders including the presidents and the athletic directors cite a lack of resources (fiscal, financial, and human) and high administrative turnover at their institutions among the primary reasons for their persistently low APRs (Hosick, 2011).

According to Johnson's (2013) observation, significant gaps existing between the categories of institutions comprising, NCAA member institutions in the resource domain. Institutional mission differences and other factors may also contribute to the disparity. However, a lack of sufficient institutional resources impacts the ability to provide academic and other support services to ensure student athletes' success. There are significant resource challenges at HBCUs and other limited resource institutions. Limited resources may not account for all of the performance gaps observed because of institutional mission differences and other socioeconomic factors. Resource limitations significantly impacts institutional capacity to develop and implement academic success programs.

Charlton (2011) states the impetus for future research regarding the issue of HBCU athlete graduation rates rests on three considerations. First, there is a dearth of study examining the concern. This neglect is surprising, given the national media attention and interest that the matter has attracted from the NCAA. Secondly, the existence of an institution that appears to

have found a solution combined with the data regarding the reality of a positive academic organizational culture suggests an expansion of the line of inquiry to fully comprehend possible associations between culture and academic success. Third, the presence of additional environmental variables recognized in the literature for impacting the socialization experience of undergraduate students suggests a need to further examine the phenomenon from additional perspectives.

Only one additional study (Taylor, 2005) addresses the issue of HBCU athletes and their academic struggles. Perhaps research has been limited because of the NCAA's demonstrative explanation of lack of financial resources (Carey, 2006; Sander, 2009). With other variables, clearly at work and the issue continuing to raise concerns, comprehensive examination of the influences on positive and negative academic performance in HBCU athletic departments is required.

Bowen and Levin, (2003) in their seminal work on the dichotomy between intercollegiate athletics and the educational mission of higher education suggest that the ultimate solution is integrating the athletic culture into the academic one. The desired cultural success, the extent of the problem, and the expansive intricacies and promise of organizational culture justify continued thoughtful inquiry.

Theoretical Framework

The Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory has held a strong influence on how quality HBCU athletic departments have positioned themselves to be successful over the years. This theory and what it represents may very well be what has kept the HBCU athletic programming afloat for the past (50) fifty years. By establishing relationships that appear to be unpretentious and genuine, leaders in the HBCU athletic community have been able to bring out the best in the

student-athletes they represent. For the purpose of this examination, I hypothesize as the relationship strengthens between leader and member, so does the rate of success for the member academically.

Informal observation of leadership behavior suggests that a leader's action is not the same towards all subordinates. The importance of potential differences in this respect is brought into sharp focus by leader-member exchange model, also known as the vertical dyad linkage theory. The theory views leadership as consisting of a number of dyadic relationships linking the leader with a follower. The quality of the relationship is reflected by the degree of mutual trust, loyalty, support, respect, and obligation (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995).

Past research conducted in this area suggests it has been found that leaders definitely do support the members of the in-group and may go to the extent of inflating their ratings on poor performance as well. This kind of treatment is not given to the members of the out-group. Due to the favoritism that the in-group members receive from their leaders, they are found to perform their jobs better and develop positive attitudes towards their jobs in comparison to the members of the out-group. The job satisfaction of in-group members is high and they perform effectively on their jobs. They tend to receive more mentoring from their superiors which helps them in their careers. For these reasons, low attrition rates, increased salaries, and promotion rates are associated with the in-group members in comparison to that of the out-group members (Dulebohn, Bommer, Liden, Brouer, and Ferris, 2012).

Exploration by Dansereau, Graen and & Haga (1975) reveal that The Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory focuses on the amount of interaction between a leader and individual leader. It contends that the outcome of leadership is dependent upon how much of interaction exists between the leader and the members. Since a leader has limited time, discretion and

positional power, they tend to focus their attention on members who would maximize their leadership outcome (Dulebohn et al., 2012).

Leader Member Exchange (LMX) Theory

- LMX theory is an exceptional theory of leadership as unlike the other theories, it concentrates and talks about specific relationships between the leader and each subordinate.
- LMX Theory is a robust explanatory theory.
- LMX Theory focuses our attention to the significance of communication in leadership. Communication is a medium through which leaders and subordinates develop, grow and maintain beneficial exchanges. When this communication is accompanied by features such as mutual trust, respect and devotion, it leads to effective leadership.
- LMX Theory is very much valid and practical in its approach.

Criticisms of Leader Member Exchange (LMX) Theory

- LMX Theory fails to explain the particulars of how high-quality exchanges are created.
- LMX Theory is objected to on grounds of fairness and justice as some followers receive special attention of leaders at workplace and other followers don't (Graen and Uhl-Bien 1995, p.1).

According to Graen and Uhl-Bien (1995), in the Leader Member Exchange Theory, leaders form different kinds of relationships with various groups of subordinates. One group, referred to as the in-group, is favored by the leader. Members of in-group receive considerably more attention from the leader and have more access to the organizational resources. By contrast, other subordinates fall into the out-group. These individuals are disfavored by the leader. As such, they receive fewer valued resources from their leaders.

Research Questions

This paper will seek to answer the following questions:

1. What is the perception of the utilization of resources at Historically Black College and Universities for Athletic Directors?
2. What are the beliefs and attitudes of Historically Black Colleges and University Athletic Directors Athletic Directors towards academic success?

Limitations and Delimitations

- The use of analyzing multiple Historically Black Colleges and University versus just analyzing one institution with the rationale being it may prove to be difficult with the detailed instruments.
- Studying athletic programs have recognized for academic success because it could influence participants to perceive their cultural as greater than their peers.
- The NCAA academic progress rate being recently implemented coupled with the mission of HBCUs there are not a lot of data as they pertain to former generations of academic outcomes for intercollegiate athletics at black colleges.

Definition of Terms

This study will be based on a thorough review of the literature on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) Intercollegiate athletic departments' academic outcomes. Therefore, the following terms are defined to assist with clarification and understanding of the study.

These terms will be used throughout the study:

Academic Progress Rate (APR). Is a measure introduced by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), the nonprofit association that organizes the athletic programs of many colleges and universities in the United States and Canada, to track student-athletes' chances of graduation (NCAA, 2003).

African American. An ethnic group of persons with shared cultural experiences and a social history grounded in both Africa and America, or Americans of African ancestry (Martin, 1991; Smith 1992).

HBCU (Historically Black College or University). Higher Education institutions established prior to 1964 whose principal mission was, and is, of African Americans (Roebuck and Murty, 1993).

Organizational Culture. Numerous scholarly definitions abound, but for the purpose of this study, Edgar Schein's oft used definition will be utilized – a pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and integral integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way you perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems (Schein, 2004).

Socialization. Process by which individuals acquire the attitudes, beliefs, values and skills needed to participate effectively in organized social life (Dunn, Rouse & Seff, 1994).

Summary

According to Brown and Ricard (2007), despite a long history of underfunding and inadequate resources, HBCUs remain major contributors to higher education in the United States. They achieve success despite separate and unequal patterns of funding that persist even today. Additionally, faculty salaries at HBCUs remain lower than their counterparts and expenditures at public HBCUs are lower than those at other public institutions. And, even though there have been increases in enrollments across both public and private HBCUs, they continue to be disproportionately worse off fiscally when compared with institutions that are predominantly White. Nevertheless, HBCUs are an indispensable part of the national higher education landscape. In spite of all of the positive evidence relating to their successes and achievements, negative misconceptions and erroneous information continue to impact their image.

Former NCAA President Myles Brand publically voiced a widespread concern in 2006 that Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) are disproportionately represented in the bottom of the NCAA Division I graduation rates for student-athletes and academic rankings (Carey, 2006). Four years later, the concern is still valid as the most recent statistics reveal seven of the ten worst institutions in graduating student-athletes are HBCUs (“College Athletes’,” 2009). A review of NCAA Division I member institutions indicates that HBCUs represent less than 7% of the total membership.

Former President Brand and Dennis Thomas, commissioner of the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference (MEAC), an HBCU conference, argued that the lower graduation rates in HBCUs are primarily due to fewer economic resources to provide academic support for their students (Carey, 2006). President Brand voiced this explanation again in 2007 with data concerning the NCAA Academic Progress Rates (APR) (Marot, 2007). The 2007 APR data also disproportionately represented HBCUs in the lower ratings (Marot, 2007). The problem is again attributed to lower financial resources for those institutions.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this chapter, the literature review will examine the background of Historically Black Colleges and Universities along with their supportive environment and its' changing landscape. In addition, the research will explore HBCUs achievement, the shifting roles of its leadership and their future. Other areas the literature review will investigate are the experiences of Historically Black Colleges and Universities various intercollegiate athletic conferences, the history of their football bowl games, classics and basketball tournaments. Lastly, in this chapter the African American student-athlete will be reviewed while there will be additional research regarding HBCU's athletic; challenges, academic setting and financial issues.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Brown and Ricard (2007) state, prior to the Civil War the combination of slavery and segregation restricted educational access and opportunity for Black Americans., Institutions such as Oberlin College in Ohio and Bowdoin College in Maine, embraced African American students into their institutions of higher learning. There were many Abolitionists, missionaries, and progressive citizens who worked to resolve this established pattern of discrimination. Some worked quietly in their given areas, while others ventured into territories captured by Union armies during the war. Their aim was to establish churches and schools that would indoctrinate and educate the former slaves and their progeny. This aim was the motivation for the creation of the first cohort of institutions defined as Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Many of these institutions (particularly private African American colleges) emerged from the schools and training institutions founded by the missionaries and funded by liberal philanthropic entities. According to Brown and Ricard (2007), over the years, HBCUs have been mistakenly

perceived as a homogeneous entity that only serves African American students. While HBCUs were created primarily for the education of African Americans, they did not prohibit participation from other groups of people. Rather, these institutions were inclusive to all that sought higher education. In efforts to increase access, HBCUs were some of the first institutions to provide open admissions that welcomed all that applied. Three institutions lay hold to the claim of the nation's first HBCUs: Cheyney State (1837), Lincoln, and Wilberforce Universities. Cheyney State University uses 1837 as its date of inception. However, in 1837, Cheyney was primarily a preparatory school rather than a college, and did not begin offering collegiate level instruction until the early 1900s. Lincoln did not open its doors until 1866. Wilberforce, on the other hand, was incorporated in 1856 and opened its doors in the same year. Additionally, Wilberforce is the oldest African American-controlled HBCU in the nation during a time when many African American institutions (including Lincoln and Cheyney State) had white presidents, administrators, faculty, and boards of trustees.

The aftermath of the Civil War led to a proliferation of African American colleges and universities, with more than 200 being founded prior to 1890. In addition to the philanthropic associations, churches, local communities, missionaries, and private donors, the end of the Civil War brought a new founder and funder of HBCUs: state governments. The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments were landmark legislation to the Constitution that compelled states to provide public education for former slaves and other African Americans. Supplementary public support came with the passage of the Second Morrill Act of 1890. While the first Morrill Act of 1862 provided federal support for state education, particularly in agriculture, education, and military sciences, the second Morrill Act of 1890 mandated that those funds be extended to institutions that enrolled African Americans. Because of the stronghold of segregation in the South, many

states established separate public HBCUs for the sole purpose of having a legal beneficiary for the federal support (Brown and Ricard, 2007). These institutions are often referred to as the 1890 schools. Unintentionally, the Second Morrill Act of 1890 cemented the prevailing doctrine of segregation. Decades later, the amended Higher Education Act of 1965 defined Historically Black Colleges and Universities as any accredited institution of higher education founded prior to 1964 whose primary mission was, and continues to be, the education of African Americans.

Brown and Ricard (2007) state, as with other American postsecondary institutions, HBCUs vary in size, curriculum specializations, and other characteristics. One commonality across HBCUs is their historic responsibility as the primary providers of postsecondary education for African Americans in a social environment of racial discrimination. The design of HBCUs differed from most of the colleges and universities that came before them in two respects: they promoted universal access and provided a curriculum designed to meet the needs of both the institution and the community. Although it is often characterized as a weakness, HBCUs have a unique tradition of providing their students with a culturally, socially, economically, and politically relevant education. This history also shows that a well-structured institution can serve the needs of both exceptional and traditional students by providing intellectual and pragmatic programs.

Since their inception, HBCUs have been committed to the preservation of African American history, racial pride, ethnic traditions, and Black consciousness. Many African American students are drawn to these institutions because they desire a learning environment in which their identity is both appreciated and celebrated. HBCUs have historically created pools of qualified individuals who traditionally have been underutilized in academia and corporate America. While it is true that HBCUs are of great value, they have not convinced some in

society of their importance. It is ironic that HBCUs have been ignored when the discussion of diversity surfaces. The diversity of the student bodies at these institutions continues to grow. According to the last federal report on HBCUs, Caucasian students account for 16.5 percent of the HBCU enrollment nationally. Not only do HBCUs embrace people from different racial backgrounds, they also reach out to those students who have been convinced that they are not college material because of their low academic performance (Brown and Ricard, 2007).

Sims (1994) states, despite a long history of underfunding and inadequate resources, HBCUs remain major contributors to higher education in the United States. They achieve success despite separate and unequal patterns of funding that persist even today. Additionally, faculty salaries at HBCUs remain lower than their counterparts and expenditures at public HBCUs are lower than those at other public institutions. And, even though there have been increases in enrollments across both public and private HBCUs, they continue to be disproportionately worse off fiscally when compared with institutions that are predominantly White. Nevertheless, HBCUs are an indispensable part of the national higher education landscape. In spite of all of the positive evidence relating to their successes and achievements, negative misconceptions and erroneous information continue to impact their image (Sims, 1994).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have traditionally educated a significant number of the nation's African Americans. However, they continue to face substantial challenges while attempting to enhance their academic and research capabilities. Some of these institutions have numerous problems, such as aging infrastructures, limited access to digital and wireless networking technology, absence of state-of-the-art equipment, low salary structures, small endowments, and limited funds for faculty development and new academic programs for

their students. Similar problems exist in other institutions; however, they appear to be considerably more serious in HBCUs (Matthews, 2011).

HBCUs, on average, have a 30% graduation rate (NCES, 2011), a statistic for which they are often criticized. When considering graduation rates, it is important to keep in mind that the majority, but certainly not all, of HBCU students are low-income, first generation, and Pell-Grant-eligible (Mercer & Stedman, 2008). Students with these characteristics are less likely to graduate no matter where they attend college (Mercer & Stedman, 2008).

Supportive Environment. The supportive environment is theorized to form the foundation of HBCUs' contributions to African American student success. This environment moderates all other components and processes in the model. As supportive environment increases or decreases, the effectiveness of the entire model does the same. The seminal statement on the HBCU supportive environment is found in Fleming's (1984) influential comparative study. She deemed an environment supportive when (a) students have many opportunities for friendship with peers, faculty, staff, and counselors beyond the classroom; (b) students are free to engage in extracurricular campus life, including satisfying positive power motives and holding leadership positions; and (c) students feel a climate of academic development so that "an individual can achieve feelings of progress" (Fleming 1984, p. 19). Significantly, the African American HBCU students in her study felt more supported on these measures than the black students at HWIs. Although Fleming's study is now dated, researchers have continued to find a positive environment for black students at HBCUs (Allen, Walter, Epps, and Haniff, 1991). This research has found greater levels of campus interpersonal relationships and social networking than their black HWI peers (Davis 1991), wellness (Spurgeon and Myers 2010), and sense of family and brotherhood (Jett 2013).

Some research does complicate the notion of the HBCU supportive environment. The most salient comes from interviews with African American males (Kimbrough and Harper 2006) and black LGBT students (Ford 2007; Patton 2011; Patton and Simmons 2008), who expressed times they felt little to no institutional support. However, in these studies, many of the same students who expressed a lack of institutional support in some areas still maintained that their HBCU was supportive overall. One reason given for this phenomenon was the environment, which boasts individuals with similar racial and ethnic backgrounds as well as similar cultural backgrounds. These similarities bring about feelings of safety and comfort, and this is particularly the case for same- race peers who can provide strength and encouragement in special ways even in cases where faculty or administrators let them down.

In the context of a generally supportive environment, those HBCUs welcome a diverse applicant population, including students from a range of experiences and backgrounds, through relatively accessible tuition and admissions policies. Some hopeful applicants are highly talented and affluent and could succeed anywhere, whereas others are decidedly under- prepared, are from disadvantaged backgrounds, and have few other opportunities if any. Because of this feature, HBCUs contribute in the aggregate to equitable access to higher education. Moreover, they provide an example for educating a variety of students alongside each other (Gasman and Arroyo, 2014).

From an economic standpoint, Clark (2009) called HBCUs “best bargains” because they educate students at lower than average cost. For example, private HBCUs’ tuitions average \$6,600 less than similar non-HBCUs. Affordable tuition is important since 70% of HBCU students are considered low income and qualify for Pell Grants under federal measures (Quinton 2014), and over 85% of all public HBCU students qualify for some form of financial aid (Ashley

et al. 2009). Many are first-generation college students and attend school only part-time because of other responsibilities (Ashley et al. 2009; Gasman and McMickens 2010). Affordability is a vital service.

On the academic side, the notable distinction of HBCUs has been their flexibility in admissions relative to other institutions. Kannerstein (1978) encapsulated this commitment adeptly with his famous explanation that the concern of HBCUs “is not with who gets in but what happens to them afterward” (p. 37). While academic entrance requirements have tightened at many HBCUs over the years, they generally retain comparatively open accessibility (Kim 2002).

Changing Landscape.

As the country moves closer to becoming a minority-majority population, several opportunities exist for HBCUs, from increased enrollments, funding, and overall attention. However, the appropriate strategic leaders and vision must be in place to take advantage of any opportunities that arise for these schools. Brian Bridges, Executive Director, UNCF’s Frederick D. Patterson Research Institute (2013, p.3)

Gasman (2013) believes, a full quarter of HBCUs across the nation have at least a 20% non-African American student body. Some people worry that the changing composition of HBCUs endangers the very aspect of these institutions that makes them unique; others argue that diversity makes these institutions stronger, by fostering mutual respect and an appreciation for African American culture among a broader population. Below are some historical trends across racial and ethnic categories:

AFRICAN AMERICANS: In 1950, African Americans made up nearly 100% of HBCU enrollment. In 1980, they represented 80% of total enrollment (Gasman, 2007; NCES, 1980).

LATINOS: In the past 30 years, the proportion of Latino enrollment at HBCUs has increased, especially in regions of the country where the Latino population is growing rapidly (Ozuna, 2012).

ASIAN AMERICANS: In 2011, total Asian American enrollment at HBCUs was 4,311, a 60% increase from 2001 (NCES, 2011).

CAUCASIAN: The Caucasian enrollment at HBCUs has hovered between 10-13% in the past 20 years (NCES, 2011).

Female undergraduate students outnumber male undergrads at HBCUs at a slightly higher (3%) rate than the national average (NCES, 2011). A more significant gap appears when considering African American undergraduate male enrollment compared to Black females at certain HBCUs.

HBCUs play a crucial role in educating their students to succeed in an increasingly globalized world. Two ways that institutions can achieve this goal are by offering study abroad programs and more foreign language majors and minors. Study abroad diversities student learning, broadens perspectives, and deepens cultural understanding (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut, & Klute, 2012). Currently, 58% of HBCUs offer students the opportunity to study abroad—in locations spanning every region of the globe. Unfortunately, students are not taking equal advantage of these programs: lower income students and African American students study abroad at significantly lower rates nationally than Caucasian students and students from upper middle-class families. This is a particularly disturbing statistic; given that participation in study abroad programs are associated with higher graduation rates for African Americans (Institute of International Education, 2010).

How can HBCUs improve access to study abroad opportunities for their low-income students? One simple answer is by underscoring and promoting the benefits of study abroad. A more complex response involves financing, including helping students and parents identify new funding options to support study abroad (Gasman, 2013).

