MALE AND FEMALE: CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF

AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE ATHLETES AND

NON-ATHLETES

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in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
July, 2015

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Date of Degree: JULY, 2015

Title of Study: MALE AND FEMALE: CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN
AMERICAN COLLEGE ATHLETES AND NON-ATHLETES

Major Field: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT & FAMILY SCIENCE

Abstract: Tendency to foreclose on careers, vocational exploration, and career commitment were examined in relationship to racial-ethnic socialization, parental responsiveness, and career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support among 228 African American male and female college athletes and non-athletes. A number of tests were conducted to test for significant group differences in central variables and the associations of parenting variables and racial-ethnic socialization with tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment. Parent education and academic year were controlled for in almost all analyses. No significant gender or athlete group differences were found in the total number of major-related careers reported, emotional support, or in tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, or career commitment. African American male athletes indicated a pursuit of a professional career path almost five times more than African American female athletes did (60% vs. 13%). Being both female and an athlete was associated with higher parental responsiveness. The associations of facets of racial-ethnic socialization with career development varied by gender and athlete status. Career-related verbal encouragement from parents was the most consistent significant predictor in the regression analyses and appeared to be the best way that parents can influence their children's career development as racial-ethnic socialization became non-significant in predicting career development after controlling for verbal encouragement. Academic year was also consistently significant and positive in its relation to career development. Findings are discussed and implications for parents and educators are provided.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In present-day America having a college degree predicts increased total life earnings and a host of optimal life outcomes, such as good mental health (Demakakos, Nazroo, Breeze, & Marmot, 2008), quality of parent-child relationships (Conger, Conger, & Martin, 2010), and overall general well-being (Demakakos et al., 2008). All of these are also associated with socioeconomic status (SES). Not only does having a college degree predict a significantly higher salary, but it is also associated with a greater pool of jobs for those who obtain a college degree when compared to those who do not. More specifically, SES is positively associated with optimal life outcomes because of its relationship to one's ability to afford and access resources (Jencks et al., 1972).

College Attendance and Graduation Rates of African Americans

Understanding the importance of obtaining a college degree might cause one to question why so few African Americans (18%), a population that is overrepresented among those in poverty (U.S. Census, 2014), have a bachelor degree when compared to 28% of Whites (U.S. Census, 2012). And although the percentage of African American attending college has increased, it has only done so slightly within the past decade, from

31.9% to 36.4%, although the rate of increase is slightly higher than the 40.9% to 42.1%

increase for Whites (2002-2012; National Center for Education Statistics, 2014). Moreover,

African American males, in general, are less likely than African American females to attend

(33.9%, 38.7% in 2012, respectively; National Center for Education Statistics, 2014) and

graduate (34.1%, 65.9% between 2009 and 2010; NCAA, 2006; National Center for

Education Statistics, 2014) from college. It appears from these statistics that African

American males are at a major disadvantage in achieving this important step toward career

success in today's world.

These statistics take on even more importance when they are considered along with

the data on the overrepresentation of African American males in Division I football and

basketball teams (Harper, Williams, & Blackman, 2013). One explanation as to why African

American males have such high sport participation is that it is a unique and inexpensive

avenue for socioeconomic mobility for both the individual and African American community

(Hartmann, 2000). Athletic success also provides African Americans with a sense of racial

accomplishment as well as a topic of family and community interaction (Hartmann, 2000).

Graduation Rates of African American Athletes

And while offering African American males an athletic scholarship to attend college

appears to be a plausible way of increasing the college attendance and degree attainment of

African American males, low graduation rates among African American male college

athletes challenge that assumption. Even after being afforded an opportunity to obtain a

bachelor degree, possibly for free, only 63% and 45% of Division I and II African American

male athletes graduated from college within 6 years, as compared to 79% and 68% Division I and Division II, African American female athletes (NCAA, 2007).

Furthermore, African American male college athletes graduate at one of the lowest rates when compared to athletes of other racial backgrounds (Harper et al. 2013) and when compared to their female counterparts (NCAA, 2007). For example, only 63% of African American male collegiate athletes graduated from Division I institutions within 6 years when compared to 72% of American Indians, 76% of Asians, 74% of Hispanics, 62% of Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders, 85% of non-resident foreigners, 84% of two or more races, and 83% of Whites (NCAA, 2007). In contrast, 79% of African American female collegiate athletes graduated within 6 years from Division I institutions when compared to 82% of American Indians, 89% of Asians, 86% of Hispanics, 87% of Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders, 90% of non-resident Aliens, 94% of two or more races, and 92% of Whites (NCAA, 2007).

Academic Versus Athletic Success

It is not completely clear why African American male athletes graduate at such low rates when compared to their female counterparts. We can attribute their lower graduation rates to such things as low expectations for academic success from coaches, professors, and academic advisors (Benson, 2000), intense athletic training schedules (Martin, Harrison, Stone, & Lawrence, 2010), as well as academic unpreparedness (C. Harrison, Comeaux, & Plecha, 2006). An alternative explanation is that a stereotypical perception of the inherent athletic superiority and academic inferiority of African American males may encourage African American males to pursue and prioritize athletic participation over academic endeavors (Czopp, 2010). Such stereotypical perceptions are likely to be influenced by

factors such as racism and discrimination, occurring at both societal and individual levels (Hattery & Smith, 2007), against African Americans. Racism and discrimination may influence parental expectations for their children, particularly for African American sons due to biases against black males such as the fact that police officers are more likely to shoot unarmed black males mistakenly than white males (Plant & Peruche, 2005). Because of such behaviors, African American mothers may have different expectations for their sons and daughters concerning education (Varner & Mandara, 2013). The presence of racial discriminatory behaviors that affect a myriad of outcomes for African Americans, such as health care, education and occupational attainment (Hattery & Smith, 2007) also influence how parents socialize their children (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Racial-ethnic socialization essentially teaches African American children what it means to be Black in America, how they should navigate through various environments, both interculturally and intraculturallly, as well as issues surrounding racism and discrimination (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Because racial-ethnic socialization influences perceptions of barriers, it is possible that racial-ethnic socialization also influences the types of careers that African Americans see as being available. For example, successful African American men are often portrayed in the media as athletes. Because the sport domain appears to be less influenced by racism and discrimination (Hartmann, 2000), in that African Americans are overrepresented in sports like football and basketball, it is possible that this kind of success for the African American community speaks convincingly to the ways in which young African American men can be more successful in the sport domain.

If we accept Hartmann's (2000) explanations of high sport involvement among African Americans and the aforementioned explanations of low academic performance and

reasons for racial-ethnic socialization as being true, sport participation among African American males is not just recreational but it can become the foundation from which they build an understanding of who they are and where they fit in in the world. Though sport participation may provide educational opportunities via athletic scholarships as well as socioeconomic mobility via high paying jobs afforded by a college degree or by induction into a professional sporting league, whether or not sport participation is actually achieving these outcomes (i.e., college graduation rates) among African American male athletes is an important question. One may argue that the minimum academic requirements for athletic eligibility may improve academic performance of student athletes. And when you examine the aforementioned aggregate statistics of the graduation rates of African American male college athletes compared to the African American undergraduate rates of graduation in general provided by the NCAA (NCAA, 2007), you might conclude that student-athletes, particularly African American student-athletes, graduate at much higher rates than the general African American undergraduate population. However, when you examine the graduation statistics of African American male football and basketball athletes— the sports most commonly pursued by African American males — with graduation statistics of other student athletes and the African American male undergraduate population, a much different picture emerges. This picture shows that although only 2.8% of African American male full-time undergraduates, in general, were enrolled in college between 2007 and 2010, they made up the majority of Division I football (57.1%) and basketball (64.3%) teams (Harper et al., 2013). Harper et al.'s (2013) report also shows that African American male football and basketball athletes graduate at lower rates than the general undergraduate population and

student-athlete population at 97.4% of colleges and 96.1% of universities when compared to other races (see Harper et al., 2013 for full report).

Therefore, I contend that although socioeconomic mobility by any means is positive in that it aids in providing individuals and families with more resources and, in turn, better life outcomes, the sole identification with an athletic identity may be detrimental to the development of African American males. While an athletic identity might not appear to be inherently detrimental to one's development, being able to identify *only* with sports may. More specifically, only identifying with sports may be detrimental to the *career* development of African American male athletes, given their low college graduation rates and even lower likelihood of playing professional sports (NCAA, 2015).

Career Development

Career development is a process by which individuals explore and select potential careers and ultimately commit to a specific career (Whiston & Keller, 2004). Career development can occur throughout life, but it is especially important during emerging adulthood (ages 18-25). Career exploration is a particularly important concept because the extent to which an individual explores potential careers determines the breadth of careers he perceives as being available to him. So if an African American male commits to a professional athletic career path -- one that is statistically improbable because only 1.2% of male college basketball players and 1.6% of college football players will play beyond the collegiate level (NCAA, 2015) – without exploring other potential career options, he prematurely forecloses career options that might better position him for socioeconomic mobility (Bimper, Harrison, & Clark, 2012; Czopp, 2010; Donnor, 2005). Prematurely

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foreclosing his career options limits his options for a fulfilling, purposeful, or best-fitting career. Examining career development among emerging adult African American male athletes and non-athletes is imperative for addressing college degree attainment especially since emerging adulthood is an explorative stage of development. Because SES significantly influences career development, understanding how minorities, specifically African Americans, who are more likely to live in poverty or reside in low-income neighborhoods (Arnett, 2000), make decisions regarding careers is valuable for addressing low college attendance and graduation rates.

Influence of Family on Career Development

Families play a key role in career development because of the impact that parental socialization has on career development. Parents can create opportunities for their children to explore talents and potential careers. Parents can provide supportive relationships that foster open communication and trust so that children seek out career guidance from their parents. Parents can also provide support and encouragement for exploring career paths. In contrast, parental behaviors may also inhibit their offspring's career development by not providing support or opportunities for exploration (Bryant, Zvonkovic, & Reynolds, 2006; Whiston & Keller, 2004).

Summary and Research Questions

Based on the information provided above, one might conclude then that athletic participation may negatively influence academic achievement and college graduation rates of African American males. However, athletes in general tend to graduate at comparable or slightly higher rates than the general undergraduate population. For instance, graduation rates

for students attending Division I, II, and III schools were 65%, 48%, 62%, respectively (NCAA, 2007). And graduation rates for student-athletes attending Division I, II, and III schools were slightly higher than the general undergraduate population at 66%, 54%, 69%, respectively (NCAA, 2007). Moreover, African American male athletes tend to graduate at much higher rates than African American males in general. For instance 63% of African American male athletes graduated from Division I institutions whereas only 39% of African American males attending Division I institutions graduated (see NCAA, 2007 for full report). Therefore, the assumption that athletic participation negatively influences academic achievement and college graduation rates would appear to be incorrect.

Instead, lower college attendance (National Center for Education Statistics, 2014), graduation rates (Harper et al., 2013; NCAA, 2007) and academic performance (Benson, 2000; C. Harrison et al., 2006) of African American male athletes and non-athletes compared to male athletes and non-athletes of other racial backgrounds as well as African American female athletes and non-athletes highlight a more important issue. Why do relatively few African American male athletes and non-athletes graduate from college? Additionally, why is it that fewer African American male collegiate athletes and non-athletes graduate than do African American female collegiate athletes and non-athletes?

Based on the influence that families have on the career development of individuals and on the low attendance and graduation rates of African American males (Harper et al., 2013), this study will examine how families influence African American emerging adults into sport and non-sport career paths. This study specifically seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. On average, what does career development (i.e., tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, career commitment) look like for African American male emerging adults in comparison to African American female emerging adults? Specifically, how do African American male athletes and non-athletes compare to African American female athletes and non-athletes on those measures of career development?

   a. Hypothesis: African American male athletes are (a) more likely to report fewer major-related careers, (b) less likely to choose majors that are linked to a higher percentage of job offers for professional careers upon graduating from college, (c) less likely to explore and less likely to commit to careers, and (d) more likely to foreclose on a career in athletics than African American male non-athletes, African American female athletes, or African American female non-athletes.

2. What aspects of racial-ethnic socialization best prepare young African American males and females to make a successful transition (i.e., higher vocational exploration, higher career commitment, lower tendency to foreclose) into careers and is this relationship moderated by the interaction between gender and athlete status?

   a. Hypothesis: Each of the indicators of racial and ethnic socialization will predict vocational exploration, career commitment, and tendency to foreclose and the relationship between racial and ethnic socialization and vocational exploration, career commitment, and tendency to foreclose will differ by gender and athletic status, controlling for SES as approximated by parent education.

3. Do families socialize African American males differently from African American females in relation to career development in terms of racial and ethnic socialization, career-related parental support, and parental responsiveness and is this relationship moderated by athlete status?

    a. Hypothesis: African American male athletes and non-athletes and female athletes and non-athletes are socialized differently in respect to racial and ethnic socialization, career-related parental support, and parental responsiveness.

4. Does racial and ethnic socialization predict tendency to foreclose on careers, vocational exploration and career commitment above and beyond parental career-related support and parental responsiveness?

    a. Hypothesis: Racial-ethnic socialization will influence the aforementioned career development outcomes above and beyond other parental behaviors such as career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support and parental responsiveness.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this section is to provide a review of the literatures on emerging adulthood, career development, and family socialization practices, including racial/ethnic, academic and career, and gender socialization as they pertain to African Americans. First, emerging adulthood as a developmental stage will be described. Then, the stages of career development will be defined, and mature career development will be described. Finally, academic and career socialization, racial/ethnic socialization, and gender socialization will be explained and its subsequent impact on career development will be described.

Emerging Adulthood

Emerging adulthood is generally marked as an explorative stage of development that occurs between the ages of 18 and 25. It occurs after adolescence and precedes adulthood. According to Arnett (2011), this developmental stage is relatively new in the study of development in comparison to adolescence and adulthood. Arnett (2011) offers five features that differentiate emerging adulthood from adolescence and adulthood.

First, emerging adulthood is a time of identity exploration. During this time, individuals make important decisions regarding romantic relationships and careers. Second, as a result of trying to figure who and what post-adolescents are and want, emerging adulthood is a time of instability because individuals change jobs, romantic partners, and educational pursuits often. Third, because emerging adults have few obligations and a consequently greater sense of freedom in making independent choices, emerging adults are described as being self-focused. Fourth, emerging adults often feel as if they are in between adolescence and adulthood because they no longer identify with being an adolescent but also do not fully identify with being an adult. Fifth, Arnett describes emerging adulthood as an age of possibilities because of the persistent belief that regardless of the circumstances surrounding individuals at this stage, life will be better after transitioning out of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2011, pp. 256-257). All of these descriptions reflect emerging adulthood— a developmental stage common to those attending college— and its associated independence from major obligations such as parenthood or marriage and thus greater opportunity for exploration. Nelson and Barry's (2005) results support Arnett's distinction between emerging adulthood and adulthood as being the achievement of such criteria as those mentioned above among individuals between the ages of 18 and 25. Although many individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 do not perceive themselves as fully adult, instead considering themselves as emerging adults, both those who perceived themselves as emerging adults and those who perceived themselves as full adults used the same criteria in determining whether or not they had reached adulthood (Nelson & Barry, 2005). That is, the theoretical perspective of emerging adulthood rests almost exclusively on the idea that most individuals between

the ages of 18 and 25 have not yet reached the milestones consistent with adult status, such as independence and family capacities (Nelson & Barry, 2005), that most people perceive as being necessary in differentiating adults from those who are not yet adults (Arnett, 2000, 2011).