Spanish and French are the top three foreign languages offered at HBCUs are Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic, all languages that are critical to international commerce. But merely offering a smattering of language courses isn't enough. To enable their graduates to pursue employment in a labor market that demands global competency, HBCUs must enhance their language programs by offering a greater variety of foreign language majors and minors (Gasman, 2013).

In the past, HBCUs have been slow to respond to the needs of lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Trans- gender (LGBT) communities. In fact, some HBCUs are known for having unsupportive climates for students identifying as LGBT (Harper & Gasman, 2008). But HBCUs' attitudes toward their LGBT populations are changing rapidly, as highlighted by these examples:

- **Howard University** has had a non-campus support organization for gay and lesbian students since 1980.
- **Spelman College** has been an exemplar among HBCUs, sponsoring a national conference in 2011 on HBCUs and LGBT issues.
- **Bowie State University** open edits lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and allies Resource Center in 2012.
- **Morehouse College** is offering its first LGBT course in 2013. The course focuses on Black gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender history and will be taught by a Yale faculty member via Skype.

Overall there are 21 HBCUs which host LGBT student organizations.

Achievement and Leadership. During this section, evidence will support the notion that HBCUs contribute distinctively to access to college, while previous sections presented on the mobility of HBCU students after graduation.

The topic for this section is the contribution of these schools to scholastic or academic achievement during college. Existing research suggests that HBCUs offer competitive learning opportunities. Some HBCUs have their own unique programs that could serve as replicable models (e.g., Brown, 2008), and others have formed creative partnerships with majority schools to advance their students' education (Hammond and Davis 2005, Oder 2009, Stewart 2011; Virginia Consortium 2011; Walker et al., 2007). Many are vital pipelines for the production of new African American K–12 teachers, especially teachers who can have an impact on high-need schools (Irvine and Fenwick, 2011). Students attending HBCUs can secure academic opportunities on par with many institutions.

Research also suggests that African Americans attending HBCUs do at least as well academically as their PWI peers. Some studies have found that African American students evidence the same level of academic achievement whether they attend an HBCU or PWI (Bohr et al., 1995; Cokley, 2002; Kim, 2002; Kim and Conrad, 2006; Perna, 2001; Wenglinsky, 1996). This finding of no difference by institutional type is significant given the reduced resources of HBCUs combined with their greater average number of underprepared students (Kim, 2002; Kim and Conrad, 2006). Still other findings indicate that HBCUs actually produce higher levels of academic achievement among black students versus their PWI peers (Cokley, 2000; Flowers, 2002; Flowers and Pascarella, 1999). Most importantly, no study has found a negative achievement effect of attending an HBCU.

A deeper question as to how HBCUs are able to contribute uniquely to achievement. Some researchers (e.g., Gallien and Peterson 2005) contend that HBCUs are different in the teaching process itself, by incorporating traditional interventions for learning along with culturally relevant pedagogy (e.g., Boykin, 1983; Watkins, 2005).

Although modern HBCUs account for approximately 3% of American postsecondary schools, they have produced a disproportionately high percentage of the black workforce show what they do. The United Negro College Fund (2008) reports that 70% of black dentists and physicians, 50% of black engineers, 50% of black public school teachers, and 35% of black attorneys graduated from an HBCU. They are also pipelines for advanced educational attainment. Burrelli and Rapoport (2008) reports, that the top eight baccalaureate-granting institutions for blacks who go on to earn a terminal degree in science or engineering are HBCUs.

According to Gasman (2009), Dr. James T. Minor (Senior Strategist for Academic Success, California State University, Chancellor's Office), writing in the *Journal of Negro Education*, has argued that "criticisms endured by HBCUs and their leaders" for autocratic governance "have been made in the absence of contextual understanding that may shed a different light on the appropriateness of governance structures and decision-making practices used in these institutions" (Gasman 2009, p.1). In an article in the May–June 2005 issue of *Academe*, Minor noted, HBCU faculty and administrators he interviewed claimed that "the climate in which these institutions operate justifies many of their distinct practices" (Gasman 2009, p.1), with some respondents going as far as to say that strong presidential leadership has been partially responsible for the very survival of HBCUs. From my research, I know that HBCUs, like historically Caucasian institutions, have many kinds of leaders.

A lack of respect for tenure and shared governance by one HBCU administration harms the reputation of these institutions as a group. The actions of one or two HBCUs are often generalized to the entire lot. To counter negative perceptions, as well as to be fair and just in their actions, presidents and administrators of HBCUs should think about ways to involve faculty in institutional decision making instead of seeing them as adversaries in the educational process. A happy, involved faculty makes for a strong, vibrant campus community. One of the beauties of the academy is that its ideals differ from those of corporate America. Yes, financial stability is essential. However, colleges and universities do not have as their goal making a profit; instead, their mission is to educate young people and generate ideas. These goals can and should be reached in the most humane ways (Gasman, 2009).

According Hayes (2013), the pride and traditions of HBCUs is a source of its strength and legacy, but navigating the gauntlet of closely held traditions while fulfilling the requirement to bring new life and resources to the university can be a daunting task for presidents. Some describe it as a juggling act of trying to please too many masters, including boards of trustees who, at some institutions, have significant influence and demand compliance. Some presidents have operated independently of boards until problems occur.

At one time, HBCU presidents served for lengthy tenures and not only were held in high regard but also wielded more power and influence. Today, with HBCUs closing and talks of mergers, disproportionate budget cuts, anemic enrollment figures, a financial aid crisis, inequitable federal research appropriations and the mere fact that gifted African-American students have many university options — the expectations of the HBCU president are changing (Hayes, 2009). The new requirement for today's HBCU president includes a personality and gift for raising money for the university while maintaining the traditional connection to faculty and

students. A president is required to keep his/her finger on the pulse of the university's lifeline of recruitment, retention and graduation rates, as well as changing technology, including online education.

Future. Therefore, we wish to be direct: we do not believe HBCUs are homogeneous or perfect; we know significant differences separate them; and some HBCUs have considerable deficiencies (Gasman and Arroyo, 2014). Examples of difference include funding levels (Palmer et al. 2011), student profiles (Coaxum, 2001; Palmer et al., 2011), and degree of emphasis on serving black students and on Afrocentric curricula (Cole, 2006), not to mention variations in rankings. In addition to those differences, research indicates that HBCUs are imperfect, as are all colleges and universities. Some have difficulty communicating clear vision (Abelman and Dalessandro, 2009; Guy-Sheftall, 2006) or gaining positive media coverage for their accomplishments (Gasman and Bowman, 2011), questionable and/or misunderstood leadership and governance (Gasman, 2011; Gasman et al., 2007; Minor, 2004, 2008), unstable financial solvency compared to majority schools due in part to their historical legacy of marginalization and the predominant socioeconomic demographics of their students (Coupet and Barnum, 2010; June 2003), and a continued need to improve the experiences of African American undergraduate men (Kimbrough and Harper, 2006) as well as lesbian, gay, bi- sexual, and transgender students (LGBT) (Ford, 2007; Patton, 2011; Patton and Simmons, 2008). To pretend they are homogeneous or perfect would be to disregard reality, and it goes against the objective of our theory.

It is also worth noting that in the present day, many scholars, leaders, and critics are debating HBCUs' future as "historically black" given their growing diversity. Currently 13% of HBCU students are white, 3% are Latino, and 1% is Asian American (Gasman, 2013). Given the

changing demographic of the nation, with large growth among Latinos and Asian Americans, it is more than likely that HBCUs, like other colleges and universities, will change significantly over the coming decades. These demographic changes are unsettling to some HBCU constituents, namely, older alumni and welcomed by others first and foremost, administrators concerned about dipping enrollments of black students (Gasman, 2013).

With these clarifications made, it is a mistake to disregard HBCUs as relics or wholly ineffective. We contend that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the creation of a theoretical framework that is grounded in and supported by empirically substantiated contributions we know these schools have made or are making toward black college student success that is, a theory that is HBCU based. The literature documents several positive similarities many HBCUs share that contribute a foundation of the theory. These include a common historical journey of struggle and victory (Allen and Jewell, 2002; Brown and Davis, 2001), a general mission of racial uplift (Gasman and Bowman, 2011; Hirt, Strayhorn, Catherine, and Bennett, 2006), the provision of social capital to traditionally marginalized persons (Gasman and Jennings, 2006), and an uncommon student experience that is particularly meaningful to blacks (Jett, 2013; Outcalt and Skewes-Cox, 2002; Thompson 2008). Ample research suggests that HBCUs as a group contribute to the success of black students in special ways (Gasman et al., 2010), and scholars even routinely champion them as exemplars that all institutions should follow for educating that population, including historically white institutions (HWIs) (Kim ,2011; Walker, 2011), community colleges (Hughes, 2012), and even HBCUs themselves (Walker, 2011). The presence of heterogeneity may complicate these research-based conclusions, but it does not constitute grounds to exclude their worth when discussing the theoretical and practical work they do. To

the contrary, enough evidence of a distinct HBCU approach to educating black students exists that it is surprising that no theoretical framework has emerged in the literature until now.

They are facing increasing pressure to reinvent themselves to stay alive and relevant as more and more African American students choose to attend majority institutions and private, for profit colleges. Higher education administrators are getting strong signals from traditional funding sources from state treasuries to wealthy benefactors that the recent steady reduction in their support of most public HBCUs and many private ones is likely to continue for some time. Meanwhile, HBCUs are encountering heightened pressure to recruit and retain more academically qualified students as possible vehicles for improving their graduation rates. The impetus is not just the historically low graduation rates at HBCUs, but in recent years, the appearance of impressive results at online colleges serving as an example (Stuart, 2012).

Stuart (2012) indicates, schools are also engaging in sweeping self-studies, resulting in massive overhaul agendas. For example, many traditional academic programs are being replaced by a near stampede to focus on science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) programs, in hopes that they will draw more money to the school. Institutions are dropping decade old practices that gave administrators more latitude in admitting promising students who could not meet standard admissions requirements and those who may have been short of funds at the start of the school year but who enrolled with a promise to pay when sufficient funds were in hand. During these difficult times, it is essential that HBCU leaders make smart decisions. Their institutions need to circle the wagons, bringing together all constituents to contribute to the greater good. Loyal alumni, foundation and corporate donors, and state representatives need to be aware of the difficult issues at hand so they can come to the aid of HBCUs. To enable HBCUs to remain competitive with their historically white counterparts, administrators need to allocate

funding to support faculty salaries, faculty tenure, and student scholarships whenever possible. HBCUs need to avoid “mission creep” and focus on what they do best: providing a solid education that empowers future leadership. In order to provide this education, HBCUs need to respect and take care of their faculty members, engaging them in shared governance and appreciating their intellectual contributions and commitment to the institution. HBCUs are too important to the future of African Americans and the country as a whole for these institutions to lose sight of their goals (Gasman, 2009).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities – Athletics

According to Wiggins (2000), today in the United States (U.S.), African American college athletes participate in nearly every intercollegiate sport and constitute a majority of participants in the two most popular and highest profit-generating sports of football and men’s basketball.

Prior to the mid-twentieth century, African American student enrollment and athletic participation at PWIs was nearly non-existent (Fleming, 1984; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). In response to this widespread exclusion, HBCUs were established to provide African Americans with educational opportunities to acquire and to develop skills for survival and upward mobility (Allen & Jewel, 2002; Fleming, 1984; Gallien & Peterson, 2005; Henderson & Kritsonis, 2007; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Coupled with offering quality educational opportunities, many HBCUs also sponsored athletic programs to cultivate the holistic development of its students as well as to provide entertainment and economic uplift for the predominantly African American communities where these schools were located (Miller, 1995; Wiggins, 2000; Wiggins & Miller, 2003). Similar to all intercollegiate athletic programs during late nineteenth and early twentieth century, these programs were highly informal and unstructured (Wiggins, 2000). For example,

with no formal oversight, participants in these contests included traditional college students, talented athletes who were non-students, and even professional athletes (Miller, 1995). The lack of formalization and governance resulted in numerous issues including widespread injuries and imbalanced athletic competitions.

As a result, schools transitioned these programs from being informal student-led activities to highly organized and institutionally controlled operations (Borican, 1963; Hunt, 1996; Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013). Along with this evolution came the establishment of HBCU athletic conferences. In 1906, a group of HBCU leaders led by Edwin B. (E.B.) Henderson, also known as the Father of Black Basketball, congregated in Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.) to exchange ideas about how to better structure their athletic programs (Borican, 1963; Henderson, 1939). The result of this meeting was the creation of the first African athletic conference, the Inter-Scholastic Athletic Association of the Middle Atlantic State (ISSA) (Borican, 1963). It is important to note the ISSA was formed during the same year (1906) the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) was founded by a group of leaders from Ivy League PWIs (Byers, 1995). During that period, the NCAA not only excluded Black athletes, but also HBCUs from participation (Wiggins, 2000). Despite operating with significantly fewer resources (E.g. financial, human, and physical), HBCU athletic programs banded together to ensure both academic and athletic opportunities were provided to aspiring Black students and athletes since these opportunities were non-existent at PWIs as well as within the NCAA at that time.

Prior to assimilation in the 1960s, a majority of African American athletes emerged from HBCUs (Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013; Hunt, 1996; Klores, 2008; Wiggins, 2000). These culturally empowering institutions provided African American athletes with not only a place to acquire a meaningful education, but also a space to develop their athletic talents. The talent-laden

athletic teams at HBCUs were arguably better than their counterparts at PWIs (Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013; Klores, 2008). Legendary teams such the dominant Tuskegee football teams of the 1920s who won 46 consecutive games, the undefeated Morgan State men's basketball teams of the 1930s, and the famous Tennessee State Tiger Belles women's track and field teams of the late 1950s and early 1960s reflected the wealth of African American athletic talent at HBCUs (Wiggins & Miller, 2003). Another historic example of African American athletic dominance at HBCUs occurred on March 12, 1944. In a secret game, the unheralded North Carolina College for Negroes (now known as North Carolina Central University) basketball team led by legendary Coach John B. McLendon, also known as the Father of the Fast Break Offense (Basketball strategy utilized to score quickly), defeated the all-White Duke University medical school basketball team 88 to 44. This victory was symbolic of the potential for African American excellence when granted an opportunity to compete on a leveled playing field (Klores, 2008; Wiggins & Miller, 2003).

During these formative years, football was the most popular sport and generated widespread attention towards the abundance of talent at HBCUs (Borican, 1963; Chalk, 1976; Wiggins, 1991, 2000; Wiggins & Miller, 2003). For example, on November 29, 1894, six thousand fans watched Lincoln University (PA) defeat Howard University (6-5) in the first annual Thanksgiving Day classic in Nashville, Tennessee (Chalk, 1976). Every year since, thousands of spectators (e.g., students, faculty, alumni, fans, community members, etc.) attend these HBCU athletic contests to show support for their respective institutions and to celebrate racial and cultural pride (Armstrong, 2001; Lillig, 2009; Moore, 2012). Local support from African American media also historically played and continues to play a critical role in increasing awareness and enhancing the popularity of these HBCU athletic programs (Borican,

1963; Chalk, 1976; Hunt, 1996). Given the fact that a majority of the mainstream media outlets were Caucasian- controlled, Black media outlets provided HBCUs with local, regional, and national media coverage, which directly correlated with the increased popularity of the legendary coaches, exceptional athletes, and famous HBCU rivalries and classic events (Borican, 1963; Cooper et al., 2014; Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013; Hunt, 1996; Klores, 2008; Wiggins, 2000). The early success of these HBCU athletic programs underscored the power of collectivism in the face of systemic racism in the U.S. namely within the NCAA (Chalk, 1976; Cooper et al., 2014; Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013; Hunt, 1996; Wiggins, 2000). Cooper et al. (2014) state, despite the rich history of athletic success at HBCUs, the assimilation efforts that followed the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s provided progress for the U.S. society in a multitude of ways, but also had a significantly negative impact on HBCUs as a whole and their athletic programs more specifically.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities Athletic Conferences. Prior to the mid-twentieth century, Black student enrollment and athletic participation at PWIs was nearly non-existent (Fleming, 1984; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). In response to this widespread exclusion, HBCUs were established to provide African Americans with educational opportunities to acquire and to develop skills for survival and upward mobility (Allen & Jewel, 2002; Fleming, 1984; Gallien & Peterson, 2005; Henderson & Kritsonis, 2007; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Coupled with offering quality educational opportunities, many HBCUs also sponsored athletic programs to cultivate the holistic development of its students as well as to provide entertainment and economic uplift for the predominantly African American communities where these schools were located (Miller, 1995; Wiggins, 2000; Wiggins & Miller, 2003). Similar to all intercollegiate athletic programs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, these programs were

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In an effort to improve athletic structure, schools transitioned these programs from being informal student-led activities to highly organized and institutionally controlled operations (Borican, 1963; Hunt, 1996; Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013). Along with this evolution came the establishment of HBCU athletic conferences. In 1906, a group of HBCU leaders led by Edwin B. (E.B.) Henderson, also known as the Father of Black Basketball, congregated in Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.) to exchange ideas about how to better structure their athletic programs (Borican, 1963; Henderson, 1939). The result of this meeting was the creation of the first African American athletic conference, the Inter-Scholastic Athletic Association of the Middle Atlantic State (ISSA) (Borican, 1963). It is important to note the ISSA was formed during the same year (1906) the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) was founded by a group of leaders from Ivy League PWIs (Byers, 1995). During that period, the NCAA not only excluded Black athletes, but also HBCUs from participation (Wiggins, 2000). Despite operating with significantly fewer resources (e.g. financial, human, and physical), HBCU athletic programs banded together to ensure both academic and athletic opportunities were provided to aspiring African American students and athletes since these opportunities were non-existent at PWIs as well as within the NCAA at that time.

Furthermore, the fact that the ISSA and subsequent HBCU athletic conferences were operated by African American leaders from HBCUs meant the interests and values of Blacks

were going to be recognized and upheld. In other words, the concurrent exclusion of HBCUs and African American athletes from the NCAA and its member institutions and the formation of the ISSA and subsequent HBCU athletic conferences symbolized the unique role HBCUs served as sites of resistance against the prevailing Caucasian dominant culture in the U.S. (Cooper, Cavin, & Cheeks, 2014; Wiggins, 2000).

Moreover, following the establishment of the ISSA, several HBCU athletic conferences emerged throughout the U.S. such as the Georgia-Carolina Athletic Association in 1910, Colored (now Central) Intercollegiate Athletic Association (CIAA) in 1912, Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association (SIAA) in 1913, Southwestern Athletic Association (SWAA) in 1920, South Central Athletic Association (SCAA) in 1923, Middle Atlantic Athletic Association (MAAA) in 1931, and Midwestern Athletic Association (MWAA) in 1932 (Chalk, 1976;Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013). The founding fathers of these conferences were Charles H. Williams of Hampton (CIAA), E. M. Walker of Haven Teachers College (MS) (SCAA), J. C. Williams of Cheyney (Pennsylvania (PA)) Teachers College (MAAA), R. B. Atwood of Kentucky State College (MWAA), W. B. Metcalf of Talladega College (Alabama (AL) (SIAA), E.C. Silsby of Talladega College (AL) (SIAA), B.T. Harvey of Morehouse (SIAA), D. C. Fowler of Texas College (SWAA). Football, basketball, track and field, baseball, volleyball, and tennis were among the major team sports sponsored by these conferences (Hunt, 1996; Wiggins, 1991, 2000; Wiggins & Miller, 2003).

In 1912, nine college administrators gathered on the campus of Hampton Institute to discuss collegiate athletics at Black institutions of higher learning. The result of this meeting was the formation of the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association, the first athletic conference designated for African American collegiate sports.

At the time, the formation of an athletic league composed specifically of institutions designed for African Americans made sense, if only as an extension of the logic that formed HBCUs in the first place. African Americans were shunned from all of mainstream American life in the early part of the 20th century. And in the South, where the majority of African American colleges and universities were located, the African American community may as well have been on another planet.

Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association (CIAA) is the oldest of all African American intercollegiate conferences. The CIAA was founded in 1912 as the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association (theciaa.com). The founding members were: Howard University; Hampton Institute (now Hampton University); Lincoln University; Shaw University; and Virginia Union University. Former members of the conference include: Delaware State University (now in the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference - MEAC); Hampton University (MEAC); Howard University (MEAC); Morgan State University (MEAC); Norfolk State University (MEAC); North Carolina Central University (MEAC); and North Carolina A&T University (MEAC). Current membership of the CIAA includes: Bowie State University; Chowan University; Elizabeth City State University; Fayetteville State University; Johnson C. Smith University (formerly Biddle College); Lincoln University; Livingstone College; St. Augustine's College; Shaw University; Virginia State University; Virginia Union University; and Winston-Salem State University (theciaa.com).

According to MEACsports.com, the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference was founded in 1969 by seven (7) historically black colleges and universities. Many of the schools were actually part of the CIAA. The MEAC was a Division II conference until 1980 when the NCAA classified them as a Division I program (meacsports.com). The MEAC would go through years

of expansion and contraction over its existence; due to colleges and universities entering and leaving the conference. The current number of schools is 13 with only 11 participating in football. Coppin State University in Baltimore, Maryland and University of Maryland Eastern Shore (UMES), in Salisbury, Maryland are the two universities without football teams. It should be noted that UMES is the alma mater of the first black head coach in the National Football League (NFL) and NFL Hall of Famer Art Shell (meacsports.com).

The MEAC has 15 Division I sanctioned sports, including football, where it has 12 former players that have been elected to the NFL Hall of fame. Current MEAC Football institutions; Bethune-Cookman University, Delaware State University, Florida A&M University, Hampton University, Howard University, Morgan State University, Norfolk State University, North Carolina A&T State University, North Carolina Central University, Savannah State University and South Carolina State University. (meacsports.com)

The Southwestern Athletic Conference (SWAC) was founded in 1920 in Houston, Texas. The founders were from: Bishop College; Paul Quinn College; Prairie View A&M University; Texas College; and Wiley College (swac.org). Out of the original seven (7) colleges and universities only one remains, Prairie View A&M University. The other teams currently in the SWAC include Alabama A&M University; Alabama State University; Alcorn State University; Grambling State University; Jackson State University; Mississippi Valley State University; Southern University; Texas Southern University; and University of Arkansas Pine Bluff (swac.org).

The SWAC joins the MEAC as the only two black intercollegiate conferences playing Division I sports (swac.org). The SWAC has nine (9) players that have been elected to the NFL hall of fame.

The Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (SIAC) was founded in 1913 in Atlanta, Georgia (thesiac.org). The founding members of the SIAC were: Alabama State University (SWAC); Atlanta University; Clark College; Fisk University; Jackson College; Morehouse College; Morris Brown College; Talladega College and Tuskegee Institute (thesiac.org). Four schools that are current members of the MEAC were once part of the SIAC (Bethune-Cookman University, Florida A&M University, South Carolina State University, and Savannah State University). Two schools that are currently in the SWAC were at one-point part of the SIAC (Jackson State University and Alabama A&M University).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities Football Bowls, Classics, and Basketball Tournaments. Similar to other forms of African American cultural expression (e.g., the popularity of jazz during the early twentieth century), HBCU athletic events are culturally liberating activities for African Americans in a predominantly Caucasian Anglo-Saxon U.S. society that largely excluded them from mainstream opportunities (Hodge, Harrison, Burden, & Dixon, 2008; Wiggins & Miller, 2003). This liberation of HBCUs is reflected in the fact that Blacks own, manage, and support these institutions and athletic-social events. Moreover, African Americans fill nearly every leadership position at HBCUs, including the roles of university/college presidents, faculty, administrators, athletic directors, coaches, athletes, and community business owners (Armstrong, 2001, 2008; Klores, 2008). The critical mass of African Americans solidarity symbolizes the promise African Americans in the U.S. possess when committed to a common cause of collective racial uplift (Archer & Watson, 2005; Klores, 2008; Lillig, 2009; Wiggins & Miller, 2003). As such, cornerstone HBCU athletic events that illustrate African American cultural empowerment are the HBCU bowls, classics, and basketball tournaments.

Since the late nineteenth century, African American football games have been an integral part of the traditions of HBCUs. The first HBCU intercollegiate football game was held between Biddle College (now Johnson C. Smith University) and Livingstone College on December 27, 1892 (Chalk, 1976). Biddle College won 4-0. This inaugural game represented the birth of HBCU football. HBCU postseason bowls were games that were not on the teams' original schedules and these games were played on an irregular basis prior to World War II except for two notable exceptions (Saylor, 2000). The Prairie View Bowl, created by administrators at Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical (A&M) University, served as the second oldest bowl game in the U.S. behind the Rose Bowl (Fink, 2003). The Prairie View Bowl was first established in 1928 and lasted until 1962 (Saylor, 2000). A unique feature of the annual bowl was the fact that the bowl was scheduled each year on New Year's Day to coincide with the State Fair in Dallas, Texas and this day became known as "Negro Day." This intentional scheduling of this major athletic contest on this special day of the year and the affectionate title of "Negro Day" reflected the unique role HBCU football in terms of cultivating racial pride among African Americans (Chalk, 1976; Fink, 2003).

Beginning in 1933, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU) served as the host team in the annual Orange Blossom Bowl (Saylor, 2000; Fink, 2003). Opponents were selected from the four major HBCU conferences based on their team records. Both Prairie View A&M and FAMU had long runs of excellent teams during the early and mid-twentieth century (Saylor, 2000; Fink, 2003). Another short lived bowl was the Chocolate Bowl played in Tyler, Texas in 1935 between SWAC member, Texas College, and SIAC member, Alabama State University (Fink, 2003). Like many of the bowl games between HBCUs, the Chocolate Bowl served as a national championship for HBCUs since they were not allowed to participate in post-

season bowls against PWIs. As one thousand fans sat through the wind and freezing rain, Texas College led by head coach Arnett “Ace” Mumford defeated Alabama State University in a nine to zero victory for the championship (Fink, 2003).

In 1936, the HBCU football season was unique because of the recent success of Jessie Owens winning four gold medals and other African American athletes’ performances at the Olympics in Berlin, Germany (Fink, 2003). These performances generated a great sense of racial pride among African Americans who were still struggling to overcome the visceral effects of the Jim Crow era. This year was especially a season of pride for African American Texans.

In 1936, the Texas College Steers won their third consecutive SWAC football championship. In the same year, Prairie View A&M’s football team emerged victorious in both the Orange Blossom Bowl where they defeated FAMU six to zero and their own Prairie View Bowl where they defeated Tuskegee by the same score (Fink, 2003). After War World II, several new HBCU bowl games were established with a format of two invited teams with winning records, but most were short-lived such as the Vulcan Bowl played in Birmingham, Alabama (1940-1948) (Saylor, 2000). The success of these earlier bowl games led to the creation of modern HBCU classics.

In 1924, the first official HBCU classic between Alabama State College (now University) and Tuskegee Institute (now University) in the Turkey Day Classic in Montgomery, Alabama. HBCU classic games are unique from typical regular season games because these games include the coordination of special cultural events surrounding the game. The coordinated culturally empowering events include step shows, beauty pageants, parades, battle of the band performances, music concerts, golf tournaments, professional development workshops, health awareness events, community service outreach, and tailgating (Moore, 2012). As of 2011, there

were over 50 official HBCU classics held throughout the U.S. (Ubuntu, 2011). Similar to Division I Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) or BCS bowl games, HBCU classics provide significant revenues and serve as effective recruitment opportunities for participating institutions (Lillig, 2009). For example, one of the most popular and lucrative HBCU classics is the Bayou Classic in New Orleans, Louisiana (Armstrong, 2001). This annual event features a football game between Grambling State University (GSU) and Southern University (SU). It has been estimated the average 64,000 plus attendance at the collective events associated with the Bayou Classic contributes to Black consumer spending of over \$55 million annually. Over a 20-year span, the Bayou Classic generated an estimated \$230 million in accumulated revenues (Armstrong, 2001; Spanberg, 1999). More importantly, the funds generated from these popular classics support student scholarships, support programs, travel, and facility renovations for participating HBCUs (Armstrong, 2001; Brodie, 1991).

The most popular HBCU classic is the annual Atlanta Football Classic, which originally featured a game between FAMU and Tennessee State University (TSU). Established in 1989, the classic is known as the “Super Bowl of Black College Football” has produced some of the highest attendance records in HBCU athletic history (Pitts, Lu, Lucas, Adkins, Johnson, Goglas, and Ould, 2007, p. 1). Between 2003 and 2006, an estimated 250,000 attendees participated in the events surrounding the classic. In addition, the Atlanta Football Classic has been cited as the third largest event in the state of Georgia and accounted for \$30 million in annual economic impact. The weeklong event consists of various cultural events such as professional workshops, seminars, social activities, and the famous battle of the bands. Pitts et al. (2007) found in a study of the event’s attendees that watching a HBCU football, the halftime show, and the overall atmosphere were their primary reasons for attending the classic. Like all HBCU athletic events,

classics serve as sites of cultural empowerment where African American excellence is celebrated on multiple levels (socially, economically, athletically, and intellectually) (Pitts et al., 2007).

Among the HBCU classics, there are three distinct types: 1) traditional rivalries, 2) host schools playing a different opponent each year, and 3) events that have their own identity (Ubuntu, 2011). Traditional rivalries are annual games involving the same two schools and usually held around Labor Day or Thanksgiving (e.g., the Aggie-Eagle Classic in Raleigh, North Carolina on Labor Day weekend between North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University (NC A&T) and North Carolina Central University (NCCU)). A host school playing a different team every year is the second type of HBCU classic. These games are usually held at a large venue off campus (e.g., Gateway Classic in Jacksonville, Florida with Bethune-Cookman University as the host team). The third type of classic is an event that has a separate identity from the participating institutions and different schools play each other each year (e.g., the HBCU Classic game held in Greenville, South Carolina). These classics are usually organized by organizations not directly affiliated with the participating schools, but share a common mission of cultural empowerment and racial uplift (e.g., National Urban League (NUL) (Ubuntu, 2011)).

Granted the HBCU football product was the beginning for Black College Sports with Signature Classics and some creative Bowl Games which drew large support from the African-American community. The basketball product began with tournament sellout crowds and the CIAA Basketball Tournament currently is generating large sums of revenue compared to NCAA Division I conferences.

The most successful HBCU athletic event is the annual CIAA basketball tournament. In 1946, the first CIAA tournament was held in Washington, D.C. with a 2,000-attendee sellout (Hunt, 1996). By 2003, the event had relocated to Royal Bank of Canada (RBC) Center (now the

Pittsburgh National Corporation (PNC) Center) in Raleigh, North Carolina and annually sells out the 20,000 capacity for the arena (CIAA, 2014). The CIAA Tournament is the third most popular conference basketball tournament in the U.S. only behind the ACC and former Big East tournaments (the NCAA March Madness is the most popular and lucrative overall, but regarding separate conference tournaments the CIAA was the third largest during the early to mid-1990s) (Hunt, 1996). Starting in 2006, the annual event was moved to the Time Warner Cable (TWC) Center in Charlotte, North Carolina, which was a larger venue than the RBC Center. In 2011, for example, over 190,000 attendees participated in the weeklong event and the event generated over \$44.3 million in economic impact. From 2000- 2011, the CIAA generated over \$266.06 million in economic impact for the state of North Carolina and over \$16.5 million in overall scholarship monies for CIAA schools (CIAA, 2014).

In addition, the CIAA reported generating \$10.5 million in scholarship funds from corporate sponsorships and an additional \$23 million from championships and television (CIAA, 2014). The CIAA tournament has contracts with the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) and TV One, which both provide national coverage of the tournament to more than 57 million U.S. homes (CIAA, 2014). This is quite an accomplishment for a tournament that started with a \$500 budget in 1946 (Hunt, 1996). The popularity and economic vitality of the CIAA tournament exemplifies the potential of HBCU athletic programs. Thus, the collective success of these HBCU bowls, classics, and basketball tournaments demonstrate the consumer valuation and ticket price efficiency and significant economic impact of these events (Cavil, 2013b; Drayer, Irwin, & Martin, 2011; Armstrong, 2001, 2008; Jackson, Lyons, & Gooden, 2001).

African-American Student-Athletes

Unfortunately, a common outcome of this process is African-American male student athletes, many of whom leave school without a degree, feeling like “used goods”. Additionally, they have few marketable skills to pursue positions in an increasingly competitive global economy (Beamon, 2008, p. 358). Collectively, these studies highlighted how the pervasive athletic industrial complex at many Division I PWIs contributes to negative educational outcomes for African American male student athletes particularly those in football and men’s basketball.

In contrast, to Division I PWIs, historically Black college and universities (HBCUs) promote unique educational missions and cultivate distinct sociocultural environments aimed at enhancing African American students’ (including student athletes) holistic development (Allen, Jewel, Griffin, & Wolf, 2007). As previous research has documented, Black male student athletes at Division I PWIs are often recruited for athletic purposes and, once enrolled, encounter campus climates where they are members of an underrepresented group and have few role models who share the same racial and sociocultural backgrounds (Singer, 2005, 2009). Contrarily, at HBCUs, African American male student athletes are often recruited as promising students who happen to participate in athletics, and once enrolled, are surrounded by a critical mass of African American faculty, administrators, coaches, and peers (Charlton, 2011; Cooper & Hawkins, 2012). In addition, a majority of the HBCUs in the NCAA are members of Division II (Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013). Division II institutions are far less commercialized than Division I institutions and they promote a more student centered educational model rather than a corporate professional athletic model (Cooper & Hawkins, 2012; NCAA, 2011b; Sack & Staurowsky, 1998). Hence, there is a need to gain a better understanding of how the unique

educational and sociocultural environments at HBCUs influence Black male student athletes' educational experiences in college.

Unlike many PWIs, HBCUs operate under the guidance of culturally empowering mission statements designed to address the unique educational and sociocultural needs of African American students and foster their holistic development (Allen, Jewel, Griffin, & Wolf, 2007; Brown & Davis, 2001). In concert with these mission statements, HBCUs provide culturally relevant curricula (e.g., African Diaspora courses), artifacts (e.g., naming of buildings after famous African Americans, annual homecoming events, etc.) and institutional practices (e.g., nurturing interpersonal relationships) to its students (Allen et al., 2007). Another unique aspect of HBCUs is their role in providing quality educational opportunities for students regardless of their pre-college backgrounds (e.g., first-generation college students, low precollege test scores, substandard primary and secondary educational history, low socioeconomic status, etc.) (Allen, 1992; Gallien & Peterson, 2005; Hosick, 2011). The critical mass of African American faculty, administrators, staff, and students at HBCUs also enhances African American students' sense of belonging and holistic experiences in college (Gallien & Peterson, 2005; Palmer & Young, 2010).

Collectively, these features highlight the critical role culture plays in the facilitation of positive developmental outcomes (e.g., academic, psychosocial, etc.) for African American students (Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984; Gallien & Peterson, 2005; Palmer & Gasman, 2008; Palmer & Young, 2010; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2010).

Moreover, an emerging body of literature has examined the relationship between the cultures at HBCUs, their athletic programs, and African American student athletes' educational experiences (Charlton, 2011; Cooper & Hawkins, 2012; Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013). In a

case study analysis of an academically focused Division I HBCU athletic program, Charlton (2011) found that culturally relevant policies, language, and rituals enhanced African American student athletes' experiences in college. Similarly, Cooper and Hawkins (2012) found that well-coordinated and intentionally designed academic support programs at a Division II HBCU contributed to African American male student athletes' academic achievement and positive college experiences. More recently, in a review of literature, Hodge, Collins, and Bennett (2013) provided a detailed history African American student athletes' experiences at HBCUs and highlighted how they felt supported and nurtured at these institutions.

An abundance of the previous research on Black student athletes at Division I PWIs collectively found the campus climates at these institutions to be unwelcoming and unsupportive of African American student athletes' holistic development (Benson, 2000; Bernhard, 2014; Martin, Harrison, Stone, & Lawrence, 2010; Melendez, 2008; Sellers, 1992; Singer, 2009). This problem is exacerbated for African American student athletes who experience multi-layered marginalization as a result of the intersection of their race/ethnicity, gender, and athletic status (Eitzen, 2000). In this particular situation, the individual can feel used and not truly a part of their environment. In contrast to the aforementioned studies at PWIs, research on African American student athletes' experiences at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) has revealed that the unique educational and sociocultural environments these institutions were effective at cultivating higher levels of academic achievement, institutional commitment, and sense of belonging among this subgroup of student athletes (Charlton, 2011; Cooper, 2013; Cooper & Hawkins, 2014a, 2014b; Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013). Notwithstanding these encouraging findings, there is a lack of contemporary research that has comparatively examined the experiences of African-American and non-African-American student athletes at HBCUs and

PWIs (American Institutes for Research, 1989). Thus, the purpose of this study was to conduct a cross sectional analysis of African-American and non-African-American student athletes' experiences both within and between a Division I HBCU and a PWI in the post Bowl Championship Series (BCS) era. While additionally identifying any observable differences in their experiences and identify key factors associated with their academic performance in college and educational goal commitments.

Sport is an area for social and racial resistance, a contested racial terrain wherein African Americans define themselves and the relationship of their race within society at large (Hartmann, 2000). Carrington and McDonald (2002) suggest that a “culture of racism is deeply ingrained in sport” (p. 12). Within this context, African American student-athletes face a great risk for poor college adjustment based on their membership in multiple at-risk groups (Killeya, 2001), by belonging to a racial/ethnic minority group, by being a student-athlete, and by participating in a revenue-producing sport (e.g., football and men’s basketball). This assertion may be explained by the fact that African American male student-athletes in revenue-producing sports endure unique encounters with discrimination in their college experience (Astin, 1984; Hyatt, 2003; Simons, Bosworth, Fujita, & Jensen, 2007). Differential racial experiences among student-athletes is also supported by Lawrence (2005), who concluded from her qualitative study that race plays a role in the lives of African American student-athletes but not in the lives of their Caucasian teammates.

In addition to instances of discrimination, African American student athletes face isolation, integration, and commitment as barriers to positive college adjustment (Hyatt, 2003). Isolation can paradoxically exist despite the high level of public visibility afforded to student-athletes through attention to their athletic performance. The campus perception is that student

athletes are admitted under special circumstances, and as a result, both their student peers and faculty marginalize their academic potential (Hyatt, 2003). Research has indicated that faculty members hold prejudicial beliefs against student-athletes, particularly Black student-athletes in revenue producing sports (Engstrom, Sedlacek, & McEwen, 1995; Simons et al., 2007).

Engstrom et al. (1995)

While African American football players are a highly visible population on campus, they are not often perceived in a manner that socially integrates them into the campus community. This feeling of isolation and a lack of integration can be influenced by the racial climate of the campus. Racially homogenous isolation found on most college campuses can create social adaptation problems when African American students are required to assimilate into predominantly Caucasian environments (Cureton, 2003). Assimilation problems could negatively affect one's self-concept (Brown, 2001) and force students of color to expend cognitive and affective energy in this process when their peers can allocate energy elsewhere.

The cultural values of an institution influence the way that student behavior is evaluated, the directions in which educators attempt to move students, and the knowledge base that is utilized to assess and explain student development (McEwan, Roper, Bryant, & Lange, 1999). HBCUs provide campus environments that are specifically designed to meet the needs of African American students with curricula that include a greater integration of African American history and culture. When compared with students at PWIs, African American students at HBCUs enjoy closer relationships with faculty and are more integrated into campus life through greater participation in campus organizations and activities (Webster, 2002). Thus, it is possible that students at PWIs and HBCUs may have different experiences and engagement with the campus

environment, but little research has explored student-athlete experiences in these different institution types.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities Athletics' Challenges

Today in the United States (U.S.), Black college athletes participate in nearly every intercollegiate sport and constitute a majority of participants in the two most popular and highest profit-generating sports of football and men's basketball (Wiggins, 2000). Despite these current trends, the prevalence of opportunities for African Americans has not always been commonplace in the U.S., particularly at Historically White Colleges and Universities (PWI). In order to understand the current racial, athletic, and economic inequities between intercollegiate athletic programs at PWIs and historically Black colleges/universities (HBCUs), it is imperative to examine the origins and evolution of these programs. More specifically, the practice of systemic racism within the U.S. (Feagin, 2006) is particularly important to acknowledge and unpack in an effort to engage in a comprehensive examination of the current plight of HBCUs and their athletic programs. Hence, the purpose of this paper is to provide a historical overview of intercollegiate athletic programs at HBCUs, highlight the current challenges facing these programs utilizing a critical race theory (CRT) framework, and offer a plan for self-sustainability and collective progress.