The increasing emphasis on the study of this particular developmental stage may be influenced by a greater number of individuals marrying and having children later in life and pursuing postsecondary education (Arnett, 2011). Because of these demographic changes, individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 no longer have to commit to various roles immediately after high school. During this stage, individuals consider it highly important to become self-sufficient. This importance is reflected in the assumption that an emerging adult is unable to make decisions about the most likely upcoming long-term commitments such as marriage, having children, and a career that best fits with their desires and talents. And so, emerging adulthood is particularly marked as a stage of exploration of identity as it relates to relationships and careers (Arnett, 2000).

However, emerging adulthood (ages 18 – 25) may not necessarily be a time of exploration for those who are more socioeconomically disadvantaged because they may lack the resources to do so. For example, individuals from low-income backgrounds may take on roles, such as parenthood and marital spouses, which do not allow them the freedom to experience what is known to be emerging adulthood (Berzin & De Marco, 2010). Therefore emerging adulthood may not be a suitable term or even probable stage of development for all individuals. For instance, individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 living in rural areas of developing countries are less likely to use this time as a time of exploration due to normative trends, such as marrying early and having limited available

occupations outside of agricultural work (Arnett, 2000). And although that example may contrast greatly with the majority of persons living in the U.S., it does highlight the fact that emerging adulthood as a distinctive time of exploration may or may not be true for all individuals depending on depending on their economic resources, educational preparation, and family background. Similarly, individuals from low-income families in the U.S. who are unable to attend college and are working to support their families may not be afforded the opportunity to fully explore careers because financial resources are often necessary in order to do so (Arnett, 2000; Berzin & De Marco, 2009; Bryant et al., 2006). Therefore the developmental stage of emerging adulthood should be understood as one that is not an expected worldwide transition from adolescence to adulthood. Instead, emerging adulthood is most likely limited to individuals residing in industrialized countries and/or those whose economical backgrounds allow for individuals to figure things out and explore a range of life possibilities— usually while enrolled in college— without much obligation to their families of origin (Arnett, 2011).

Additionally, for individuals who are able to use this time to explore a range of life opportunities, the extent to which they are able to do so may vary by ethnic background. For instance, individuals living within individualistic societies may find that they are able to explore identity, relationships, and career options during emerging adulthood to a greater extent than persons residing within collectivistic societies where obligations to the family and community are pertinent cultural values (Arnett, 2011). Additionally, the extent to which African Americans engage in explorative behaviors during emerging adulthood, particularly while attending college, may be dependent upon factors such as messages about racism from parents. For example, African American

emerging adults who received messages from parents about race-related obstacles engaged in more prosocial activities like organizational leadership, mentoring, and political activity (White-Johnson, 2015). This finding is important because it suggests that parenting behaviors such as racial-ethnic socialization (described in more detail in later sections) continue to have an effect on how African American emerging adults engage in opportunities during this explorative stage of development, even after they leave home (White-Johnson, 2015). So not only are there intergroup differences in whether individuals are able to experience emerging adulthood as a time of exploration but there are also intragroup differences in that those who are able to explore life opportunities before making serious commitments may do so at varying levels. Therefore, to assume that emerging adulthood as a time of high independence and exploration is similar for individuals within the same country is also erroneous given the presence of ethnic pluralism—especially within the United States. For instance, many Western families, (e.g., White families in the U.S.) do not exhibit collectivistic values at high levels and instead largely promote individualism of their children (Arnett, 2015). The promotion of individualism can be seen in parenting behaviors that encourage and praise children for excelling in school or work, even if it means that they are economically independent – resulting in fewer interdependent familial relationships during emerging adulthood and thereafter (Arnett, 2015). In such cases, adult children may not be expected or express a desire to "give back" to their families and communities, through mentorship or financial assistance like African Americans do (Carson, 2009). However, even while residing in a largely individualistic country, African Americans of similar socioeconomic backgrounds to their White counterparts will experience a greater

obligation to their African American families and communities (Carson, 2009) and may thus limit or shape their career exploration and commitment to careers that allow them to honor or maintain such cultural values (Arnett, 2015). It is very common for African Americans to express a desire to "take care of their families" or pursue a particular career path because it is thought that the African American community, as a whole, might benefit from one's career decisions (Carson, 2009; Hartman, 2000).

And while these conditions for understanding emerging adulthood exist, it does not overshadow the reality that the majority (62%; National Center for Education Statistics, 2014) of individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 residing within the United States and a growing number of individuals in other parts of the world (in both developed and developing countries as a result of Westernization and urbanization) will pursue a college education—an endeavor that most likely promotes the explorative developmental stage also known as emerging adulthood. Because a much greater proportion of jobs now require a minimum of a college degree, the pursuit of a degree is more important now than it has been in previous generations (Arnett, 2015).

In contrast to Arnett's theoretical stance, which posits that emerging adulthood is generally explorative in nature mainly due to its association with the pursuit of secondary education, emerging adults who are not pursuing secondary education but instead fluctuate between jobs might be identified as "floundering" and not exploring. In this way, instability (e.g., job change), which would be marked as exploration for college students, may not be linked with positive life outcomes later in life (Krahn, Howard, and Galambos, 2015). Krahn and colleagues' (2015) fourteen-year study examined the effects of floundering and exploring in emerging adulthood at participants' age 35. The

importance of understanding this alternative explanation for what appears to be a phase of instability for both those who are exploring or floundering is that emerging adulthood as a time for exploration is most often voluntary whereas those who do not attend college and/or undergo career changes often do so involuntarily (Krahn et al., 2015). And the involuntarily nature of such changes is most likely due to factors such as low parental educational attainment and low family SES (Krahn et al., 2015).

In general, emerging adulthood can be described as a time of increased independence and exploration among those who can afford to go to college or are not limited in their exploration due to obligations such as parenthood, working to provide for their families, etc. The affluence in the United States has resulted in a large number of individuals who choose to pursue a college education immediately after high school, albeit at varying levels depending on the cultural context of those individuals. For those who are able to experience emerging adulthood, many will attend college and will ideally graduate with a degree from which they will benefit, through its association with socioeconomic status and many positive life outcomes (e.g., Demakakos et al., 2008; Conger et al., 2010). During this time, many emerging adults will also explore, identify, and commit to various career paths they deem as best-fitting with their interests and abilities (Arnett, 2015). And although career development occurs at many developmental stages, it is particularly important during emerging adulthood as many individuals use their college years to explore career options. In relation to the career-related explorative process that occurs during emerging adulthood, more exploration is positively associated with a much more defined career identity (Praskova, Creed, & Hood, 2015). In turn, such emerging adults tend to have a more positive outlook on their ability to successfully

obtain employment (Praskova et al., 2015), which is why many emerging adults attend college. Thus, emerging adulthood as a time for efforts focused on career development is vital to the overall well-being of emerging adults as their career-related decisions are likely to affect them and their families well after emerging adulthood.