Despite the rich history of athletic success at HBCUs, the assimilation efforts that followed the Civil Rights movement in 1960s provided progress for the U.S. society in a multitude of ways, but also had a significantly negative impact on HBCUs as a whole, and their athletic programs more specifically. In addition, recent economic trends and federal and state government actions have also contributed to the significant challenges facing HBCUs. In an effort to describe the consequences HBCUs encountered as a result of these assimilation efforts,

the authors introduce critical race theory (CRT) (Bell, 1992; Crenshaw, 1994; Decuir & Dixon, 2004; Delgado & Stefanic, 2001; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) as an analytic tool to conceptualize how assimilation served to benefit the dominant White class in the U.S. at the expense of Black-operated institutions such as HBCUs.

The Whiteness as Property Norm - from a historical context, it is important to recall that the same year the NCAA was founded in 1906, the first African American athletic conference called the Inter-Scholastic Athletic Association of the Middle Atlantic States (ISSA) was established (Borican, 1963). Hence, in concert with arguments from previous race scholars (DuBois, 1993; Feagin, 2006; Woodson, 1933), it is clear the NCAA, like many Caucasian-controlled institutions in the U.S. was not created nor currently structured to benefit Black athletes or HBCUs, but rather designed to disregard, subjugate, and exploit them. Dr. Dennis Thomas, MEAC Commissioner, captured the sentiment shared among many HBCU athletic program stakeholders about the current state of HBCU athletic programs when he said: “I don’t think if Alabama or Texas or LSU had been under-funded for a century, they would be in the position that they are” (Gaither, 2013, p. 1). The history of unjust enrichment for PWIs and the unjust impoverishment of HBCUs in a U.S. society that privileges Whiteness has greatly contributed to the current inequities that exist today between the institutional types and their athletic programs (Feagin, 2006).

Within the current NCAA March Madness Tournament and BCS bowl game structure, there is an inherent inequitable structural arrangement that situates HBCUs among other non-BCS conference schools and LRIs as dependent on larger well-funded Division I PWIs for funding sources (Johnson, 2013; Lillig, 2009). Due to the lack of revenue, several members of the Division I HBCU conferences have subjected themselves to “guarantee games” with the top

Division I BCS schools (Lillig, 2009, p. 46). Lillig defined guarantee games as “nonconference matches, usually between high-profile, high-ranking Division I schools from BCS conferences and low-profile, low-ranking schools from non-BCS conferences” (p. 46). The structure of these guarantee games allows Division I BCS schools to guarantee home victories for both football and men’s basketball teams by defeating lower tier Division I teams, such as HBCUs. These games are usually extremely lopsided and an embarrassment for HBCUs while also serving as a form of entertainment for audiences at the HBCU venues through the performances of the famous HBCU bands. In exchange, the HBCU athletic programs are guaranteed a sum of money, which these schools rely on to support the operation of their athletic programs (Lillig, 2009).

Despite the conspicuous financial upside of these arrangements, these guarantee games also create a host of negative outcomes for HBCUs. For one, this inequitable relationship creates a level of dependency among HBCUs and ensures that these programs remain disadvantaged, compared to larger and better-funded Division I PWIs (Lillig, 2009). For example, these big-margin losses lower the Rating Percentage Index (RPI) of the participating HBCUs, which further contributes to their struggles in terms of competing for profitable post-season tournaments. For example, the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference (MEAC) and the Southwestern Athletic Conference (SWAC) (the only two HBCU Division I conferences) are consistently among the conferences with the lowest RPIs in the NCAA’s Division I level (Lillig, 2009). In fact, the SWAC had the lowest RPI among all Division I schools for three consecutive seasons during the mid-2000s. This low RPI decreases the chances of multiple MEAC and SWAC teams earning higher than a sixteenth seed for the multi-billion dollar NCAA March Madness Tournament and thus reduces the chances of the one or two teams that do secure a birth of advancing in the tournament, which ultimately minimizes the revenue generating potential for

these schools. Even worse, the RPIs are so low for HBCU football teams due to their lack of strength of schedule (SOS) that even if a HBCU football team went undefeated they would still not be considered for one of the lucrative BCS bowl games (Lillig, 2009).

Another consequence of these guarantee games is the psychological impact on the players and coaches (O'Neill, 2008). Former Alcorn State University basketball player Troy Jackson described in an interview with ESPN's Dana O'Neill (2008) the team's psyche after a blowout loss: "You just get beat up mentally . . . You start believing, 'Man, we can't win. We're never going to win a game,' and it carries over into the conference season. "The losing, it just eats at you" (O'Neill, 2008, p. 1). These embarrassing losses not only affect the players temporarily, but also can have a lingering effect on their performance the remainder of the season as well as the public perception of the institution (Lillig, 2009).

Thus, the structure of the NCAA and BCS is designed to benefit the top Division I PWIs, which have benefitted from years of unjust enrichment compared to the unjust impoverishment experience by HBCUs (Feagin, 2006). From a CRT perspective, the leaders of the NCAA (Presidents and Athletic Directors at Division I PWIs) and the BCS (corporate stakeholders) as a group of dominant Whites in the racial hierarchy in the U.S. have a vested interest in persevering their property (also known as the multi-billion dollar college sport industry, which has largely been funded on the backs of Black athletes (Hawkins, 2010)), limiting the rights of economic profitability to a select number of Division I PWIs' athletic departments and corporate stakeholders, and denying access to various smaller LRIs such as HBCUs.

The Permanence of Racism - within the NCAA, HBCUs constitute a disproportionate number of LRIs (Gaither, 2013; Hosick, 2011; Johnson, 2013). For example, citing data from a

USA Today report, Gaither (2013) highlighted how seven of the 10 Division I public schools ranked at the bottom of total operating dollars for athletic department rankings were HBCUs. An example of this disparity is the difference between the revenue generated over a five-year period by Coppin State University (Division I HBCU) and the University of Texas (Division I PWI), \$3.5 million and \$150 million, respectively (Gaither, 2013). In fact, for the 2006 fiscal year, Delaware State was the only HBCU that ranked in the top 200 (out of 331) for Division I athletic budgets and the median ranks for athletic and recruiting budgets for Division I HBCUs was 278 and 282, respectively (Jones, 2007). As mentioned earlier, the structural arrangement and revenue allocation process with the NCAA exacerbates the persistent economic disparity between larger Division I PWIs and smaller Division I HBCUs in the NCAA reflects the permanence of racism tenet.

The limited financial resources and inadequate support for athletic facilities and programs has forced college athletes and institutional leaders to take drastic steps to bring about change. For example, the poor athletic facilities at many HBCUs were brought to the national forefront in October 2013 when members of the Grambling State University football team decided not to attend practice or participate in the team's next scheduled game versus Jackson State University in an effort to bring attention to the school's dilapidated athletic facilities, poor traveling conditions, as well as the team's discontent with the firing of their previous head coach (Coach Doug Williams) (Isabella & Uthman, 2013).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities Athletics' Academic Settings

According to Wharton (2006), the former NCAA president, Myles Brand asserts that the experience of the student-athlete can be very positive and can lead to academic and career success. Brand has used student-athlete graduation rates to demonstrate that student-athletes are

succeeding academically as they graduate at a higher rate than the regular student body. Further, he argues that the dumb jock stereotype is a myth. The NCAA maintains detailed statistics on the graduation rates of its student-athletes and has also developed a tool, called the Academic Progress Rate (APR), to measure how each individual team is achieving academic success. Recent NCAA statistics indicate validity to Dr. Brand's assertions. Student-athletes entering in 1999 graduated at a rate of 63% versus 61% for the regular student body ("Division I Student Athletes Excel", 2006). These data are based on federal data collection. The NCAA, which collects its own Graduation Success Rate (GSR), claims its data are more accurate because they take into account transfer students who leave the school on good terms ("Division I Student Athletes Excel ", 2006). The NCAA's GSR is 77% for the same 1999 class versus the 63% reported by the federal government ("Division I Student-Athletes Excel," 2006). Other key recent findings regarding student-athletes focus on outcomes depending on gender, race, and sport. Male athletes graduated at a slightly lower rate than the regular student body. However, African-American male student-athletes graduated at a rate of 48% versus 37% for African-American male students. Female student-athletes graduate at a much higher rate than the regular student body and at a much higher rate than the males. African-American female student-athletes graduate at a much higher rate than their student body counterparts and African-American male student-athletes. Men's basketball has the lowest graduation rate among the various sports (46%), although it is an increase over the previous year. African-Americans graduate at a rate 20 percentage points lower than whites in this sport, although the rate increased four percentage points over the previous class for African-Americans. (Division I Student-Athletes Excel, 2006).

Johnson (2013) states their observation indicates significant gaps existing between the categories of institutions comprising NCAA member institutions in the resource domain.

Institutional mission differences and other factors may also contribute to the disparity. However, a lack of sufficient institutional resources impacts the ability to provide academic and other support services to ensure student athletes' success.

The NCAA Division I Academic Performance Program Supplemental Support Fund (SSF) was established to support campus-based initiatives designed to foster student-athlete academic success at limited-resource institutions. The program awarded grants for innovative solutions to barriers preventing student-athlete retention and progress-toward-degree completion. Success is measured by team NCAA Division I Academic Progress Rate (APR) and Graduation Success Rate (GSR) improvement. The program was approved by the NCAA Division I Board of Directors in April 2007 and implemented Fall 2007. The program was approved for an initial three-year period beginning the 2009–10 academic year. Subsequently, this program has been currently extended through the 2014–15 academic year (NCAA SSF, 2012). Eligible institutions included those in the lowest ten percent of resources of active Division I members, as determined by per capita institutional expenditures, per capita athletics department funding, and per capita Pell Grant aid for the student body.

This NCAA grant platform is part of the Accelerating Academic Success Program; in 2012 the NCAA Accelerating Academic Success Program (AASP) was created by the NCAA Executive Committee. The Accelerating Academic Success Program includes an annual conference and grants and support to Division I institutions for the development of systems and enhancements that assist institutions in meeting the requirements of the NCAA Division I Academic Performance Program (APP), including increasing the graduation rates and academic success of student-athletes. In 2014, the NCAA Accelerating Academic Success Program

(AASP) absorbed the NCAA Division I Academic Performance Program Supplemental Support Fund (SSF), a grant program that had been providing single year grant to institutions since 2007.

There are two-tiers of grant funding for eligible institutions – comprehensive grants (multiyear) and initiatives grants (single year). As of July 2015, the Accelerating Academic Success Program funds 16 institutions through comprehensive grants funded 21 initiatives grants for the 2014-15 academic year, and three initiatives grants for the 2015-16 academic year.

The Permanence of Racism. The fact that the NCAA is largely managed by White males who have ties to large Division I PWIs and the seemingly “colorblind” or neutral academic standards have had a disparate impact on HBCUs reflects the permanence of racism with the NCAA structure and organizational practices. For example, HBCU athletic programs persistently post the lowest academic progress rates (APRs) and graduation success rates (GSRs) among Division I institutions (McClelland, 2012; Reynolds et al., 2012). In 2009-2010, HBCUs accounted for nearly one-third (33 of the 103) of the Division I institutions penalized for low APRs (Hosick, 2011). In 2012, HBCUs accounted for nearly 50 percent (13 out of 27) of the institutions that received level one and level three APR penalties (NCAA, 2012). Mississippi Valley State University (men’s basketball), University of Arkansas Pine Bluff (men’s basketball), Hampton University (football), North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (football), and Texas Southern University (football) were all banned from postseason play for the 2012-2013 season due to low APRs (NCAA, 2012). In addition, the fact that the NCAA’s academic standards do not take into account the unique educational missions of institutions such as HBCUs or fully take into consideration the reasons why some student athletes leave an institution is problematic and reveals the lack of awareness of the perpetual

impacts of systemic racism, seemingly colorblind policies, and widespread inequities among U.S. institutions of higher education.

Several HBCU leaders including presidents and athletic directors cite a lack of resources (fiscal, financial, and human) and high administrative turnover at their institutions among the primary reasons for their persistently low APRs (Hosick, 2011). Duer Sharp, SWAC Commissioner, described the unique challenges facing HBCUs in regards to the high administrative turnover when he said:

To effect change, there has to be a directive from the president or chancellor. But with the turnover, you never get that directive...It really makes it difficult when you don't have that constant voice from the top asking, 'Where are we on APR?' When you get a new president coming in, they've got 800 things on their plate. (Hosick, 2011, p. 1)

In response to these challenges, the NCAA's Committee on Academic Performance (CAP) has instituted two large academic support initiatives for limited-resource institutions (LRIs) such as HBCUs (Johnson, 2013). One of these initiatives is the NCAA Division Academic Performance Program (APP) Supplemental Support Fund (SSF). The SSF is a competitive grant proposal program that awards funds to LRIs that present innovative solutions to enhancing the student athlete retention rate and progress towards degree rates at their institutions. Eligible LRIs must be in the lowest 10% of resources as measured by per capita institutional expenditures, per capita athletics department funding, and per capita Pell Grant Aid for the student body. The SSF allows funds to be used for professional development opportunities for academic support staff, student athlete financial aid support for summer bridge and summer school programs, among a host of other student athlete academic support related causes.

Another NCAA issued program is the LRI Pilot Program. This program offers up to \$300,000 of funding for schools that present a comprehensive APR improvement plan and meet

benchmarks over a three-year period. Similar to the SSF, awarded LRIs can use these funds for various student athlete academic support efforts ranging from hiring academic support staff to purchasing academic support equipment. Awarded LRIs for the pilot program must also fulfill a list of requirements including attendance to the annual NCAA convention, provide routine programmatic audits, present annual financial reports, participate in monthly conference calls, receive regular campus visits by NCAA, among other similar tasks to ensure funds are being spent appropriately and benchmarks are being met (Johnson, 2013).

The creation of both the SSF and the LRI Pilot Program illustrate the interest convergence tenet whereby the NCAA's interest of enhancing their public perception, in wake of increasing scrutiny over their educational purpose and athletic commercialization practices (Byers, 1995; Hawkins, 2010), intersect with HBCUs' desire to receive financial support to meet their academic and athletic goals. Despite the benefits associated with these efforts, the funds allocated through the SSF and LRI Pilot program pale in comparison to the multi-billion dollar profits generated and awarded to larger PWIs for their participation in the NCAA March Madness Tournament and BCS bowl games (Hawkins, 2010; Lillig, 2009). As a result, the well-intentioned efforts associated with the SSF and LRI Pilot programs fall significantly short of leveling the playing field for HBCUs and PWIs and disrupting the economic inequalities between the two institutional types as produced by years of unjust enrichment and unjust impoverishment (Feagin, 2006).

In light of these multi-level challenges, the authors posit the best way to address these issues is to learn from the rich history and legacy of HBCU athletic programs, which provides a guide for a way forward for HBCUs to retain their vitality and prominence as successful self-sustaining intercollegiate athletic programs. More specifically, the subsequent section provides a

detailed overview of the unique role of HBCU athletic programs as sites of African American cultural empowerment.

In recent years, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and its Division I member institutions faced increased scrutiny regarding their overemphasis on athletic commercialism at the expense of their educational values and student athletes' holistic wellbeing (Benedict & Keteyian, 2013; Southall & Nagel, 2010; Thelin, 1996). More specifically, a primary charge against these institutions, particularly predominantly White institutions (PWIs), focused on how many of them fail to cultivate campus climates that are conducive for facilitating positive educational outcomes for African American student athletes (Brooks & Althouse, 2000, 2013). Evidence of these poor educational outcomes are illustrated in the persistent academic performance gap between Black student athletes and their non-African American student athlete peers (NCAA, 2013).

In addition to perceptions of discrimination and isolation that may have an institutional influence, African American student-athletes also face issues related to commitment as a major barrier to college adjustment (Hyatt, 2003). Commitment may be viewed within multiple and interactive domains, such as academic commitment (e.g., degree commitment and institutional commitment), athletic commitment, and other areas of commitment (e.g., social and philanthropic). A high level of institutional commitment, or attachment to the university and campus community, can enhance the student's willingness to get involved in the social and academic aspects of the campus, thereby increasing degree commitment in the process (Hyatt, 2003). For student-athletes, aspects of academic commitment may be undermined by the influence of athletic commitment. The logistics of athletic commitment require college football players to often spend upward of 40 hours per week lifting weights, running, watching films,

studying game plans, and doing an overwhelming variety of football related activities outside of their academic responsibilities (Simons et al., 2007). These logistic constraints contribute to a commitment dilemma wherein the athlete portion of the student-athlete moniker supersedes the student aspect, particularly for football players who strongly identify with being an athlete.

A longstanding problem facing institutions of higher education has been the persistently low graduation rates of African American male student-athletes (Lapchick, 2010, 2011; NCAA, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b). For years, critics of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and its member institutions have argued the overemphasis on athletic performance has resulted in the academic and personal underdevelopment of Black male student athletes (Edwards, 2000; Harris, 1994; Hawkins, 2010; Sailes, 2010; Smith, 2009). African American male student athletes at these institutions often encounter unique challenges such as negative stereotypes (e.g., “dumb jock” label), being first-generation college students, coming from lower socioeconomic status backgrounds, as well as being more likely to experience poorer academic preparation entering college (Adler & Adler, 1991; Brooks & Althouse, 2000; Harrison & Lawrence, 2004). Unfortunately, many institutions have not provided adequate support systems or cultivated positive learning environments that take into account the impact of these various challenges. Thus, the low academic achievement of African American male student athletes is less a reflection of individual efforts and largely a result of ineffective institutional practices (Harper, 2012).

A significant amount of research on African American male student athletes has focused on their experiences and academic achievement at major Division I predominantly Caucasian institutions (PWI) (Comeaux, 2010; Comeaux & Harrison, 2007; Harrison et al., 2009; Lawrence, 2005; Martin, Harrison, Stone, & Lawrence, 2010; Singer, 2005). Within this context,

Black male student athletes experienced various forms of racial discrimination, social isolation, academic neglect, and athletic exploitation (Brooks & Althouse, 2000; Edwards, 2000; Hawkins, 2010; Sailes, 2010; Smith, 2009). These negative experiences were further exacerbated by the cultural dissonance experienced by African American male student athletes who attended institutions that were vastly different from their precollege environments (Hawkins, 2010). Consequently, these negative experiences contributed to high attrition rates and poor academic outcomes (Benson, 2000; Lawrence, 2005; Singer, 2005). Contrarily, previous research on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) indicated these institutions were effective educational environments for Black student athletes to experience positive academic outcomes (American Institutes for Research, 1988, 1989; Brown, 2004; Person & LeNoir, 1997). For example, recent NCAA reports of Division II institutions reveal the academic success rate for African American male student athletes from HBCU conferences is higher than their contemporaries in other settings¹ (NCAA, 2011a, 2012a). Given the fact that most Division II schools are PWIs, these statistics illustrate the effectiveness of Division II HBCUs as institutions with athletic departments that are committed to the academic achievement of its African American male football student athletes.

In addition, athletic departments should create a protocol where student athletes routinely meet with professors throughout the semester outside of class to establish meaningful relationships. Harrison, Comeaux, and Plecha (2006) recommended institutions implement a wide range of mandatory formal and informal faculty-student interactions and mentoring programs for all student athletes. Several researchers have suggested the extent and nature of faculty-student relationships has a significant impact on students' academic achievement and overall experiences in college (Comeaux & Harrison, 2007; Harrison et al., 2006). Furthermore,

the presence of strong relationships with faculty as well as athletic administrators and staff could enhance the level of commitment and satisfaction among African American male student athletes (Person & LeNoir, 1997).