Career Development

Stages of Career Development

Career development is comprised of multiple stages and is a life-long process (Bryant et al., 2006; Schulenberg, Vondracek, & Crouter, 1984; Whiston & Keller, 2004). It is a life-long process in that career development occurs beginning in childhood and continues well through the adult years Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 2001; Blustein, 1997; Whiston & Keller, 2004). However, career development has been studied most extensively among adolescents and among Whites (Whiston & Keller, 2004), and very few studies have examined career development among ethnic minority groups. Similarly, many studies have examined career development among college students, but few have examined career development among minority college students (Whiston & Keller, 2004). However, the stages of career development remain the same regardless of racial and ethnic background or developmental age. How individuals progress through these stages and the factors that influence their progression is what differs. Some factors appear to have a particularly significant association with certain outcomes in specific developmental stages, whereas other factors seem to maintain their influence through most of the lifespan (Whiston & Keller, 2004). The most salient influencing factors will be explained in more detail after the stages of career development

are discussed in the immediately following paragraphs.

The stages of career development include exploration, selection, and commitment (Araujo & do Ceu Taveira, 2009; Buzzanell, Berkelaar, & Kisselburgh, 2011). "Career development is defined as the formation of mature, realistic career plans grounded in assessing one's career goals, interests, and abilities and awareness of vocational opportunities and requirements" (Crites, 1978 as cited by Lally & Kerr, 2005, p. 275). Thus, mature career development can be described as the process by which an individual has explored potential careers at moderate to high levels and has subsequently committed to a selected best-fitting career. Additionally, because the stages (e.g., career exploration, career commitment) of career development are measured on a spectrum (Blustein, Ellis, & Devenis, 1989), the process of career development should be considered likewise. What this suggests is that measures of career exploration should not be dichotomous in nature in that individuals are assessed as having explored careers or not. Instead, people explore careers at varying levels, and so it seems that the extent to which they have done so is a much more important indicator of career exploration than a simple reporting of whether or not they have explored careers in understanding how exploration affects the subsequent stages of career development. Likewise, levels of career commitment vary for each individual. Some individuals exhibit high career commitment whereas others exhibit moderate to low commitment to a particular career (Blustein et al., 1989). Similar to career exploration, the assessment of career development is not dichotomous in that an individual has or has not developed in relation to a career. Instead, the level of career development depends largely on the progress that individuals have made at each stage (Blustein et al., 1989). Below, these stages of career development are described.

Career Exploration. Career exploration is the degree to which an individual has explored potential career options. Exploring potential careers is vital for career development because it enables the individual to become aware of his career options. Individuals who do not fully explore careers may foreclose on a career path (Blustein et al., 1989). The possible danger in foreclosing on a career path without exploring careers is that one limits oneself from careers that might be deemed as more desirable or better fitting with one's talents or interests had the individual explored those careers (Blustein et al., 1989; L. Harrison, Sailes, Rotich, & Bimper, 2011; Linnemeyer & Brown, 2010). Thus, higher levels of career exploration are more indicative of mature career development. However, remaining in the explorative stage of career development without ever selecting or committing to a career (described in more detail in the next sections) is not considered mature career development, as career selection and commitment are necessary steps that follow exploration. It is the lack of career exploration that can result in foreclosure – where one prematurely commits to a career without considering other important educational and career decisions (Blustein, 1989). Therefore, in this sense, higher levels of career exploration are more desirable as they allow for one to make more informed decisions regarding education and careers.

Many African American athletes have been found to be unprepared to transition into the work world because they have not considered other career paths that were outside of the professional sport career path (Beamon, 2012). Because many African American athletes do not consider other career paths and because most of their athletic training and skills do not translate as being directly useful for careers outside of the sport domain, they are left with few career options that are socioeconomically or personally desirable

(Beamon, 2012; L. Harrison et al., 2011). Additionally, without recognizing which

potential careers are available to them, African American athletes shortchange

themselves by focusing only on athletic pursuits which in turn limits their ability to

dedicate time or effort to explore careers outside of the sports that are actually of interest

to them. Furthermore, even if athletes have interest in majors that might lead to higher

paying and more highly available jobs, they may find it difficult to perform well in those

majors while also performing well as an athlete. Because of this, especially at Division I

universities, athletes are encouraged to declare "easy" majors or enroll in classes with

"easy" professors (Benson, 2000). Needless to say, exploring potential careers is

especially important for African American male athletes who are more likely to express a

desire to pursue a professional sport career path despite the limited availability of

professional sport careers that exist. Less than 2% of NCAA athletes will play at the

professional sport level and thus be able to make a career in professional sport (NCAA,

2015). Moreover, of those who are able to do so, the average career of professional sport

athletes is fairly short. For example, the average career of professional football players is

only 3.3 years (NFL Communications, 2011). Therefore, regardless of whether an

African American male athlete becomes one of the very few athletes who are able to play

professional sports, he should at some point (preferably during the college years) explore

other potential careers so that he might successfully transition to another career after his

athletic career ends.

Career exploration is greatly influenced by families in multiple ways. Parents can

influence career exploration by providing opportunities for their children to explore

careers (Bryant et al., 2006; Buzzanell et al., 2011) such as enrolling their children in

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technology, math, science, or sport summer camps, for example. Contrarily, parents may limit their child's awareness of careers by encouraging children to participate in only certain kinds of career-related activities. This is evident in some of the qualitative work on African American male athletes' post-college career unpreparedness— many African American male athletes expressed that their parents enrolled them in sporting activities at very young ages (Beamon, 2009; Johnson & Migliaccio, 2009) and thus have primarily focused only on playing sports. Parental encouragement for a child to dedicate a lot of time to a single sport may be especially true for athletes who show promise.

Parents' networks, such as family members, friends or colleagues, may also impact career exploration in that individuals become aware and/or develop interest in potential careers simply by being conscious of the careers that individuals in these networks have (Gottfredson, 1981; Hattery & Smith, 2007). This is particularly important for African American families who may lack the resources to connect their children to activities that might increase their awareness of potential careers. However, this method of transmitting information about the world of work to children may be limited to a small percentage of African American families who are more economically advantaged than the vast majority of African American families who are not. Because African Americans are more disadvantaged in that they are less likely to have a bachelor degree (U.S. Census 2012) and are more likely to live in poverty or have low income than their White counterparts, their networks are likely to be similar to their own background and thus may not increase their child's awareness of a wide variety of careers (Lapour & Heppner, 2009). The motivating factors behind the decision for parents to introduce or not introduce a variety of activities that might increase interest in potential careers can range

from personal and cultural interests and expectations to the availability, accessibility, and/or lack of resources. It seems that all of these play a role in the case of African American male athletes given the sense of cultural accomplishment that professional sports has provided the African American community (Hartman, 2000) and the issues surrounding race— discrimination and racism— that may negatively influence the availability and/or accessibility of resources as well as perceptions of careers available to African Americans (Johnson & Migliaccio, 2009). Due to restrictions on resource availability and accessibility, the resulting limited career exploration may result in career choices and paths that differ from career choices and paths that would follow from more extensive career exploration.

Career Selection. Career selection refers to the identification of potential careers that an individual wishes to pursue (Whiston & Keller, 2004). Career selection is much more fluid than career commitment in that the individual might be perceived as still "trying things out." This is particularly true in emerging adulthood as individuals have much more freedom to change career paths without experiencing great levels of negative consequences (Arnett, 2000). This stage follows career exploration and entails identifying which career path might be best suited for the individual. It is important to note, however, that although career exploration generally precedes career selection, exploration may continue to occur or be reinitiated should the individual decide that it would be more beneficial to pursue a career that is different from his previously selected career (Super & Hall, 1978). This is often seen with emerging adults as they change academic majors (Arnett, 2000).

As might be expected, race and ethnicity influence career selection as they do career exploration (Schulenberg et al., 1984). The impact of race and ethnicity pervades almost every aspect of African American lives and is particularly important to consider as a mediating/moderating factor in the career development process due to their association with a plethora of variables (e.g., perceived barriers, discrimination) that directly and indirectly affect career development. Assuming that an individual is aware of a variety of careers, he may be less inclined to select a career path that he perceives as being unavailable to him or difficult to succeed in. In this case, his perception of whether or not a career is available to him is more important than the actual availability of a career because his perceptions may influence whether he selects that career path (Lent, Brown, & Larkin, 1986). For example, perceptions of discrimination and racism may cause one to not consider a particular career based on his perceptions that such barriers might prevent him from being successful in that career. Additionally, if a career is uncommon for African Americans, it is plausible that one might perceive that career as not being consistent with one's group status. Contrarily, one might perceive a career that appears to be common for African Americans as being more attainable and thus might select that career path. For example, it is possible that African American males select professional sport career paths at an early age (Beamon, 2009) because of the media's portrayal of abundant successful African American males in sports in comparison to the seeming scarcity of successful African American males in other careers.

Career selection is an important stage because it indicates a positive progression in career development and is necessary for career commitment. One's inability to move beyond mere exploration to career selection indicates career development immaturity --

especially during emerging adulthood — when individuals should be able to at least identify careers that they would like to pursue. It is possible that a much too extensive exploration of careers is influenced by low career decision-making self-efficacy.

Career Commitment. Career commitment ideally occurs after an individual has selected a career path. And while one may select a number of potential career paths that he might be willing to pursue, it is likely that he will only commit to one of his selected career choices at a single time because career commitment entails an almost definite pursuit and dedication of one's time, effort, and resources, to that selected career. Career commitment is the level of commitment one feels to the selected career (Whiston & Keller, 2004). The level of commitment that an individual has to a career may differ from another individual's level of commitment and it may also vary over time. That is, two individuals who exhibit commitment to their careers of choice may vary in their level of commitment to their career choice— one individual may have a low level of commitment to his career choice whereas the other individual may have a high level of commitment to his career choice. Moreover, an individual's level of commitment can change over time. An individual exhibiting a moderate level of career commitment at time A may demonstrate a very high level of commitment to that career, or another selected career, at time B. In sum, career commitment may be perceived as a positive indicator of progression in the career development process in that an individual is then much closer to developing the necessary skills and obtaining the necessary credentials, such as a college degree, to successfully begin working in that particular career field.

Tendency to Foreclose on Careers

Additionally, the process by which individuals arrive at career commitment is

likely to vary. Some individuals have a tendency to foreclose on careers more quickly

whereas others are open to changes in the commitment process (Blustein et al., 1989;

Linnemeyer & Brown, 2010). Foreclosure can be described as having a strong

commitment to a career without much exploration (Blustein et al., 1989). For instance,

African American male athletes who reported having high aspirations for professional

sport career paths without having explored other fulfilling careers demonstrate career

foreclosure. An individual who has a strong tendency to foreclose is more likely to

pursue a career that he feels is the only potential career for him without much exploration

and despite disconfirming evidence (Blustein et al., 1989). This appears to be likely to be

true in the case of African American male athletes. Many African American male athletes

commit to a professional sport career path even while realizing that their likelihood of

having a professional sport career is very slim, or they continue to pursue a professional

sport career after many unsuccessful years in getting into that career (Beamon, 2012).

This is disheartening for many athletes and their families because, when African

American male athletes foreclose on professional sport career paths (Beamon, 2012; L.

Harrison et al., 2011), they realize much too late (Beamon, 2012; Lally & Kerr, 2005) --

usually after graduating from college or after the time during which they had expected to

graduate -- that their high level of commitment to a professional sport career path

hindered their ability to form a highly reliable back-up plan. For example, African

American male athletes may have been limited in their ability to choose a college major

that might prepare them for career success immediately following college because of

athletic obligations. Their athletic obligations and high pursuit of a professional sport

career may have also limited their opportunities in taking advantage of internships that

could have enabled them to confirm or disconfirm whether that career field might be a good fit for them. Thus, understanding how foreclosing on potential career options can ultimately negatively impact one's life outcomes is important for African American families and individuals to consider.

Factors That Significantly Influence Career Development

There are many factors that influence career development. Some of these, such as socioeconomic status and families (in general), have already been mentioned as they are related to the different stages of career development. The most salient variables that have been found to have significant influences on career development include family variables such as parental support (Gushue & Whitson, 2006; Hill, Ramirez, & Dumka, 2003; Stephen L. Wright, Perrone-McGovern, Boo, & White, 2014) and expectations (Bryant et al., 2006) and socioeconomic status (Lapour & Heppner, 2009; Schulenberg et al., 1984; Whiston & Keller, 2004). Individual factors that have been found to similarly influence the career development process include academic major (Thomas, 1985), gender (M. Brown, 1995), and ethnicity (Chope, 2006).

Parental Support. Parental support is a major influencing factor for career development, especially among minorities (Blackmon & Thomas, 2014; Turner, Alliman-Brissett, Lapan, Udipi, & Ergun, 2003; Whiston & Keller, 2004). This includes support for a particular career path as well as general support within the parent-child relationship. Parental values and beliefs about a career path influence support for that career path and thus influence the offspring's selected career path, through mechanisms such as parental aspirations (Jodl, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2001). And while support for a particular career path might encourage one to pursue that career despite challenges

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(Hanson, 2007), a supportive parent-child relationship may indirectly and positively

influence the career development of the offspring (Whiston & Keller, 2004). For

instance, despite the barriers that many African Americans face, African American

adolescents who reported having parental support were more likely to demonstrate career

decision self-efficacy (Gushue & Whitson, 2006). And in a sample of low-income

minority adolescents, African Americans' perceptions of a supportive family

environment were significantly associated with perceptions of fewer barriers to reaching

career goals (Hill et al., 2003). Additionally, adolescents who reported having a

supportive parent-child relationship were more likely to succeed academically (Bean,

Bush, McKenry, & Wilson, 2003), which in turn positions them to meet necessary

college degree-related requirements. Therefore, supportive parenting and family

environments are especially important for African Americans in buffering the effects of

perceived barriers (e.g., discrimination, racism, poverty) that are negatively correlated

with career exploration and/or selection of particular career paths among African

Americans (Hill et al., 2003; Stephen L. Wright et al., 2014).

Socioeconomic Status. The impact of SES on career development has already

been mentioned, as it was relevant in explaining the various stages of career

development. In review, high SES can be identified as an asset for career development in

that it assists in facilitating the career exploration stage by providing a greater number of

opportunities and increased awareness of opportunities when compared to individuals of

low SES background (Schulenberg et al., 1984). Low SES can also be identified as a

barrier to career development in that the lack of resources hinders mature career

development. However, SES also indirectly influences career development through the

type of employment that parents have. For instance, an inflexible job with long working hours and physical strain may inhibit the amount of time that a parent has to engage in meaningful conversations about careers with her children (Bryant et al., 2006). Because of this, low SES may negatively influence how children perceive their relationship with their parents. Keeping in mind that a supportive parental relationship is predictive of general self-efficacy as it relates to career development, engaging in conversations that not only help children with career decisions but also allow children to feel supported is vital.

And because SES is often indicative of parental educational attainment, parents with low education backgrounds may find it difficult in helping their offspring navigate the career development process. Parents may be unsure of how to direct their children to the proper resources or inform them of next appropriate steps (Bryant et al., 2006; Schulenberg et al., 1984).