Another recommendation for institutions is to develop and/or strengthen programs that cultivate positive holistic development for student athletes. Participants in this study viewed their participation in athletics as their primary and preferred form of social involvement on campus. Subsequently, applying their athletic affiliation as the starting point, programs for student athletes could include graduate school information sessions, professional development workshops, and career exploration activities. Similar to previous recommendations these programs could work in concert with university-wide services and departments to optimize resources and increase the likelihood of success outcomes for participants (Gallien & Peterson, 2005; Palmer & Gasman, 2008; Person & LeNoir, 1997). The primary lesson learned from the experiences of the participants in this study is that when well-coordinated institutional efforts are specifically designed and implemented by caring faculty and staff African American male student athletes can experience a true opportunity to develop and thrive holistically

Historically Black Colleges and Universities Athletics' Financial Issues

Caucasian-controlled institutions such as postsecondary PWIs have been unjustly enriched and African American institutions such as HBCUs have been unjustly impoverished since their inceptions due to the prevailing racialized hierarchy in the U.S. and the social reproduction of inequitable social, economic, educational, and political relationships (Feagin, 2006). Lee and Jones (2013) further articulated this point of unjust impoverishment and the continual challenges facing HBCUs in the 21 century:

Institutions that have been underfunded and under resourced for over 100 years do not just wake up overnight and have what they need in facilities, infrastructure,

and capital to catch up with institutions that have had a 100-year head start. It would be like running the 100-yard dash with one competitor starting in the locker room while the other starts right at the finish line. (p. 29)

Currently, there are 105 HBCUs in the U.S. and Virgin Islands (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). Between 1998 and 2013, 29 HBCUs have been placed on warning, 20 placed on probation, and four have lost their accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). Despite only constituting 13 percent of SACS membership, HBCUs accounted for 25 percent of SACS sanctions. Loss of accreditation means students cannot receive federal financial aid, which in turn negatively impacts HBCU enrollment numbers and total operating budget. In other words, accreditation has become a tool by which the Caucasian normative standards of success are utilized to measure HBCUs and thereby perpetuate systemic oppression in higher education. Hence, the financial challenges facing HBCUs are intricately connected to the practice of systemic racism in the U.S. dating back to the early 17th century and continue to manifest in their perpetual unjust impoverishment (Cooper, Cavil and Cheeks, 2014).

The Whiteness as Property Norm - even today, HBCUs continue to face a host of challenges related to their unjust impoverishments such as “disproportionate budget cuts, anemic enrollment figures, a financial aid crisis, inequitable federal research appropriations and the mere fact that gifted African-American students have many university options...” (Hayes, 2013, p. 1). Using a Critical Race Theory (CRT) approach, the relationship between the predominantly White government (congressional representatives and governmental officials) and the disparate impact of federal government cuts on HBCUs reflects the Whiteness as property norm in action (Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Harris, 1995). More specifically, consistent with the historical racial hierarchy in the U.S., the Caucasian-controlled government continues to hold the power to determine which institutions have the right to federal support.

Even though these budget cuts affect limited resource PWIs as well, the lack of representation or regard for HBCU stakeholders in the decision-making process of these cuts reflects how Whites continue to perpetuate the Whiteness as property norm. For example, the stricter standards on credit history for securing Parent Plus Loans have contributed to over 16,000 students at HBCUs having to leave school or seek other sources of funding, which in turn negatively impacted the HBCUs bottom line (Lee & Keys, 2013). The financial loss from these changes in PLUS loan standards resulted in an estimated \$168 million in reduced funds to HBCUs (Lee & Keys, 2013). These changes, coupled with decreasing support for Title III funding exacerbates the financial challenges for HBCUs, and also contributes to their high presidential and administrative turnover at HBCUs (Gasman, 2009; Hayes, 2013; Lee & Keys, 2013).

Gasman (2009), HBCU endowments are smaller than those of their historically PWI counterparts for a variety of reasons. These institutions, throughout their history, have received less funding than other colleges and universities from state and federal governments, foundations, and corporations; historically white institutions have received substantially more money even when size is taken into account. In addition, an alumnus giving, critical to building endowments, have been and continues to be, lower on average than at historically Caucasian institutions. These lower rates result in part from African Americans' historic lack of access to wealth, which stems from systemic forms of racism throughout U.S. history. Nonetheless, some HBCUs need to take more responsibility for fundraising. For decades, some HBCUs neglected to ask their alumni for support, assuming that their alumni had little to give and doubting the return on investment of money and time spent cultivating alumni contributions. In recent years, HBCUs

have reached out to alumni, and giving percentages are growing. During difficult economic times, however, it is not easy to secure dollars from alumni not in the habit of giving.

Along the same lines, alumni giving at HBCUs has been lower than PWIs, but this trend can also be attributed to systemic racism whereby Blacks have had, and continue to have limited access to wealth acquisition (land, home ownership, upward career mobility, etc.) compared to Whites (Feagin, 2006). Only three out of the 105 HBCUs in the U.S. (Howard University, Spelman College, and Hampton University) have endowments that rank among the top 300 among U.S. postsecondary institutions (Gasman, 2009). Benjamin Jealous, former president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), explained how the closing of St. Paul's College was a result of the fact that, like many HBCUs they lacked the wealthy donor based and extensive endowments (Hayes, 2013). The collective impact of systemic racism in the U.S. has had a significant impact on the historical and current financial state of HBCUs.

HBCUs were established with the unique mission of providing quality educational opportunities to Black Americans and those who have been historically disadvantaged and excluded from access to larger well-funded PWIs (Allen & Jewel, 2002; Gallien & Peterson, 2005). Despite claims that the U.S. is in a post-racial society, the current status of HBCUs highlights how race and racism continue to stagnate the progress of non-Whites in the U.S. (Lee & Keyes, 2013). For example, Gasman (2009) described the economic challenges facing HBCUs as a byproduct of their "commitment to serving disadvantaged students and from the history of underfunding and discrimination that disadvantages HBCUs themselves" (p. 1). Using data from the U.S. Department of Education's Postsecondary Education Data System, Gasman found that 90 percent of students who attended HBCUs received financial aid in 2006-2007. Given their

unique mission to provide quality educational opportunities for underserved populations, they receive less tuition dollars compared to their more well-funded HWCU peers, which translates into less operating funds. Gasman also pointed out HBCUs “have received less funding than other colleges and universities from state and federal governments, foundations, and corporations,” (p. 1), which challenges any notions of colorblindness or neutrality within the U.S. society in terms of equitable resources for postsecondary institutions irrespective of race.

The NCAA developed a term to encompass many HBCUs and their struggles with the academic success of their athletes “low resource institutions.” Officially, low resource institutions’ athletics departments spend (academically) in the bottom 10 percent per capita on their athletes and also have high Pell Grant eligibility (Moltz, 2010). 2010 APR results indicated more woes for HBCUs as 52% of those competing in Division I received penalties for negative results on the academic index (Teams Subject, 2010). Recognizing the ongoing problem, the NCAA has created an advisory group and grant fund to directly address the issues for HBCUs and academics (Hosick, 2010). Money is still largely acknowledged as the cause for poor academics for low resource institutions, but the NCAA also publicly recognized during this latest release of APR data that low resource institutions do achieve academic success and that “it is not just money” that impacts academic success (Laney, 2010).

Dr. Dennis Thomas, Commissioner of one of the MEAC (one of two Division I HBCU conferences), has stated, “that deep-seated funding disparities are at the heart of most historically black schools’ struggles” (Gaither, 2013, p.4). Thomas points out that media reports that point to the shortfalls attributed to HBCUs, such as low APRs and graduation rates among athletes, and lack of success on the field are taken out of context. This former athlete, coach, and tenured professor refer to these problems as symptoms with the underlying cause as a lack of resources

(Gaither, 2013). When the most recent APR results were published, none of the BCS schools were in jeopardy; however, a large number of HBCUs were. These institutions have the resources for improved academic facilities with tutors, support staff, advisors, and everything else to help athletes succeed in the classroom (Gaither, 2013; Stuart 2012; Moltz, 2011; Davis 2010). The Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference (MEAC) and Southwestern Athletic Conference (SWAC) are the only two HBCU athletic conferences at the NCAA Division I level. As members of Division I, these conferences are eligible to benefit from the \$845.9 million revenues, which are largely generated by the NCAA Men's Basketball tournament (NCAA, 2012b). With the current NCAA revenue structure, the farther a team advances in the NCAA Men's Basketball Tournament, the more revenue the team's conference will receive. For example, in 2012, Norfolk State University's (NSU) upset win over the highly favored Missouri Tigers generated \$3.8 million for the MEAC, which resulted in \$292,000 for NSU (Smith, 2012). The unexpected revenue covered NSU's annual operating expenses and underscored the major upside of fielding competitive men's basketball teams. In an effort to maximize profits, many Division I programs prioritize winning basketball games at the expense of preserving academic integrity and the holistic development of its student athletes. As a result, many Division I schools, including those in Division I HBCU conferences, engage in questionable practices, such as unethical recruiting, academic fraud, and profit-driven conference realignments (Byers, 1995; Lillig, 2009)

In contrast, a number of HBCUs are members of the NCAA's Division II. The Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association (CIAA) and the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (SIAC) are the two prominent Division II HBCU conferences. Division II institutions sponsor fewer sports, operate with significantly smaller budgets, and do not have the lucrative television

contracts and sponsorships that are shared among Division I institutions (Sack & Staurowsky, 1998). The mission of Division II athletic programs promotes a balanced approach, whereby “students are recognized for their academic success, athletic contributions, and campus/community involvement” (NCAA, 2011c, p.1). Contrary to the corporate professional model of big-time Division I athletic programs, which prioritize athletic revenue generation above student development, Division II programs operate under a true amateur model (NCAA, 2011c; Sack & Staurowsky, 1998). Rather than disregarding student development, the student centered amateur model at Division II schools promotes a student first and athlete second approach.

Summary

From their inception, HBCUs have experienced unequal treatment especially in the resource arena. This is particularly apparent in the treatment that public HBCUs face each fiscal year attempting to garner state resources from their legislative coffers compared with other institutions in their states. In fact, Delaware State University administrators have publicly called this a situation of which legislators should be ashamed (Scholand, 2007). State funding is only part of the disparity problem, as there are other socioeconomic factors that account for large wealth gaps between the alumni of Primarily White Institutions of the south. This factor alone accounts for the disparity in the levels of alumni giving and other support to these institutions. In the recent economic climate, institutional budget cuts are the norm; however, the impacts upon HBCUs have been hampered when compared with those institutions that can rely on support buffering from alumni, endowment, and athletic revenues (Hilltop Staff, 2012; Hollis, 2012).

The Supplemental Support Fund was created in 2007 to support efforts to invest in student-athletes' academic success at limited-resource schools in Division I and to meet increasing academic standards. As schools faced the difficult task of weathering the tough economic environment, the Supplemental Support Fund allowed programs to participate in professional development activities, add new staff members, purchase new academic support equipment and improve academic support facilities. More than \$4.3 million has been provided to about three dozen limited-resource schools annually since 2007, including 21 of the 24 Historically Black Colleges and Universities in Division I. Awards have ranged from \$5,000 to \$50,000 per year and have had a direct academic impact on the school's student-athletes (Brown, 2012).

Chapter 3 will provide three case studies referencing evidence that suggests there are significant gaps between NCAA member institutions in the areas of allocation of resources. Institutional missions vary and there are other dynamics that may also cause the disparities. Conversely, a lack of sufficient institutional resources impacts the ability to provide academic and other support services to ensure student-athlete success.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This research was conducted using the comparative case study analysis method. Additional analysis was conducted with ATLAS.ti 8 software. Three case studies were compared and analyzed. There are multiple definitions and understandings of the comparative case study analysis. According to Bromley (1990), it is a “systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest” (p. 302). The unit of analysis can vary from an individual to a corporation. While there is utility in applying this method retrospectively, it is most often used prospectively. Data come largely from documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and physical artifacts (Yin, 1994). Zucker (2009) believes, the key features of a “case study” are its scientific credentials and its evidence base for professional applications. In this project, three cases are selected for the analysis. The assessment of their methodologies and available data in these three studies will assist in understanding the core of the current examination of Historically Black Colleges and Universities intercollegiate athletics’ academic outcomes and be used for the purpose of study.

There will be three different case study analyses to assess how researchers with diverse backgrounds examine the subject of intercollegiate athletic academic outcomes and implement their own methods. Charlton (2009) is the author of the first case study. Charlton explains overall student-athlete graduation rates have improved significantly among many institutional members. However, Historically Black College and Universities (HBCU) student-athlete graduation rates lag considerably behind. McClelland is the author of the second case study developed in 2011. Its focus are the identifying variables that athletic directors perceived would

determine the athletic program's potential for effectiveness in the current NCAA Division I-AA and Division II structure. Cheeks (2016) developed the third case study about athletic director's perspective of the state of intercollegiate athletics Historically Black College and Universities (HBCU) at the NCAA Division I level.

Ralph Charlton (2009), The Impact of Organizational Culture on the Academic Success of Historically Black College and University: A Case Study

Case One: Description of Case Study

Charlton (2009) conducted a case study on the impact of organizational culture on the success of Historically Black College and University athletes. Increasing the graduation rates of student athletes is one of the more visible NCAA academic goals. Overall student-athlete graduation rates have improved significantly among many institutional members. However, Historically Black College and University (HBCU) student-athlete graduation rates lag considerably behind. Although the NCAA claims that a causal relationship exists between lack of economic resources and lower student-athlete graduation rate for HBCUs, analysis within Division I HBCUs indicates no relationship between per student academic spending and the student-athlete graduation rates. Seeking an additional explanation for graduation rates, this case study examined the organizational culture of an HBCU athletic department with an exceptionally high student-athlete graduation rate. The framework for the study is based on historical research connecting performance to culture and understanding how culture is transmitted through socialization. A modified model based on Wiedman's (1989) undergraduate model of socialization was utilized as a conceptual framework.

The President of the NCAA, Myles Brand, has voiced a widespread concern that Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) are disproportionately represented in the bottom of the NCAA Division I graduation rates for student-athletes and academic rankings. President Brand and Dennis Thomas, commissioner of the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference (MEAC), an HBCU conference, argue that the lower graduation rates in HBCUs are primarily due to fewer economic resources to provide academic support for their students (Carey, 2006). Another key factor in regards to student-athletes' low performance academically can be attributed to the mission of many HBCUs which allows for open enrollment while individuals are not scholastically ready for higher education and consequently can have a negative influence on retention rates, eligibility and graduation rates.

The author (Charlton, 2009) acknowledges that finances and academic readiness of new students are vital but is there a role the actual athletic department organizational structure and philosophy play in the academic success of the student? Organizational culture is recognized as a critical factor in achieving performance and "long-term effectiveness" in organizations (Cameron & Quinn, 1999). Not all NCAA Division I HBCUs are struggling at achieving the important mission of graduating its student-athletes. South Atlantic University (SAU) is a pseudonym assigned to an HBCU that has averaged almost 10% over the average NCAA student-athlete graduation rate for the last three years {2007 NCAA Report, n.d.}. Without doubt, SAU is excelling as a sports program in general, and as an HBCU program specifically. HBCUs represent 50% of the bottom twenty institutions in graduating student-athletes despite only representing 7% of the total 5 Division I membership. Additionally, SAU excels at graduating its student-athletes despite spending less academically per student than nine other NCAA Division I HBCUs according to the latest IPED statistics. It graduates a higher percentage of student-

athletes than all nine of those HBCUs. It is obviously not economic resources that push SAU student-athletes toward successful performance in their academics. The case of SAU athletics program presented an opposite opportunity to explore the idea that organizational culture can impact organizational performance in student-athlete academic achievement. Thus, the purpose of this study was to explore the degree to which the socialization mechanisms within the SAU athletic program reflect an organizational culture that promotes student success and is supported by its personnel.

The purpose of this study (Charlton, 2009) was to understand how an organizational culture can positively impact the graduation rates for HBCU student-athletes. For the last 25 years, organizational culture has been extensively studied and researched for its relationship to organizational performance. As the concept of organizational culture has developed, researchers have delved into the area of higher education to explore the relationship between organizational culture and various components of higher education including academic effectiveness. Through the analysis of the organizational culture and socialization of an exemplar positive case of an HBCU that succeeds in graduating its student-athletes at the highest level, there is a greater understanding of how and why this individual situation appears to be working. The NCAA has recognized that academic success of HBCU student-athletes is clearly an issue and the problem has inspired a financial investment by the NCAA to improve the state of affairs. Before financial resources are committed to solve the problem, it is necessary to fully understand other potential factors that can enhance academic performance of HBCU athletic departments.

The social and academic experience of the African-American college student-athlete has drawn some research attention, but similar research on the HBCU athletic experience has been neglected. Only one dissertation examines the value HBCU athletic directors, football coaches

and student-athletes place on education (Taylor, 2005). Taylor (2005) found that HBCU athletic departments suffer from a lack of academic support infrastructure in staff and facilities, and students do perceive that some coaches and faculty do not care about their academic success. The complete lack of research in this area is surprising given the obvious negative results for HBCUs in the NCAA academic statistics. The disproportionate representation of HBCUs in the bottom of those statistics is increasingly visible in the media, and the NCAA recognizes the problem and is addressing it.

Case One: Methodology

Given the complex nature of organizational culture, socialization, and the necessity of understanding the perspectives of the various stakeholders within the athletic department in that setting, qualitative research in general and the case study method in particular, was the most appropriate research strategy. Case studies are geared toward studying a phenomenon in its natural context, utilizing numerous sources of data, and developing increased understanding of a specific issue (Schwandt, 2001; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003). Quantitative study of organizational culture limits the emic or insider perspective as well as analysis and definitions of core issues regarding the concept (Ott, 1989; Schein, 2004). Qualitative research is most appropriately utilized where the case is best understood in its natural environment (Rossman and Rallis, 2003). Researchers most importantly must focus holistically on the study of organizational culture, as well as socialization, which includes understanding participants experiencing the culture in its natural setting (Hamada & Sibley, 1994; Tierney, 1997).

Noted earlier, organizational culture and performance research has created a myriad of opinions regarding appropriate research strategies. Substantial research utilizing both qualitative

and quantitative methods has delved into exploring relationships regarding higher education, athletics and organizational culture (e.g. Clark, 1970; Smart, 2003; Schroeder, 2003).

Examination of the common characteristics in qualitative research demonstrates that this study was best aligned with that method.

Guiding qualitative research is a number of common attributes. Qualitative researchers focus on understanding individual lived experiences in their own natural settings (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). In addition, qualitative methods are suited to reveal the diverse variables and factors that impact the lives and relationships among individuals as well as observing how the intricacies of the natural operate as a whole (Earls, 1986; Schroeder, 2003). Finally, the nature of methods utilized as well as a reflective approach to these methods is unique and characteristic of qualitative research. Methods engaged are necessarily "interactive and humanistic" and include interviews, observation, document and material culture analysis (Rossman & Rallis, p. 9).

The author (Charlton, 2009) believes the case study method is best-suited for the purposes of this research. A case study examines a specific instance to comprehend a larger phenomenon (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The examples explored might include "event, process, organization, group or individual" (Rossman & Rallis, p. 104). The case in this study was South Atlantic University Athletics. This organization was chosen in order to understand the phenomenon of their excellent graduation rate for student-athletes and relationships to organizational culture and its transmission. Case studies are denoted and strengthened by the depth and complexity of the research and the presentation of multiple perspectives (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Given the multi-faceted nature of organizational culture, socialization and the probability of multiple subcultures within an

athletic department, a case study presents a format appropriate for multi-layered perspectives and concepts.