In sum, SES is positively and significantly associated with career development. Its impact on parents is of great importance because individuals often seek out career-related information from their parents (Bryant et al., 2006; Levine & Hoffner, 2006) and their ability to relay important information about the world of work and provide opportunities to learn more directly impacts career development. Furthermore, families' impact on career development is sustained well through the adult years (Messersmith, Garrett, Davis-Kean, Malanchuk, & Eccles, 2008)

Academic Major. Career development appears to be an especially active process for emerging adults who are attending college because, by nature of pursuing a college

degree, they are preparing to transition into the working-world. One of the most important factors associated with a successful transition into a career is the academic major an individual pursues because it "…is one of the clear determinants of occupational opportunities and ultimate occupational status attainment" (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991 as cited in Bryant et al., 2006, p. 158). Thus, emerging adults who are enrolled in college should carefully consider which academic major might yield the greatest return of investment of college tuition dollars and time spent in college in job opportunities (Ma, 2009). However, whether or not a lucrative career is foreseeable should not be the only factor that individuals consider. Therefore, although a professional sport career path might be considered a fast track to a lucrative career, it is imperative for African American male athletes to carefully select academic majors that might position them for careers that are equally as rewarding outside of the sport domain given their slim chances of having a professional sport career path. This is also true for the majority of college students who will not go on to graduate or professional school, and thus will expect to find a job immediately after college.

Gender. While some studies have found significant gender differences in relation to career development, others have not (Lease & Dahlbeck, 2009; Linnemeyer & Brown, 2010; Medved, Brogan, McClanahan, Morris, & Shepherd, 2006; Sheard, 2009; Whiston & Keller, 2004). Overall, the presence of gender differences in the career development literature is inconsistent. Additionally, a wide range of career developmental outcomes has been investigated. For instance, no significant gender differences were found among low-income adolescents in whether or not adolescents were able to express clearly defined career goals (Hill et al., 2003). Other non-significant findings for gender

differences in career variables such as maturity and foreclosure are evident in work by

Linnemeyer and Brown (2010). Furthermore, females and males were not found to differ

in how they scored on career decision-making self-efficacy (Chung, 2002). However,

significant gender differences in understanding of the necessary steps in reaching their

career goals have been identified, with adolescent and college female students being

more likely to express an understanding of the necessary steps than adolescent and

college male students (Hill et al., 2003; Luzzo, 1995). Similarly, Turner, Alliman-

Brissett, Lapan, Udipi, and Ergun (2003) found that adolescent girls were more likely to

report that they had received career-related modeling and verbal encouragement than

adolescent boys. Another significant gender difference in career developmental outcomes

showed that female college students had significantly higher career commitment than

males (Chung, 2002).

Of particular importance for this study is how gender affects racial/ethnic

socialization and career commitment and exploration and foreclosure among African

American college students. To date, few studies have examined how gender influences

career development variables among African American college students. Research that

does specifically speak to this suggest that males and females are socialized differently

(Mandara, Varner, & Scott, 2010) African American parents have higher academic

expectations for female children and lower expectations for their male children (Varner &

Mandara, 2013), female college students in general demonstrate greater academic

performance than male college students Wright, Jenkins-Guarnieri, & Murdock, 2012),

and African American females graduate from college at a higher rate than their male

counterparts (National Center for Education Statistics, 2014).

Race and Ethnicity. As might be expected, race and ethnicity as they relate to

cultural values and factors such as SES and discrimination and racism, have a significant

impact on career development (Schulenberg et al., 1984). Few studies have examined

career development variables among minorities, such as among African American

college students (Blackmon & Thomas, 2014; Gushue, Scanlan, Pantzer, & Clarke, 2006;

Gushue & Whitson, 2006; Whiston & Keller, 2004). This is a particularly important issue

because the limited research on the interaction of race, ethnicity, and SES suggests that

this interaction significantly impacts how families function and perceive the world of

work (Chope, 2006). Because of this, it is not surprising that minorities, specifically

African Americans, are likely to perceive career barriers (Hill et al., 2003). It is also not

surprising that African Americans have reported having received a significantly greater

amount of emotional support and instrumental assistance in relation to their career

development from their parents than Whites (Turner et al., 2003) given the many barriers

that African Americans must overcome in reaching educational and career goals. The

importance of this finding for the current dissertation is not about differences between

African Americans and Whites in parental career-related support. Instead, it highlights

racial-barrier awareness which may influence how and why African American parents

provide their children with career-related support. Issues like racial-barrier awareness

highlight a need for a critical process— racial and ethnic socialization behaviors within

the population of African American parents—that is plausibly related to such high levels

of parental support among African Americans, as African American parents may perceive

high levels of support as being necessary to encourage and prepare their children for

career success amidst the many obstacles that are common for many African Americans

to encounter in pursuing a career. It is worth noting that these obstacles are not simply individual perceptions of barriers that differ from person to person (although these are also possible). Instead, these perceptions of barriers are due to the reality of racism that occurs at the institutional level, including secondary education (Harper, 2012), which hinders equality of education and educational experiences. Harper (2012) contends in his analytic review on the literature on racism in higher education that many scholars use speculative (e.g., perhaps, may, it is possible) and semantic language to describe racism (e.g., hostile, isolating campus environments) without ever identifying the issue as racism or racist behaviors. And although isolating campus environments negatively influence how minorities engage in educational opportunities, it is likely that the environment is not due to the personal characteristics of those on campus but is a symptom of a much deeper issue—institutional racism (Harper, 2012). This is problematic because by doing so, it becomes impossible to address the underlying issue—racism. In this case, the identification of institutional racism in secondary education helps to explain why education rates (e.g., college attendance, graduation) of African Americans are lower than that of their White counterparts (Donnor, 2006; U.S. Census, 2012). Another way in which institutional racism in other domains affects disparities in higher education includes disproportionate rates of incarceration of African American men. African Americans (1:6 African American men) are six times more likely to be incarcerated than Whites (NAACP, 2015) and are more likely to be targeted by the police (Plant & Peruche, 2005). These statistics are devastating as they highlight the high probability of low education rates of African American men that are related to issues like incarceration. Therefore, the importance of racial and ethnic socialization by African American parents

for their children's career success suggests the hypothesis that variation within the population of African American parents in racial and ethnic socialization should explain some of the variation in their children's career exploration and success.

Family Socialization

Family socialization practices are behaviors that families engage in, both intentionally and unintentionally, which influence a myriad of outcomes for individuals (Grusec & Hastings, 2015). As previously mentioned, parents who want to facilitate their child's career exploration may introduce them to friends and colleagues of varying professions. Such behavior can be described, at the family level, as a mechanism that parents employ to socialize their child into the world of work. Likewise, parents engage in behaviors and communicate messages about education and work, gender, and race and ethnicity. Academic and work socialization are important because they inevitably impact educational and work values and thus influence the level of education and type of work that individuals will pursue. Gender and racial and ethnic and gender socialization are important as they relate to career development because they inform individuals about the kinds of careers that are suitable for them based on what appears as being appropriate to their gender (Leaper & Farkas, 2015) and race and ethnicity (Chen et al., 2015).

Academic and Career Socialization

Families socialize their offspring toward education and careers in many ways and do so both explicitly and implicitly (Lucas, 2011). Because educational attainment is often predictive of career opportunities, both career and academic socialization seem to overlap in their effect on career development. The family's influence on academic and

career development begins early in development and continues through adulthood (Messersmith et al., 2008; Whiston & Keller, 2004). For example, parents can provide their offspring with opportunities for career exploration in both childhood and adolescence (Buzzanell et al., 2011; Messersmith et al., 2008). Additionally, parents communicate messages to their offspring about education and the world of work in different ways. It is important that parents realize that they communicate these messages both directly and indirectly. Even the omission of messages about education and careers communicates (low) parental values about education and/or careers (Lucas, 2011).

Therefore, parental expectations are extremely important in predicting academic performance and achievement as well as the types of careers that individuals will pursue. Individuals who report that their parents have high expectations tend to do better than those who reported that their parents did not have high expectations (Neuenschwander, Vida, Garrett, & Eccles, 2007). For instance, although African American male athletes have been found to have poor academic performance (Benson, 2000), high expectations for academic performance of African American male collegiate athletes from families have been found to be associated with high academic achievement (Martin et al., 2010). In sum, families significantly influence both academic and career development from childhood through emerging adulthood, albeit in varying ways.

Gender Socialization

This section outlines and describes how gender socialization practices affect career development. Although this section is somewhat similar to the previous section on gender in that different effects of gender on particular career development outcomes have

been found, gender socialization as it relates to career development should not be confused with gender-related differences that may not be associated with socialization practices in career development. Generally speaking, parents tend to socialize male and female children differently and have done so for many years and this remains true for most families (Leaper & Farkas, 2015; Peters, 1994), regardless of racial/ethnic backgrounds (*Families in a global context*, 2008). And although more women are pursuing higher education when compared to the number of women who attended college years ago (Arnett, 2011; National Center for Educational Statistics, 2014) and women are increasingly occupying positions in traditionally male oriented professions, gender socialization is still pervasive in the upbringing of children and begins soon after birth (Leaper & Farkas, 2015). Traditionally and still today, girls are socialized in ways that promote traditional female gender roles such as taking care of the home and family members (Medved et al., 2006). Likewise, females are also often socialized into considering professions that appear to be more nurturing or female-oriented such as teaching, bookkeeping, etc. (Medved et al., 2006). Conversely, parents generally do not have the same expectations for their male children (Medved et al., 2006). Males are often socialized to consider masculine professions such as machinery, medicine, sports, etc. (Leaper & Farkas, 2015)

Gender and Career Development among African Americans. African American females far outnumber African American males in college attendance and graduation rates (NCAA; U.S. Department of Education). One possible explanation for this is that African American females are socialized towards higher education and thus careers with higher prestige in order to cope with the common reality of single-headed

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homes by mothers among African American families (U.S. Census, 2013). Consequently, Madyun and Moo Sung (2010) argue that the higher the number of African American female single-headed households, the lower is the number of adult African American males to help younger African American males navigate through educational and, thus, career development processes— exploration, selection, and commitment. On the other hand, higher college attendance and graduation rates among African American females might be due to a lessened degree of discrimination or barriers in comparison to that for African American males. Because of this, African American parents socialize males and females differently (Varner & Mandara, 2013). More specifically, recent evidence shows that African American parents have greater educational expectations for their girls than they do for their boys (Mandara et al., 2010).

Could it be that African American men then pursue sports because of the perceived legacy of African American achievement in sport or ease of obtaining a lucrative career? Some argue that the overemphasis on sports among African American men and their families negatively influences their academic achievement and ability to do well in other domains outside of sports (Beamon, 2009; Harrison, Sailes, Rotich, & Bimper, 2011). Currently, African American males are overrepresented in sports (Donnor, 2005; Harper, Williams, & Blackman, 2013). And although sport involvement is a major part of African American culture (Hartmann, 2000), many speculate that African American males pursue sport participation in hopes of getting a ticket out of poverty or increasing socioeconomic mobility via playing professional sports (e.g., Eitle, 2005; Hattery & Smith, 2007; (Johnson & Migliaccio, 2009). On the other hand, because African Americans are underrepresented in the professional job sector, particularly in

jobs within science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM; U.S. Census, 2013), it is possible that African American males aspire to be professional athletes because African American men seem to have more success in sports than other domains (Beamon, 2009). If the latter is an accurate conclusion, the failure of African American males to succeed in non-athletic careers might be due to the lack of career exploration— a critical stage of career development. Foreclosing on a professional sports career path may be unfruitful to the many men who choose to do so because the chances of being able to play sports professionally are limited to a tiny percentage of athletes (Hattery & Smith, 2007). Additionally, foreclosing on a professional sports career path might plausibly cause individuals to prioritize sport involvement over academic pursuits which are imperative for graduating from college and, in turn, successfully transitioning to a career that is not a professional sport career.

However, it is possible that perceptions of available careers may be very different for African American females given that the aforementioned predominant sports career focus does not appear to exist for African American females. It is possible that the seemingly lower level of social and financial success of professional sport careers for African American women when compared to African American men contributes to gender differences in the African American athlete phenomenon. Differing perceptions among African American males and females of available careers may also be explained by much higher high school graduation and college attendance and graduation rates for African American females than African American males (NCAA, 2007; Statistics, 2014a, 2014b).

Racial and Ethnic Socialization

The importance of racial-ethnic socialization as it relates to career development is that it is intrinsically related to how an individual perceives acceptable careers given his or her racial and ethnic background and his or her ability to perform well in those careers (Hughes & Bigler, 2008). Racial and ethnic socialization have been defined and measured as being similar constructs by many researchers and generally refer to messages parents communicate to youth about their racial identity, culture, and how they fit in with predominant or minority cultures they exist and interact with (Hughes et al., 2006). However, Hughes et al. (2006) and Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) argue that racial and ethnic socialization are distinctly different. Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) conceptualize racial socialization as "parental strategies that convey explicit (e.g., verbal directives) to children regarding intergroup protocol and relationships" (p. 1075). Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) also define racial socialization as being multidimensional in nature in that it teaches about topics of racial barrier awareness, how to deal with racism and discrimination, and the promotion of cross-cultural relationships. Racial barrier awareness refers to providing knowledge on racism and discrimination. Teaching youth how to deal with racism and discrimination refers to the ways in which parents provide strategies and coping mechanisms for racism and discrimination. Lastly, racial socialization as it relates to the promotion of cross-cultural relationships refers to the encouragement for interacting with individuals who are not members of one's own cultural group (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007, p. 1075). Lesane-Brown (2006) offers a very similar definition of racial socialization and describes it "as specific verbal and non-verbal…messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial

stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal and group identity" (p. 403).

Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) conceptualize ethnic socialization as "explicit (e.g., verbal directives) and implicit messages (i.e., modeled behaviors, exposure to opportunities and interactive experiences) that parents impart to children regarding intragroup protocol and about what it means to a member of a particular ethnic group" (p. 1075). They also define ethnic socialization as a being multidimensional in nature in that it teaches youth about African American cultural values, cultural embeddedness, history, heritage and ethnic pride. Socialization behaviors on African American cultural values include teaching youth about African American worldviews and how to interact with members belonging to African American culture. Behaviors regarding African American cultural embeddedness include exposing youth to art, literature, and artifacts that represent the African American experience. Ethnic socialization messages about African American history refer to teaching youth about the experience and past struggles of African Americans. African American heritage as it relates to ethnic socialization refers to the provision of activities and opportunities that celebrate African American culture. Finally, ethnic socialization behaviors on ethnic pride include positive messages about Blackness (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007, p. 1075).

Interestingly, almost all aspects of racial and ethnic socialization, with the exception of heritage, were positively and significantly related to parental career support in Blackmon and Thomas' (2014) study. That is, individuals who reported higher racial and ethnic socialization practices by parents also reported high parental career support. What this finding suggests is that parents who socialize their offspring highly regarding

race and ethnicity may view career endeavors, especially those that are uncommon for African Americans, differently than parents who do not. Thus, the support necessary to buffer the negative effects of racism and discrimination may stem from parental attitudes and values that influence racial-ethnic socialization. For example, African Americans, particularly men, are at greater risk for serious consequences, such as being shot by police officers, than are Whites (Plant & Peruche, 2005). Because of this, parents may find it necessary to play an active role in making sure that such consequences are less likely to occur to their children by socializing their children in ways that explicitly teach them how to interact with other non-group members and what it means to be African American in America. Furthermore, racial socialization tends to be associated with higher levels of positive outcomes such as academic achievement (Friend, Hunter, & Fletcher, 2010) — which has also been found to positively influence the career development process. Because the focus of this study is on the career development process, measuring racial-ethnic socialization as a potential predictor of the career development of male and female athletes and non-athletes is essential.