Case Study One: Significance of Study

Twenty-two HBCUs compete in NCAA Division I athletics. Each is unique in a number of variables that will influence their own cultures and efforts at academics. However, common ground exists in athletics as the far majority of institutions compete in two conferences. Institutionally, President Samuels highlighted that HBCUs traditionally serve students from an underserved population who might be a first-generation college student and from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Combined with the acknowledged lack of financial resources, HBCUs face common obstacles in their educational mission. SAU's exceptional success while facing common obstacles allows for the consideration of applicable lessons to other HBCU athletic departments in creating and managing an academic culture (Charlton, 2009).

There is no denying that SAU has its share of charismatic leaders at both the administrative and coaching levels, contributing to the idea of "great people" essentially creating the academic success. Certainly, charisma and unique personalities do contribute, but there are other practical culture and socialization methods signified in SAU's model recognized in the organizational culture literature as desirable and effective. Schein (2004) highlights seven specific means for organizational leaders to integrate their organization into a desired culture. They are straight out of the SAU playbook with the key to each being systematic and requiring careful thought. Schein's suggested "mechanisms" for "embedding" and reinforcing culture include: consciously being aware of what leaders pay attention to in the organization, deliberately allocating resources to priority areas, systematically rewarding, conscious role

modeling, hiring and promoting for cultural fit, thoughtful design of organizational structure and systems, consideration for traditions and design of physical space (Charlton, 2009).

Charlton's (2009) research questions were specific and directed issues related to academic success at HBCUs.

1. What were the roles of administration, coaches, and peers as socializing influences on student-athletes?
 - a. What are the core values, attitudes, and beliefs of those three groups as they academics?
 - b. How did influence amongst the three socializing groups?
2. How did the relationship structure between socializing groups and the student-athletes impact the transmission of organizational culture?
3. How did cultural content in the form of language, rituals, and policies impact socialization?
 - a. How did cultural content appear formally and informally in the socialization process?
 - b. How did the nature of specific cultural content differentially impact socialization of student-athletes?
4. Were the resulting values, beliefs, and attitudes of the student-athletes toward academics from the socialization process similar to the values, attitudes and beliefs of the three groups of socializing agents?
 - a. What was the nature of student-athletes organizational culture as it relates to academics?
 - b. Which socializing influences group had the most congruent organizational culture with student-athletes (p.6)?

The findings reflect the same for the process component of the framework. Relationships are highly influential and truly drive the socialization process. Organizational authority and power stemming from the hierarchy characterize formal and informal relationships. Exploring the dynamics between the three socializing groups reveals how the academic culture is transmitted from administration to coach to athlete and then among the athletes. Communication and reinforcement are integral socialization processes, but rather standing independently they represent critical aspects of the relationship component. Formal communication forms the administration to coaches serves to reinforce the hierarchy and transmit values of commitment

and citizenship. Informal communication at team levels and among peers reveals the compassion in the organization often found in pervasive accessibility of the organization staff to students. Peer word of mouth networks create the informal communication channel that reinforces the academic culture. Positive and negative reinforcement is highly formal for student-athletes and informal for coaches. Hierarchy, authority, and power in the organization determine the structure of the reinforcement, again characterizing and shaping departmental relationships (Charlton, 2009).

Only one additional study (Taylor, 2005) addresses the issue of HBCU athletes and their academic struggles. Perhaps research has been limited because of the NCAA's demonstrative explanation of lack of financial resources (Carey, 2006; Sander, 2009). Financial data from Chapter I dispelled the claim in part by demonstrating no correlation between HBCU instructional spending and graduation rates. With other variables, clearly at work and the issue continuing to raise concerns, comprehensive examination of the influences on positive and negative academic performance in HBCU athletic departments is required.

Charles Franklin McClelland, Jr. (2011), Athletic Director's Perceptions of the Effectiveness of HBCU Division I-AA Athletic Programs

Case Two: Description of Case

This second case study was designed (McClelland, 2011) to identify variables that athletic directors perceived would determine the athletic program's potential for effectiveness in the current NCAA Division I-AA and Division II structure. In this study, the researcher surveyed athletic directors at HBCUs to identify variables perceived to determine the effectiveness of

athletic programs, how specific variables influence athletic operations at HBCU institutions, and what effect the variables may have on the potential of program survival. Intercollegiate athletics is a big business and any consumer can determine that some institutions programs represent better business ventures than others. Although few studies exist that address problematic areas or contain alternatives for enhancing intercollegiate programs at HBCUs or at less competitive institutions, newspapers and journals are replete with announcements and opinions about decisions to be made regarding athletic programs.

The problem investigated in the study (McClelland, 2011) was that variables are not known that may lead to and help sustain the effectiveness of athletic programs at HBCUs as perceived by athletic directors. Few studies of the future of intercollegiate athletics at HBCU institutions exist. Goss, Crow, Ashley, and Jubenville (2004) examined the perspectives of HBCU athletic directors regarding conditions within the NCAA and their prognostications of the future. They recommended that further study be conducted to determine athletic directors' opinions on how their departments would cope with conditions that might exist such as student athletic stipends, if permitted by the NCAA, and mandated compliance with gender equity provisions. Issues such as revenue and governance could pose problems for the operation of inter-collegiate programs at HBCUs. As these and other variables appeared to have some influence on the effectiveness of intercollegiate programs in NCAA divisions, research was needed to identify those variables applicable to HBCUs. Additionally, because of limited reports in the literature on the future of intercollegiate athletics at HBCU, studies were needed to determine the effects of variables on athletic programs, to identify alternatives for college/university officials and athletic leadership, as well as possible implications for the NCAA.

Researchers of college athletics have cited factors that appear to have had some influence on the effectiveness of intercollegiate programs in NCAA divisions (Frank, 2004; Litan, Orszag, and Orszag, 2003; Orszag and Orszag, 2005). However, given the limited amount of available research directly related to the applicability of these factors to Historically Black Colleges and Universities and based on recommendations in the literature, additional research was needed to identify those variables applicable to HBCUs and their effects on the potential for these programs to survive. The analysis of data from both questionnaire items and participant's comments (McClelland, 2011) provided answers to the research questions posed for identifying variables that athletic directors at HBCUs perceived would determine the effectiveness of intercollegiate athletics at their institutions. Participants perceived that variables identified in the study were significant to the success of football and basketball athletic programs. In the category of Revenue/Funding, items that were most frequently identified as strong determinants of success were college/university funding, facilities, and corporate sponsorship. Gender Equity variables identified were program funding for gender equity, and salary equity.

Additionally, the influences of Revenue/Funding and the NCAA on program effectiveness were statistically significant. For NCAA Policies, the most frequent strongly agree responses were for the items financial aid/scholarships and compliance with NCAA rules. In the Academics category, graduation rates and academic standards were found to have the most frequent agree responses (McClelland, 2011).

The frequency of strongly agree responses was indicative that recruitment of athletes and support services were variables within the Student-Athlete Category that participants perceived determine program effectiveness (McClelland, 2011). In the Diversity Category, 68.3% of the participants perceived that the low number of ethnic minority coaches in college athletics

affected the success of programs. The category, Athletic Director Expertise, also had higher strongly agree percentages for administrative support and program supervision as success variables than other items included in the category. Participant's comments also revealed changes in NCAA policies and structure that could have a positive influence on program effectiveness.

Statistically significant differences between observed and expected frequencies were found on the degree of influence items had on the program and on actions participants employed to enhance the potential for program survival (McClelland, 2011). The percentage of responses to items differed for participants based on years of experience, degree of the director, and the academic major of the degree.

Case Two: Methodology

A concurrent mixed method design (McClelland, 2011) was employed to determine perceptions of the status of HBCU's athletic programs and implications for their survival. Tashakkori and Teddlie described the design as a multi-strand involving the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data for answering a single type of research question. These authors explained that the two types of data are collected independently at the same time or after a period of time. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2006) further explained that the purpose of the concurrent mixed method design was to permit the use of independent strands to answer exploratory and confirmatory questions (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2006).

The participants targeted for this study (McClelland, 2011) consisted of the total population of 50 athletic directors employed at HBCUs designated as NCAA Division I-II institutions. These directors were representative of athletic programs with membership in the

CIAA, MEAC, SIAC, SWAC and independent conferences. A directory of athletic directors in various divisions developed by the NCAA was used to identify the participants targeted for the study. Data were collected through a questionnaire modified from the survey instrument that Goss et al. (2004) used in their athletic study. Descriptive and inferential statistics were used for analysis. A questionnaire instrument with space for open-ended responses contained items and questions related to the following categories: funding/revenue, gender equity, NCAA policies, academics, student-athlete, minority representation, and expertise of athletic directors, revenue/funding influence, NCAA influence, and actions employed for variables. The instrument was a modification of the instrument used in the athletic study completed by Goss, Crow, Ashley, and Jubenville (2004). The instrument was modified in its structure and through the addition of categories and variables.

Participants (McClelland, 2011) were requested to give their perceptions of variables influencing athletic programs through responding to positive, closed-ended statements organized on a 5-point Likert scale which ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Fifty-eight items were listed for responses on the 5-point scale; the highest possible total score was 290 and the lowest total possible score was 58. Another part of the survey contained eight closed-response activities related to all categories on the instrument.

The researcher (McClelland, 2011) used a coding scheme that linked open-ended responses to categories such as student-athlete, marketing, and the NCAA to determine the number of times recurring words and phrases emerged and to analyze the content of responses. Codes from narrative data allowed for the identification of themes, analysis of similarities and differences in responses, and for summarizing the content of responses. Analysis of data for Research Question 1 included the use of content analysis. Content analysis was used to identify

themes from open-ended questionnaire items and interviews that were linked to the frequency and percentage of like responses on closed-ended questionnaire items.

Case Study Two: Significance of Study

The research on intercollegiate athletics contains questions regarding such issues as graduation rates, diversity, and control of athletic programs, gender equity, funding, compliance, and organizational effectiveness. Institutions have engaged in efforts to add to the body of intercollegiate athletic research through organizing special entities such as the Laboratory for the Study of Intercollegiate Athletics (LSIA) at Texas A&M University (LSIA, 2003). Authors reviewed in the literature suggested that programs at Historically Black Colleges and Universities may be at risk of surviving, especially with respect to their inability to compete for the top dollars that non-HBCU institutions are able to secure. Further, in view of budgetary concerns and compliance issues, questions facing HBCUs and some other institutions include, “what teams are most visible? What teams make the most \$ [money]? . . . What teams are most likely to get cut or underfunded” (Watson, p.1)?

According to McClelland (2011) the challenge facing many athletic directors and leaders of higher education institutions is to identify alternatives and make decisions that would increase the likelihood of program survival in view of the number of changes that have resulted in the business of intercollegiate athletics. Perceptions of personnel directly involved in managing athletic programs about what is needed to build and ensure quality programs are important as these perceptions will likely impact the program’s status. Likewise, perceptions about a college or university’s athletic program will likely influence the perception of the university. Positive perceptions generally lead to increased enrollment and increased funding for university operations.

Good decision-making involves acquiring information from various credible sources that will allow a situation to be observed from different perspectives. The results of this study (McClelland, 2011) may assist in establishing baseline data for consideration in decision making relative to HBCU intercollegiate athletics. Additionally, the results of the study may contribute to the body of knowledge concerning variables and trends impacting HBCU athletic programs and suggested alternatives for program survival.

The study (McClelland, 2011) was conducted to identify which variables were perceived to determine the effectiveness of HBCU athletic programs based on the opinions of athletic directors at Historically Black Colleges and Universities. The study was designed to identify possible factors that would enhance an HBCU athletic program's potential to survive in the current NCAA Division I-AA and Division II structure. Further, the study was designed to determine if opinions differed among athletic directors at HBCUs with Division I-AA football and those at other HBCU institutions whose football or other intercollegiate athletic programs were within lower NCAA divisions.

McClelland's (2011) research questions specifically looked to address athletic director's perception regarding effectiveness.

1. Based on the perceptions of HBCU Athletic Directors, what variables are ranked highest to determine the effectiveness of HBCU athletic programs?
2. Do athletic directors at HBCU Division I-AA and non-Division I-AA football institutions differ in their perceptions of which variables are more important that influence program effectiveness (p.12)?

McClelland (2011) states, regardless of the NCAA division athletic directors represented, they were in agreement with variables identified in the study as significant to the effectiveness of Division I-AA football programs at HBCUs. However, differences were found for responses of

participants registering strong agreement with items based on their years of athletic experience, type of degree, and training concentration area. Participants with bachelors and masters' degrees in business, science, sports management, and health and physical education, and directors whose experience ranged from 1-7 years showed higher percentages of agreement on the variables related to NCAA Influence and Revenue/Funding than participants with advanced degrees and more years of experience.

Participants perceived that significant to the success of athletics at HBCUs with football programs in NCAA Division II-AA were variables categorized as Revenue/Funding, Gender Equity, NCAA Policies, Academics, the Student-Athlete, Diversity, the Expertise of the Athletic Director, the Influence of Revenue/Funding, and the Influence of the NCAA. Although the study did not involve ranking items, items were identified where participants showed higher levels of agreement according to calculations of frequencies and percentages which revealed how participants responded to items (McClelland, 2011).

Jeremy Cheeks (2016), A Critical Examination of NCAA Division I HBCU Athletic Director's Perspective of the Current State of Intercollegiate Athletics

Case Three: Description of Study

The purpose of the third case study (Cheeks, 2016) is to illuminate the perception of the current National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I (DI) structure from the perspective of Historically Black College and University (HBCU) administrators, primarily DI HBCU Athletic Directors. HBCU athletic programs are placed in a precarious situation, in which administrators are forced to operate as marginalized institutions within a structure that perpetuates resource based inequities between institutions. As historically Black institutions,

HBCUs also operate within the confines of the greater socially oppressive racial structure that permeates between the American higher educational context and intercollegiate athletics context. Although there is literature pertaining to HBCUs in the broader intercollegiate athletics literature covering a range of topics (i.e., consumer behavior, academic success, history, organizational effectiveness), there continues to be a dearth in the literature of the voices and experiences of HBCU athletic administrators and how they navigate within the current NCAA structure.

This research (Cheeks, 2016) demonstrates examples of how the perception and positioning of HBCU athletic programs at the NCAA DI level is symptomatic of continued racial and class discrimination. Additionally, the implications call for re-evaluation of continued participation in the NCAA as well as development of countermeasures to the imposed devaluation of HBCU athletics.

Intercollegiate athletics, namely the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), have been thrust into a pivotal moment in the history of amateur sport. Faced with issues like diversity, student-athlete graduation rates, resource acquisition, labor issues, and various other topics; intercollegiate athletics are in a state where policy and procedure changes are necessary to continue to evolve the state of sport in higher education as well as sustain its level of current financial success (Clotfelter, 2012). However, in this membership driven organization, all members have not been afforded the same opportunities to prosper or granted access to full participation in the activities represented within the structure of the NCAA (Cooper, Cavil, & Cheeks, 2014; Evans, Evans, & Evans, 2002; Gaither, 2013; Koch, 1985; McClelland, 2011; Padilla & Baumer, 1994). Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have historically been the most marginalized of these member institutions within the NCAA (Cooper, Cavil, & Cheeks; 2014).

Cooper, Cavil and Cheeks (2014) state that, just as in the broader society, racial prejudice has played a role in the opportunities granted to HBCU institutions within intercollegiate athletics. Prior to racial integration in sport and currently, HBCUs have been disadvantaged in garnering resources but have fought to sustain themselves in direct competition with their higher education counterparts (Evans, Evans, & Evans; 2002).

Case Study Three: Methodology

This research study (Cheeks, 2016), utilized a qualitative approach to conduct its examination. Basic qualitative approaches can include but, are not limited to, narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case studies (Creswell, 2007).

Understanding that the research design serves as a guide for the researcher to conduct the investigation, the qualitative research design employed in this study was an intrinsic case study approach (see Creswell, 2007; Stake, 1995) to better understand both the social context of HBCU participation in the NCAA DI structure and the particular challenges at an individual institutional level.

Understanding the purpose of this research examination, an intrinsic case study and its corresponding analysis methods work to contribute in expanding and generalizing theories (Yin, 2003). Hence, in this research examination the intrinsic case study is a valuable design method to utilize in tandem with the selected critical race theory framework.

Due to case studies' wide range of applicability, case studies have been utilized in various fields of study to include psychology, sociology, political science, and sport sociology (Gilgun, 1994; Singer, 2005; Yin, 2003). Regarding this research study (Cheeks, 2016), the case study design method affords the opportunity and can be applied to illustrate in a descriptive manner the particular position HBCUs are in under the NCAA structure as well as explore the

challenges associated with participation within that structure for HBCUs (see Yin, 2003).

Creswell (2007) states that there are three types of case studies: the single instrumental case study, the collective or multiple case studies, and the intrinsic case study which are differentiated by the size of the bounded case (e.g., individual, several individuals, a group, an entire program, or an activity).

The participants targeted for this study (Cheeks, 2016) were a total population of 23 athletic directors employed at HBCUs designated as NCAA DI institutions. These athletic directors are representative of the HBCU athletic programs with membership in the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference (MEAC) and Southwestern Athletic Conference (SWAC). A directory of athletic directors compiled by the NCAA and the aforementioned two (2) conferences were used to identify the participants targeted for this study. In addition to the formal interview, several informal, or casual, conversations lasting approximately 10 minutes each prior to the semi-structured interview took place.

Case Study Three: Significance of study

Literature pertaining to intercollegiate athletics continues to evolve and cover a wide range of issues. However; there is one glaring focus that remains seemingly devoid in conversation, HBCU athletics. Although there is literature pertaining to HBCUs in the broader intercollegiate athletics literature covering a range of topics (i.e., consumer behavior, academic success, history, organizational effectiveness) (Armstrong, 2001; Cooper, Cavi, & Cheeks, 2014; Cooper, Hawkins, 2014; Johnson, 2013, McClelland, 2011), there continues to be a dearth in literature of the voice and experiences of HBCU athletic administrators and how they navigate within the current NCAA structure. It is acknowledged that HBCU athletics may potentially be at risk of continuing in the future, primarily because of their inability to secure the amount of

funding that other institutions and programs have been able to historically garner (McClelland, 2011). Thus, it is essential to connect with those in positions with the ability to affect change and promote actionable strategies to encourage the growth and development of these institutions.

However, scholars often venture on the peripheral of their respective research areas trying to glean insight into a glimpse of what may be the issue at large. Additionally, scholars fit theories and rationale to phenomena like puzzle pieces making associations assumed to dictate outcomes and ultimately answers to questions deemed important within the confines of academia. What potentially gets lost in the midst of what is and what is not deemed relevant and important, is the notion that how can we expect practitioners in positions of authority to implement changes that scholars deem important if it is not relevant nor important to said practitioners. It is in this regard, that the scope of this research is to provide a platform which can have direct feedback as to what may or may not be relevant to practitioners at this time in order to accurately and holistically develop strategies and solutions to enhance the financial possibilities presented to HBCU athletic programs.

Cheeks (2016) research questions explicitly addressed HBCU athletic director's perspective of present state intercollegiate athletics.

1. What is the perception of the current NCAA DI structure and how HBCUs are situated within the current NCAA structure?
2. What is the perceived impact of the historic resource deprivation in the dissemination of resources in the current NCAA DI structure?
3. What is the perceived impact of the historic label of HBCU status in the dissemination of resources in the current NCAA DI structure and how HBCUs are situated within the current NCAA structure?
4. What is the perceived financial outlook of HBCU athletics (p.4)?

According to Cheeks (2016), the findings suggested that there was a need for HBCU athletic directors and their administrative staff to collectively redefine who they are and how they

want to be perceived under the current structure of the NCAA. Moreover, understand what the perception is of the historic label of being a HBCU and the current social implications that come with it. HBCU athletic programs have been historically marginalized in the NCAA structure and are in a position to counter some of the negative perceptions of being a low resource institution and disparately represented in NCAA DI (Cheeks & Carter-Francique, 2015). Also, the racial component of systemic resource deprivation calls for a reevaluation of what strategies can be employed to combat these oppressive forces.

Methodology of the Case Studies

The main method that is used in this design is the analysis of the three case studies developed by three different writers in different years. These sources are defined as secondary data sources that are influential and assist in gathering information, analyzing the opinions, and reviewing the situations similar to the design. The selected studies assist to understand the main concern of the study, support the chosen topic, and prove its value and urgency. In the selected case studies; the authors introduce three research designs that have related perceptions that connect Historically Black College and Universities athletic directors, who provide their opinions about their allocation of funding for student-athlete's academic results.

In general, the case studies for this project will analyze in a systematic way. The first priority is to read all the studies thoroughly and then it is mandatory to identify the main sections in each study and identify such concepts as methods, samples, instruments, and research strategies, etc. It is also important to address the theoretical background of each case study and explain what sources the authors used in their design. It is anticipated that the theoretical bases of all three case studies have several common themes that assist to unite the project and prove the significance for the analysis. The years of publication are also important and can be used for

a concern for the comparison. The comparison of case studies should assist to understand how different researchers/authors saw the value of the funding HBCU academic setting at different periods of time. The purpose is to understand the methods of analysis of the data about HBCU student-athlete academics and to introduce methods chosen by different researchers to prove how critical the role of administrators could be. Organizing a thorough and in-depth analysis of three foregoing case studies will enable the researcher to identify the phenomena that emerge for the study of the case studies.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter will describe an analysis of the three cases studies (Charlton, 2009; McClelland, 2011; Cheeks, 2016), and will establish patterns within their findings. Both the study designs and the results will be compared. The goal of this chapter is to find commonalities, disparities of the commonalties as well as to answer the two research questions:

1. What is the perception of the utilization of resources at Historically Black College and Universities for Athletic Directors?
2. What are the beliefs and attitudes of Historically Black Colleges and University Athletic Directors Athletic Directors towards academic success?

Creswell (2018) defines this type of research, explaining, “In a collective case study (or multiple case study), the one issue or concern is again selected, but the inquirer selects multiple case studies to illustrate the issue. The researcher might select for additional studies several programs from several research sites or multiple programs within a single site” (p. 98). Creswell also explains a procedure for conducting a comparative case study analysis, noting:

The type of analysis of these data can be a holistic analysis of the entire case or an embedded analysis of a specific aspect of the case (Yin, 2009). Through data collecting and analysis, a detailed description of the case (Stake, 1995) emerges in which the researcher details such aspects as the history of the case, the chronology of events, or a day-by-day rendering of the activities of the case....Then the researcher might focus on a few key issues (or analysis of themes, or case themes), not for generalizing beyond the case but for understanding the complexity of the case. One analytic strategy would be to identify issues within each case and then look for common themes that transcend the cases (Yin, 2009). This analysis is rich in the context of the case or setting in which the case presents itself (Merriam, 1988). When multiple cases are chosen, a typical format is to provide first a detailed description of each case and themes within the case, called a within-case analysis, followed by a thematic analysis across the cases, called a cross-case analysis, as well as assertions or an interpretation of the meaning of the case. (p. 99-100)

With these procedures adhered to, this research will focus on an embedded analysis of these cases, focusing specifically on the study design, findings, and the aspects of the case that help to answer the research questions. A within-case analysis of each study design and findings will be provided, followed by a cross-case analysis for both the study design and the findings. Next, each research question will be addressed utilizing information from any of the three case studies that helped to answer that question. Additionally, ATLAS.ti 8 software will be utilized throughout this chapter in order to code the findings of each study and to assist with theming as it relates to the three research questions. Semantic linkages will be displayed utilizing this software.

Case One: Study Design

Charlton (2009)

The purpose of this study (Charlton, 2009) was to understand how an organizational culture can positively impact the graduation rates for HBCU student-athletes (p.7). The research questions this study sought to answer were:

1. What were the roles of administration, coaches, and peers as socializing influences on student-athletes?
 - a. What are the core values, attitudes, and beliefs of those three groups as they academics?
 - b. How did influence amongst the three socializing groups?
2. How did the relationship structure between socializing groups and the student-athletes impact the transmission of organizational culture?
3. How did cultural content in the form of language, rituals, and policies impact socialization?
 - a. How did cultural content appear formally and informally in the socialization process?
 - b. How did the nature of specific cultural content differentially impact socialization of student-athletes?
4. Were the resulting values, beliefs, and attitudes of the student-athletes toward academics from the socialization process similar to the values, attitudes and beliefs of the three groups of socializing agents?

- a. What was the nature of student-athletes organizational culture as it relates to academics?
- b. Which socializing influences group had the most congruent organizational culture with student-athletes (p.6)?

The author (Charlton, 2009) believes the case study method is best-suited for the purposes of this research. A case study examines a specific instance to comprehend a larger phenomenon (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The examples explored might include "event, process, organization, group or individual" (Rossman & Rallis, p. 104). The case in this study was South Atlantic University Athletics. This organization was chosen in order to understand the phenomenon of their excellent graduation rate for student-athletes and relationships to organizational culture and its transmission. Case studies are denoted and strengthened by the depth and complexity of the research and the presentation of multiple perspectives (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Given the multi-faceted nature of organizational culture, socialization and the probability of multiple subcultures within an athletic department, a case study presents a format appropriate for multi-layered perspectives and concepts.

Given the complex nature of organizational culture, socialization, and the necessity of understanding the perspectives of the various stakeholders within the athletic department in that setting, qualitative research in general and the case study method in particular, was the most appropriate research strategy. Case studies are geared toward studying a phenomenon in its natural context, utilizing numerous sources of data, and developing increased understanding of a specific issue (Schwandt, 2001; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003). Quantitative study of organizational culture limits the emic or insider perspective as well as analysis and definitions of core issues regarding the concept (Ott, 1989; Schein, 2004). Qualitative research is most appropriately

utilized where the case is best understood in its natural environment (Rossman and Rallis, 2003). Researchers most importantly must focus holistically on the study of organizational culture, as well as socialization, which includes understanding participants experiencing the culture in its natural setting (Hamada & Sibley, 1994; Tierney, 1997).

Case Two: Study Design

McClelland (2011)

The purpose of this study (McClelland, 2011), was to identify variables that athletic directors perceived would determine the athletic program's potential for effectiveness in the current NCAA Division I-AA and Division II structure (p. 11). The research questions this study sought to answer were:

1. Based on the perceptions of HBCU Athletic Directors, what variables are ranked highest to determine the effectiveness of HBCU athletic programs?
2. Do athletic directors at HBCU Division I-AA and non-Division I-AA football institutions differ in their perceptions of which variables are more important that influence program effectiveness (p.12)?

A concurrent mixed method design (McClelland, 2011) was employed to determine perceptions of the status of HBCU's athletic programs and implications for their survival. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2006), described the design as a multi-strand involving the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data for answering a single type of research question. These authors explained that the two types of data are collected independently at the same time or after a period of time. The participants targeted for this study (McClelland, 2011) consisted of the total population of 50 athletic directors employed at HBCUs designated as NCAA Division I-II institutions. These directors were representative of athletic programs with membership in the CIAA, MEAC, SIAC, SWAC and independent conferences. A directory of athletic directors in various divisions developed by the NCAA was used to identify the

participants targeted for the study. Data were collected through a questionnaire modified from the survey instrument that Goss et al. (2004) used in their athletic study. Descriptive and inferential statistics were used for analysis. A questionnaire instrument with space for open-ended responses contained items and questions related to the following categories: funding/revenue, gender equity, NCAA policies, academics, student-athlete, minority representation, and expertise of athletic directors, revenue/funding influence, NCAA influence, and actions employed for variables. The instrument was a modification of the instrument used in the athletic study completed by Goss, Crow, Ashley, and Jubenville (2004). The instrument was modified in its structure and through the addition of categories and variables.

Case Three: Study Design

Cheeks (2016)

The purpose of this study (Cheeks, 2016), was to illuminate the perception of the current National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I (DI) structure from the perspective of Historically Black College and University (HBCU) administrators, primarily DI HBCU Athletic Directors (p. 3). The research questions this study sought to answer were:

1. What is the perception of the current NCAA DI structure and how HBCUs are situated within the current NCAA structure?
2. What is the perceived impact of the historic resource deprivation in the dissemination of resources in the current NCAA DI structure?
3. What is the perceived impact of the historic label of HBCU status in the dissemination of resources in the current NCAA DI structure and how HBCUs are situated within the current NCAA structure?
4. What is the perceived financial outlook of HBCU athletics (p.4)?

Due to case studies' wide range of applicability, case studies have been utilized in various fields of study to include psychology, sociology, political science, and sport sociology (Gilgun, 1994; Singer, 2005; Yin, 2003). Regarding this research study (Cheeks, 2016), the case

study design method affords the opportunity and can be applied to illustrate in a descriptive manner the particular position HBCUs are in under the NCAA structure as well as explore the challenges associated with participation within that structure for HBCUs (see Yin, 2003).

Creswell (2007) states that there are three types of case studies: the single instrumental case study, the collective or multiple case studies, and the intrinsic case study which are differentiated by the size of the bounded case (e.g., individual, several individuals, a group, an entire program, or an activity). The participants targeted for this study (Cheeks, 2016) were a total population of 23 athletic directors employed at HBCUs designated as NCAA DI institutions. These athletic directors are representative of the HBCU athletic programs with membership in the Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference (MEAC) and Southwestern Athletic Conference (SWAC). A directory of athletic directors compiled by the NCAA and the aforementioned two (2) conferences were used to identify the participants targeted for this study. In addition to the formal interview, several informal, or casual, conversations lasting approximately 10 minutes each prior to the semi-structured interview took place.

Cross-Case analysis: study design.

All three studies utilized qualitative methodologies; study two (McClelland, 2011) also utilized quantitative methods to employ a mixed method research methodology. Case study one (Charlton, 2009) and case study three (Cheeks, 2016) utilized interviews as one of the multiple forms of data collection while case study two (McClelland, 2011) utilized surveys and questionnaires. Case study one (Charlton, 2009) focused on interviews and observation from the entire SAU athletic program which included administration and coaches, case study two (McClelland, 2011) administered surveys and questionnaires to Historically Black College and University Athletic Directors from all NCAA DI and DII institutions and case study three

(Cheeks, 2016) interviewed only NCAA DI HBCU athletic Directors. This means that among all three cases, the highest level of athletic administration was represented. All qualitative data were analyzed using coding and theming; study one (Charlton, 2009) specifically employed methodological triangulation, study two (McClelland, 2011) applied a multi-strand design and study three (Cheeks, 2016) was coded by researcher. The quantitative data was analyzed using Chi-square and the *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 15.0 (SPSS)*.

As it pertains to research questions, case one (Charlton, 2009) were directed at addressing the nature of organizational culture and its relation to academic performance in a HBCU athletic departments as well as how student-athletes are socialized to the department culture. Whereas case two (McClelland, 2011) focused on HBCU athletic directors' perceptions of variables for an effective HBCU athletic program and their importance; while case three (Cheeks, 2016) specifically focused on the NCAA D1 structure and its connection to HBCU athletics. By comparing these three cases, an extensive examination of leadership similarities emerges, providing insight for any HBCU athletic director. Case one (Charlton, 2009) combined components of Wiedman's model of undergraduate socialization with elements of cultural content, case three (Cheeks, 2016) utilized the Critical Race Theory (CRT) while case two (McClelland, 2011) focused a more practical approach.

Case One: Findings

The researcher (Charlton, 2009) discovered unique aspects of culture and socialization at SAU athletics that force the development of a refined model representing the exemplar circumstances. Charlton (2009), observed five critical interactive components that contribute to the achievement of a positive and congruent academic culture. Recognizing that each NCAA Division I HBCU retains their own unique environmental variables, enough common ground

exists to suggest applicable lessons learned in the SAU model. Lastly, the implications for continued research are conveyed in light of a dearth of research regarding the phenomenon and this study's positive findings regarding culture and academic performance. Only one additional study (Taylor, 2005) addresses the issue of HBCU athletes and their academic struggles. Perhaps research has been limited because of the NCAA's demonstrative explanation of lack of financial resources (Carey, 2006; Sander, 2009). With other variables, clearly at work and the issue continuing to raise concerns, comprehensive examination of the influences on positive and negative academic performance in HBCU athletic departments is required.

Financial resources are a factor and SAU faces the same financial obstacles as many other athletic departments (Carey, 2005), however, SAU performs exceptionally well in graduating its student-athletes. Absent financial resources as the sole determining variable, extensive literature and research connecting performance to organizational culture provides credibility to the likelihood that SAU has developed a positive academic culture that enhances student-athlete's success. Additionally, an effective socialization process is necessary to transmit the culture through the organization and most significantly to the student-athletes. Past research regarding undergraduate socialization suggest student peer groups as the most influential of the potential socializing groups on campus (Astin,1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Less frequent interaction serves to prevent administrators from significantly influencing socialization, while the opposite is true for coaches. The experience for SAU student-athletes does not corroborate these findings. Administrators at SAU are committed to overall student-athlete well-being and pride themselves on having close relationships with many of the student-athletes. The administrators create and enforce academic standards and policy structuring them as formal socializing agents in the organization. The sense of compassion and maternal relationships with

student-athletes also shapes them as informal socializing agents.

Coaches at SAU play similar roles. Representing the perspective of formal socializing agents as the authoritative coach, they create and enforce policy related to the program. Like the administrators, compassion for student-athlete success and well-being creates familial type relationships and represents the informal influence on the student-athletes. While possessing their own strong values geared toward academics, coaches are appreciably impacted by the administrators and their compassionate but authoritative styles. Expectations of congruent values regarding academics are made very evident by the administrators. Coach or student-athlete actions not in agreement with those values are addressed with consequences.

SAU student-athletes socialize with each other by way of reinforcing the academic culture transmitted to them by the administrators and coaches. The findings reflect the same for the process component of the framework. Relationships are highly influential and truly drive the socialization process. Organizational authority and power stemming from the hierarchy characterize formal and informal relationships. Exploring the dynamics between the three socializing groups reveals how the academic culture is transmitted from administration to coach to athlete and then among the athletes. Communication and reinforcement are integral socialization processes, but rather standing independently they represent critical aspects of the relationship component. Positive and negative reinforcement is highly formal for student-athletes and informal for coaches. Hierarchy, authority, and power in the organization determine the structure of the reinforcement, again characterizing and shaping departmental relationships (Charlton, 2009). Analyzing the findings related to socialization processes clarifies that the successful model of culture and socialization at SAU is not linear, but definitively intertwined,

circular and reinforcing. The connection between relationships and academic policy serve as an example.

Case Two: Findings

McClelland (2011) notes regardless of the NCAA division athletic directors represented, they were in agreement with variables identified in the study as significant to the effectiveness of Division I-AA football programs at HBCUs. However, differences were found for responses of participants registering strong agreement with items based on their years of athletic experience, type of degree, and training concentration area. Participants with bachelors and masters degrees in business, science, sports management, and health and physical education, and directors whose experience ranged from 1-7 years showed higher percentages of agreement on the variables related to NCAA Influence and Revenue/Funding than participants with advanced degrees and more years of experience.

The analysis of data from both the questionnaire items and participants' comments provided answers to the research questions posed for identifying variables that athletic directors at HBCUs perceived would determine the effectiveness of intercollegiate athletics at their institutions. Participants perceived that variables identified in the study were significant to the success of football and basketball athletic programs. Athletic directors agreed that the following categories of variables determined the effectiveness of athletics at HBCUs with Division I, II and I-AA football and basketball programs: (a) Revenue/Funding, (b) Gender Equity, (c) NCAA Policies, (d) Academics, (e) the Student-Athlete, (f) Diversity, (g) the Expertise of the Athletic Director, (h) Revenue/Funding Influence, and (i) NCAA Influence. In the category of Revenue/Funding, items that were most frequently identified as strong determinants of success were college/university funding, facilities, and corporate sponsorship. Gender Equity variables

identified were program funding for gender equity, and salary equity. Additionally, the influences of Revenue/Funding and the NCAA on program effectiveness were statistically significant. For NCAA Policies, the most frequent strongly agree responses were for the items financial aid/scholarships and compliance with NCAA rules. In the Academics category, graduation rates and academic standards were found to have the most frequent agree responses.

Case Three: Findings

According to Cheeks (2016), the analysis of the data (including textual data, documents, and informal conversations), four main themes emerged. First, Re-defining Who We Are, which refers to the necessity for HBCUs to understand who they want to be and how they want to represent themselves moving forward. Second, Combatting the Label, which speaks to the perception of the impact that the label of an HBCU or low resource institution has from a social perspective and how HBCU athletic programs desire to overcome misconceptions and strategically set themselves up for greater success in the future. Third, Separation and Exclusion, refers to the perception of parameters and barriers to access that HBCU athletic programs face in the current structure of the NCAA. Lastly, Resource Disparities, which refers to the acknowledgement that the current structure displays a disparity in resource distribution as well as an acknowledgement of lack of financial resources in HBCU athletics.

The findings suggested that there was a need for HBCU athletic directors and their administrative staff to collectively redefine who they are and how they want to be perceived under the current structure of the NCAA. Moreover, administrators must understand what the perception is of the historic label of being a HBCU and the current social implications that come with it. HBCU athletic programs have been historically marginalized in the NCAA structure and

are in a position to counter some of the negative perceptions of being a low resource institution and disparately represented in NCAA DI (Cheeks & Carter-Francique, 2015). Also, the racial component of systemic resource deprivation calls for a re-evaluation of what strategies can be employed to combat these oppressive forces.

Cross-Case Analysis: Study Design

There was a great deal of association in resources that lead to the academic success of student-athletes at Historically Black Colleges and Universities, which will be further explained in the subsequent section. All three studies place significant emphasis on resources, or the lack of resources, as one of the indicators of an effective/successful HBCU athletic program. In addition, all three studies have commonalities or disparities of commonalities that are indicative of cross-case comparative analysis studies. Charlton (2009) finds that utilization of organizational culture while applying effective socialization processes in the organization, most importantly the students will establish a positive academic environment. According to Cheeks (2016), HBCU athletic directors and staff need to redefine themselves within the NCAA structure while racial and social implications have stigmatized their programs. McClelland (2011) indicated that athletic experience, type of degree and area of concentration amongst athletic directors has an impact on how strongly they agree with revenue/funding causing the effectiveness of an HBCU athletic program.

By utilizing the ATLAS.ti 8 software, the investigator systematically coded the variables within the cases' research questions while establishing subthemes to further label them. Next, the study utilized ATLAS.ti 8 to conduct a cross-case analysis from the cases summary of

findings to identify reoccurring themes within each sample. The theorist utilized the data to develop well-formulated assertions and interpretations.

The investigator, utilizing qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti 8 identified four main codes from examination of the findings within each case study. These codes were color coded and entered into a network radial cluster and with semantic linkage between sub-coding's created a web of interrelated codes from each of the four main codes. These sub-codes were identified within quotations and words related to the main codes. Related elements were introduced for each of the four independent networks. This is part of interpretation and there are no restrictions when creating this semantic linkage because one concept may or may not mean the same thing. In this manner, the investigator can systematically understand the data interpretations and how these concepts relate to each other. Therefore, in the radial cluster 1 below the seven outer linkages are all associated with HBCUs. This is also displayed in table 1. The intent is to identify emerging themes from the degree of density and groundedness for each, as they relate to V1 HBCU Athletics, directly meaning there is no hierarchical structure introduced. This is also indicative of the other main themes, V2 Resources, V3 Student Athletes and V4 Academic Success as represented in each radial cluster.

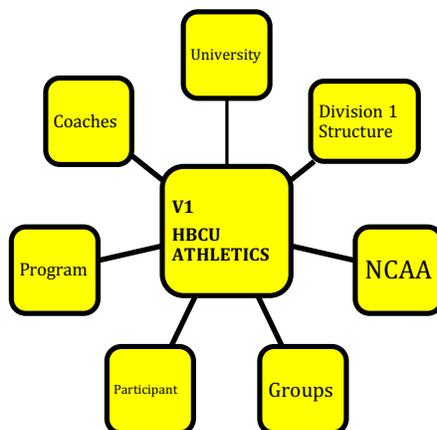


Figure 1: Radial Cluster 1, V1 HBCU Athletics

In Radial Cluster 2 below the investigator found repeatedly that several of the concepts within the semantic linkage between sub-coding were combined within the structure. All have the same degree of density throughout the structure. Therefore, in the radial cluster 2 below the seven outer linkages are all associated with resources. This is also displayed in figure 1.

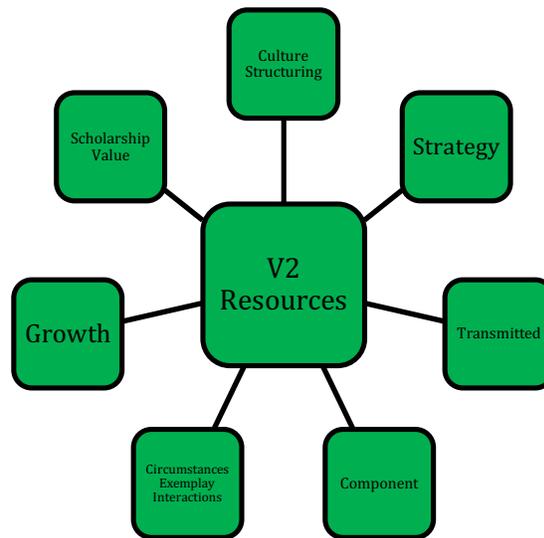


Figure 2: Radial Cluster 2, V2 Resources

In radial cluster 3, V3 Student Athletics there are 5 semantical linkages associated. There is no hierarchical structure associated with this network coding. The density and groundedness for each, are not affected as they relate to V3 Resources, directly meaning there is no hierarchical structure. Therefore, in the radial cluster 3 below the seven outer linkages are all associated with resources. This is also displayed in figure 1.

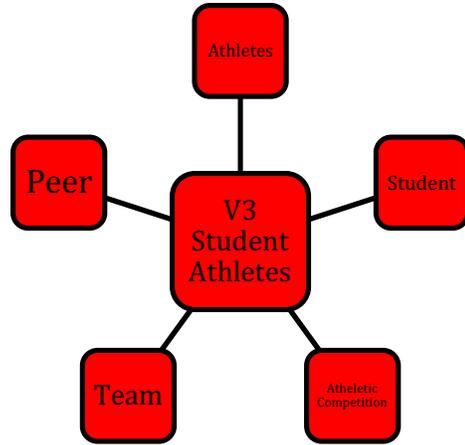


Figure 3: Radial Cluster 3, V3 Student-Athletes

In radial cluster 4, V4 Academic Success there are 4 semantical linkages associated. There is no hierarchical structure associated with this network coding. The density and groundedness for each, are not affected as they relate to V Academic success, directly meaning there is no hierarchical structure. Therefore, in the radial cluster 4 below the 4 outer networked linkages are all associated with Academic success. This is also displayed in table 1.

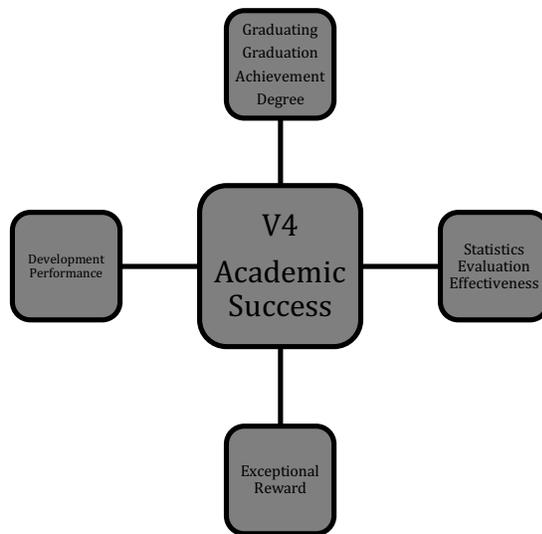


Figure 4: Radial Cluster 4, V4 Academic Success

Table 1: Categories

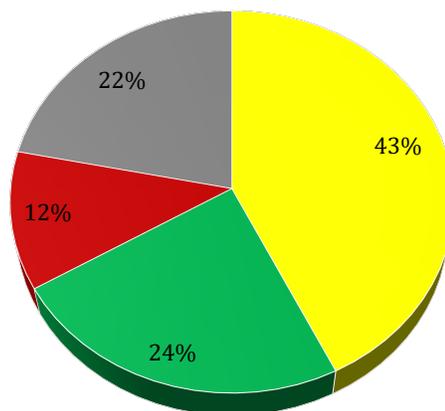
V1 HBCU ATHLETICS	V2 RESOURCES
NCAA, D1 Structure, Organization, University, Department, Coaches, Program, Participant, Groups	Culture, Transmitted, Component, Exemplary Circumstance, Growth, Interactions, Structuring, Scholarships, Value, Strategy
V3 STUDENT-ATHLETES	V4 ACADEMICS SUCCESS
Athletes, Student, Athletic Competition, Team, Peers	Statistics, Graduating, Graduation, Performance, Exceptional, Developmental, Achievement, Reward, Effectiveness, Degree, Evaluation

Table 2: Categories and Summary of Findings

CATEGORIES	Findings Summary I	Findings Summary 2	Findings Summary 3
V1 HBCU ATHLETICS (180)	(77) 35%	(54) 50%	(49) 51%
V2 RESOURCES (100)	(50) 23%	(18) 17%	(32) 33%
V3 STUDENT-ATHLETES (49)	(38) 17%	(6) 6%	(6) 5%
V4 ACADEMICS SUCCESS (92)	(53) 24%	(29) 27%	(10) 10%

Chart 1: Categories and Percentages

Categories with Percentages



■ V1 HBCU ATHLETICS ■ V2 RESOURCES ■ V3 STUDENT-ATHLETES ■ V4 ACADEMICS SUCCESS

Research Questions

Research question one: What is the perception of the utilization of resources at Historically Black College and Universities for Athletic Directors?

According to McClelland (2011), athletic directors agreed that the following categories of variables determined the effectiveness of athletics at HBCUs with Division I, II, and I-AA football and basketball programs: (a) Revenue/Funding, (b) Gender Equity, (c) NCAA Policies, (d) Academics, (e) the Student-Athlete, (f) Diversity, (g) the Expertise of the Athletic Director, (h) Revenue/Funding Influence, and (i) NCAA Influence. In the category of Revenue/Funding, items that were most frequently identified as strong determinants of success were college/university funding, facilities, and corporate sponsorship. Gender Equity variables identified were program funding for gender equity, and salary equity.

Additionally, the influences of Revenue/Funding and the NCAA on program effectiveness were statistically significant. For NCAA Policies, the most frequent strongly agree responses were for the items financial aid/scholarships and compliance with NCAA rules. In the Academics category, graduation rates and academic standards were found to have the most frequent agree responses.

According to Cheeks (2016), there was an acknowledgement of resource disparities between HBCUs and their historically white counterparts in NCAA DI as well as its' impact on their (HBCUs) revenue generation opportunities and strategies. The success of an athletic program is highly contingent on its' access to opportunities for revenue. HBCUs, being where they are in the structure, depend on that ability for access to revenue generation opportunities externally a great deal. Combatting the Label, which speaks to the perception of the impact that

the label of an HBCU or low resource institution has from a social perspective and how HBCU athletic programs desire to overcome misconceptions and strategically set themselves up for greater success in the future.

Cheeks (2016) findings suggest that there was a need for HBCU athletic directors and their administrative staff to collectively redefine who they are and how they want to be perceived under the current structure of the NCAA. Moreover, understand what the perception is of the historic label of being a HBCU and the current social implications that come with it. HBCU athletic programs have been historically marginalized in the NCAA structure and are in a position to counter some of the negative perceptions of being a low resource institution and disparately represented in NCAA DI (Cheeks & Carter-Francique, 2015). Also, the racial component of systemic resource deprivation calls for a reevaluation of what strategies can be employed to combat these oppressive forces. Refer Figure 1

Research question two: What are the beliefs and attitudes of Historically Black Colleges and University Athletic Directors Athletic Directors towards academic success?

According to Charlton (2009), the overall low graduation rates at HBCUs attract negative attention from both the NCAA and the national media. In order to explain the lack of success, the NCAA assigned insufficient financial resources as the primary cause for the concern (Carey, 2006). With financial resources certainly a factor, there are not many studies that address the issue of HBCU athletes and their academic struggles. Perhaps research has been limited because of the NCAA's demonstrative explanation of a lack of financial resources (Carey, 2006; Sanders, 2009). With other variables clearly at work and the issue continuing to raise concerns, comprehensive examination of the influences on positive and negative academic performance in

HBCU athletic departments is required. Absent financial resources as the sole determining variable for poor academics, there is extensive literature and research connecting performance to organizational culture and a positive culture that can enhance student-athletes' success. Additionally, the effective socialization process is necessary to transmit the culture through the organization and most significantly to the student-athletes. Past research regarding undergraduate socialization suggests student peer groups as the most influential of the potential socializing groups on campus (Astin, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005).

Cheeks (2016) findings suggest that there was a need for HBCU athletic directors and their administrative staff to collectively redefine who they are and how they want to be perceived under the current structure of the NCAA. Moreover, understand what the perception is of the historic label of being a HBCU and the current social implications that come with it. HBCU athletic programs have been historically marginalized in the NCAA structure and are in a position to counter some of the negative perceptions of being a low resource institution and disparately represented in NCAA DI (Cheeks & Carter-Francique, 2015). Also, the racial component of systemic resource deprivation calls for a reevaluation of what strategies can be employed to combat these oppressive forces. Refer Figure 1

Summary

Based on the cases (Charlton, 2009; McClelland, 2011; Cheeks, 2016), Historically Black College and University Athletic Director's recognize that academic success is correlated with resources allocation. Athletic Directors at HBCUs perceive:

Theme 1 There are acknowledgements of resource disparities,

Theme 2 Influences of Revenue/Funding were a major factor,

Theme 3 Third, insufficient financial resources are the primary cause for student-athletes to struggle academically.

There are also subthemes that have emerged within the cases that affect academic success within HBCU athletic programs. An effective organizational structure can supplement funding by placing high values on academic achievement from the President/Chancellor to Athletic Director to Staff and Coaches. The message is applied and disseminated from all components of the institution while building positive relationships. This also can be connected with socialization, where student-athletes' peers serve as role models to influence a positive academic culture.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between athletic directors from HBCUs and how they differ in the utilization of resources to foster positive academic outcomes within their athletic departments. The primary goal of this study is to make recommendations for the NCAA and HBCU leadership facing similar issues with limited resources and poor academic ratings within their athletic departments. The results of my studies along with the literature support my findings.

Sims (1994) states, despite a long history of underfunding and inadequate resources, HBCUs remain major contributors to higher education in the United States. They achieve success despite separate and unequal patterns of funding that persist even today. Additionally, faculty salaries at HBCUs remain lower than their counterparts and expenditures at public HBCUs are lower than those at other public institutions. While there has been increases in enrollments across both public and private HBCUs, they continue to be disproportionately worse off fiscally when compared with institutions that are predominantly White. Nevertheless, HBCUs are an indispensable part of the national higher education landscape. In spite of all of the positive evidence relating to their successes and achievements, negative misconceptions and erroneous information continue to impact their image (Sims, 1994).

In contrast to Division I PWIs, historically Black college and universities (HBCUs) promote unique educational missions and cultivate distinct sociocultural environments aimed at enhancing African American students' (including student athletes) holistic development (Allen, Jewel, Griffin, & Wolf, 2007). As previous research has documented, Black male student athletes at Division I PWIs are often recruited for athletic purposes and, once enrolled, encounter

campus climates where they are members of an underrepresented group and have few role models who share the same racial and sociocultural backgrounds (Singer, 2005, 2009).

Contrarily, at HBCUs, African American male student athletes are often recruited as promising students who happen to participate in athletics, and once enrolled, are surrounded by a critical mass of African American faculty, administrators, coaches, and peers (Charlton, 2011; Cooper & Hawkins, 2012).

Dr. Dennis Thomas, MEAC Commissioner, captured the sentiment shared among many HBCU athletic program stakeholders about the current state of HBCU athletic programs when he said: “I don’t think if Alabama or Texas or LSU had been under-funded for a century, they would be in the position that they are” (Gaither, 2013, p. 1). The history of unjust enrichment for PWIs and the unjust impoverishment of HBCUs in a U.S. society that privileges Whiteness has greatly contributed to the current inequities that exist today between the institutional types and their athletic programs (Feagin, 2006). Thomas points out that media reports that point to the shortfalls attributed to HBCUs, such as low APRs and graduation rates among athletes, and lack of success on the field are taken out of context. This former athlete, coach, and tenured professor refer to these problems as symptoms with the underlying cause as a lack of resources (Gaither, 2013). When the most recent APR results were published, none of the BCS schools were in jeopardy; however, a large number of HBCUs were. These institutions have the resources for improved academic facilities with tutors, support staff, advisors, and everything else to help athletes succeed in the classroom (Gaither, 2013; Stuart 2012; Moltz, 2011; Davis 2010). The Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference (MEAC) and Southwestern Athletic Conference (SWAC) are the only two HBCU athletic conferences at the NCAA Division I level.

HBCU athletic directors perceive there are acknowledgements of resources disparities, influence of Revenue/Funding were a major factor and insufficient financial resources are the primary cause for athletes and their academic struggles. These results were largely corroborated with the use of ATLAS.ti 8 software, which helped analyze the findings and results sections of each study.

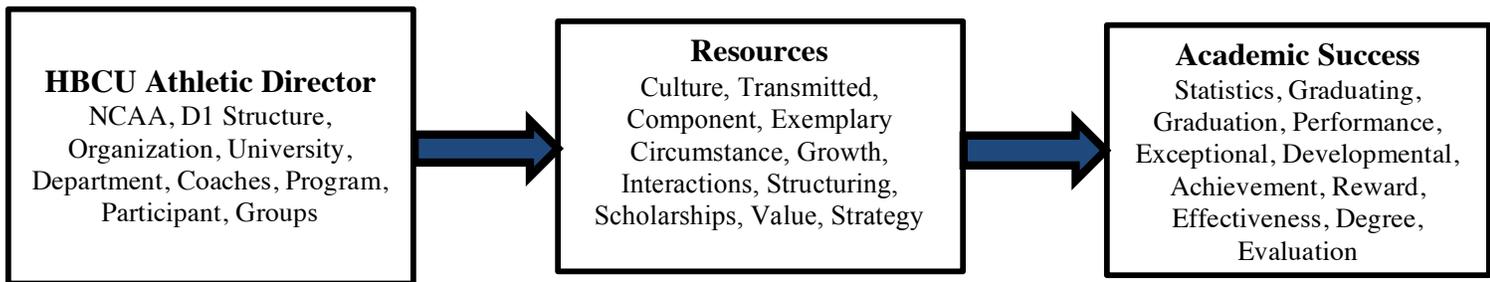
Over the past ten years I have been an Athletic Director at three NCAA Division I institutions which are all HBCUs; University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff, Howard University and Delaware State. While representing these institutions I have had the opportunity to be a part of several NCAA leadership groups; Cabinet Member Personal Issues and Recruiting, Limited Resource Institution (LRI) Director of Athletics Task Force (Co-Chair) and the Historically Black College University (HBCU) & Limited Resource Institution (LRI) Academic Advisory Group. In addition, I have worked with other professional organization to assist in shaping HBCU and Intercollegiate Athletics; National Association of College Athletic Directors, The National Football Foundation and College Hall of Fame, Inc. and HBCUgrow.

Before becoming an Athletic Director, I worked in the areas, media, public relations, development, marketing and athletics at two other HBCUs; Saint Augustine's College and North Carolina Central University. While working on master's degrees (Education Technology, 1998 and Public Administration, 2000) at North Carolina Central University, I was able to function as graduate assistant with athletic department and tennis team. My desire and compassion to have a career in intercollegiate athletics began with experiences as four-year varsity letterman on the Men's Tennis at North Carolina Central University.

My personal and professional experiences have led me to believe one of the best ways to brand, expose and recruit for an institution of higher education is maintaining a vibrant athletic program.

Implications

Model 1: Research Design Model



Historically Black College and University Athletic Director's recognize that academic success is correlated with resources allocation and I am implying that HBCU's athletics have been underserved and underfunded for so long; they must first catch up and be placed at the same starting line as their counterparts. In the meanwhile, athletic administrators at HBCUs with limited funding must create and implement a strong academic environment which can be done through socialization and establishing a positive organizational structure.

There are several Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Limited Resource Institutions that don't represent the NCAA Division I membership at a high level. They are masquerading at this classification while they have many campus leaders and board members that don't understand the true costs of doing business at the NCAA Division I level. When this occurs, institutions and student-athletes are maligned while being placed in a noncompetitive

environment. The negative exposure an institution faces along with poor NCAA's A.P.R. findings can be crippling and affect the entire campus community.

Recommendations

First and foremost, Historically Black Colleges and Universities must prioritize and allocate resources that support student-athlete academic success while educating their board, administrators and campus constituents. These HBCU leadership groups must place high value and importance on their athletic department maintaining strong academic standards as number one priority and that chasing wins are a short term victory. If academic irregularities or compliance violations are discovered at a later date, championships and wins can be vacated. The leadership at the National Collegiate Athletic Association is very aware of Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Limited Resources Institutions financial difficulties, which is why they have created filters and waivers within the Academic Progress Rate penalty structures to benefit these institutions. In addition, the NCAA has designated funds through various grants and programs that are specifically dedicated to provide academic resources for HBCUs and LRIs.

Three specific recommendations that I would have for HBCU athletic programs are to; consider dropping to a lower classification within the NCAA structure which will have an immediate impact on their budget, specifically, reduced scholarship allocations, travel, staff and overall size of the department. Along those lines some HBCU athletic programs should consider dropping a sport(s) and then reallocating funds to other areas within the program. Another recommendation is that HBCU's and LRI's work with the NCAA to establish financial criteria for participation at each level; meaning each institution is mandated to allocate a certain amount of funding to operate at the NCAA FCS Division I level. Lastly, I would recommend leadership

with limited resources to implement a positive academic organizational culture along utilizing a form of peer socialization. Acknowledging that there are limited funds is fine, but by creating a strong academic environment that is supported by the entire campus community will enforce the overall purpose of attending an institution of higher education. Utilizing peer mentoring, also enhances the academic setting by upper class student-athletes promoting the importance and structure of what is expected from a scholar-athlete.

Conclusion

From their inception, HBCUs have experienced unequal treatment especially in the resource arena. This is particularly apparent in the treatment that public HBCUs face each fiscal year attempting to garner state resources from their legislative coffers compared with other institutions in their states. State funding is only part of the disparity problem, as there are other socioeconomic factors that account for large wealth gaps between the alumni of Primarily White Institutions of the south. This factor alone accounts for the disparity in the levels of alumni giving and other support to these institutions. In the recent economic climate, institutional budget cuts are the norm; however, the impacts upon HBCUs have been hampered when compared with those institutions that can rely on support buffering from alumni, endowment, and athletic revenues (Hilltop Staff, 2012; Hollis, 2012).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities are vital and still relevant in higher education today, their value and rich history cannot be ignored; one of the reasons the American system of higher education thrives is because of the different types of institutions there are for example: Ivy Leagues, military affiliated, same sex, private, religious affiliated, for profit, technology based and etc.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities cannot allow limited resources and lack of funds to have an adverse effect on academic success. The negative public relations that are associated with poor academics are crippling to an institution and the campus community. The majority of student-athletes who compete in the NCAA will never be professional athletes and one of the main purposes for higher education is to obtain knowledge and a degree to assist in becoming gainfully employed.

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