Arnett (2011) states that it is during emerging adulthood that individuals make critical decisions about potential careers based on their interests and how their interests "fit into the possibilities available to them" (p. 256). Arnett's statement speaks loudly to the fact that individuals' career-related decisions are not based solely on the basis of their own interests but also on the availability of careers that complement their interests. This is particularly pertinent in understanding the career development of African Americans given historical and present-day racial barriers such as discrimination that not only limit actual career availabilities but also limit perceived career availabilities. Findings from

White-Johnson (2015) support this notion as African American emerging adults who received messages about racism had lower GPAs (White-Johnson, 2015). This finding suggests that issues surrounding race affect how African Americans engage in educational opportunities, which are directly related to career opportunities. Therefore, perceived career availabilities, which may occur as a result of actual barriers or because individuals are misinformed about the availability of careers in which they may be interested, are important in that they can prevent African Americans from considering career options regardless of actual limitations on careers (Messersmith et al., 2008).

Because of this, racial and ethnic socialization is extremely important for African Americans as it provides an understanding of their identity and how they fit in in the world. In turn, racial and ethnic status can also influence which careers are perceived as suitable for an individual. And although race is not to be confused with ethnicity, because the issues surrounding race in America (e.g., discrimination) ultimately impact how African Americans interact and perceive the world around them, both racial and ethnic socialization are important to understanding the career development of African Americans.

Review and Research Questions

Altogether, the underrepresentation of African American males in the general undergraduate population and low graduation rates of African American male athletes who are able to attend college when compared to their female counterparts, suggest that African American families socialize their male offspring differently than their female offspring in relation to career development. Understanding how families socialize

African American males and the impact of this socialization on their career development is vital for addressing low undergraduate attendance as well as low graduation rates of African American males when compared to African American females. At an even higher level, this examination is necessary in that its findings may assist in the work that aims to decrease racial discrepancies in educational attainment, which predicts positive life outcomes. Understanding racial differences in career socialization can reduce disparities between African Americans and Whites so as to increase the extent to which disadvantaged African American communities experience similar opportunities as their White counterparts.

This study aims to answer the following research questions and hypotheses:

1. On average, what does career development (i.e., tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment) look like for African American male emerging adults in comparison to African American female emerging adults? Specifically, how do African American male athletes and non-athletes compare to African American female athletes and non-athletes on those measures of career development?

    a. Hypothesis: African American male athletes are (a) more likely to report fewer major-related careers, (b) less likely to choose majors that are linked to a higher percentage of job offers for professional careers upon graduating from college, (c) less likely to explore and less likely to commit to careers, and (d) more likely to foreclose on a career in athletics than African American male non-athletes, African American female athletes, or African American female non-athletes.

2. What aspects of racial-ethnic socialization best prepare young African American males and females to make a successful transition (i.e., higher vocational exploration, higher career commitment, lower tendency to foreclose) into careers and is this relationship moderated by the interaction between gender and athlete status?

    a. Hypothesis: Each of the indicators of racial and ethnic socialization will predict vocational exploration, career commitment, and tendency to foreclose and the relationship between racial and ethnic socialization and vocational exploration, career commitment, and tendency to foreclose will differ by gender and athletic status, controlling for SES as approximated by parent education.

3. Do families socialize African American males differently from African American females in terms of racial and ethnic socialization, career-related parental support, and parental responsiveness and is this relationship moderated by athlete status?

    a. Hypothesis: African American male athletes and non-athletes and female athletes and non-athletes are socialized differently in respect to racial and ethnic socialization, career-related parental support, and parental responsiveness.

4. Does racial and ethnic socialization predict tendency to foreclose on careers, vocational exploration, and career commitment above and beyond parental career-related support and parental responsiveness?

    a. Hypothesis: Racial-ethnic socialization will influence the aforementioned career development outcomes above and beyond other parental behaviors

such as career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support and parental responsiveness.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Sample and Procedure

The sample consisted of 228 African Americans including 62 athletes (male = 46; female =16) and 159 non-athletes (male=56; female=103) between the ages of 18 and 25 attending Oklahoma State University (OSU) and/or attending the Big XII Conference on Black Student Government (consisting of students attending 43 U.S. colleges and universities) hosted by Oklahoma State University. Data on the item assessing athlete status was missing for four males and three females, but they were included in all analyses that were not dependent upon gender, athlete status, and/or the interaction between gender and athlete status. Of the 228 participants: 18.8% were freshmen, 19.3% were sophomores, 27.8% were juniors, 24.7% were seniors, 4.5% were first year graduate students, and 4.9% were in their second or subsequent year of graduate school. Of those who were athletes: 50% had athletic scholarships, 19.4% were walk-ons for a university sport, and 30.6% were intercollegiate athletes previously but were not anymore. Participants' current college GPA and high school GPA were 3.06 (SD = .46) and 3.48

(SD = .43), respectively. Study criteria for participants included: African American racial background and being between the ages of 18 and 25. Surveys from participants who did not meet the criteria were not included in the data set. Participants (*n* = 9) who were recruited in-person through the Academic Center for student-athletes and Big XII Conference and did not indicate their age on the survey were included in the data set due to the perceived low likelihood of those participants being older than 25 years of age. Listwise deletion was used to handle missing values in all of the analyses, except for the analyses related to research question 2, which was tested using Mplus, for each of the four research questions. Full information maximum log-likelihood was used to handle missing values in the analyses performed in Mplus.

In relation to racial background, participants were asked to mark all that apply. Cases from participants of mixed race including "Black" were included in the study. Surveys from participants who did not self-identify as being "Black" were not included in the study. Of those who self-identified as Black: 88.2% were African American, 8.3% were African (1st or 2nd generation), 2.2% were Caribbean, and 2.2% were of other nationalities. See Table 3.1 for full sample descriptive statistics.

The university's Institutional Diversity office assisted in sample recruitment by providing the Principal Investigator (PI) access to an electronic mailing list to email students who self-identified as African American an invitation to participate in the study. Interested and willing students completed the online survey using a survey link that was provided in the invitation email. Students who completed the survey online were given an item of small value (e.g., a cell phone wallet) for compensation for their time after providing the PI with a survey receipt that appeared after survey submission. The survey

response rate for the online survey was 24.2% out of all self-identified African-American students attending OSU. However, 5.2% of the 24.2% who responded online did not meet the age requirement (i.e., older than 25 years of age) for the study and were thus prompted to the end of the survey. That is, students who indicated that they were older than 25 years of age were automatically skipped over all remaining survey questions. No information other than the racial background and age of those respondents was recorded. Thus, these cases were removed from the data set. Fifty seven percent of the current sample is comprised of participants who completed the survey online.

The university's Institutional Diversity and Multicultural Affairs offices also assisted in sample recruitment by allowing the PI to include a handbill, with a description of the study and an invitation to participate, in each welcome packet that was given to Big XII Conference on Black Student Government attendees. Additionally, the PI was allowed to set up a table at the conference to solicit surveys from conference participants during conference breaks. Conference attendees who were interested in completing the survey were given the opportunity to complete the survey at the table or elsewhere. All willing and interested conference attendees returned a completed survey in person to the PI before departing from the conference and received an item of small value (i.e., a cell phone wallet) upon return of the survey. The survey response rate for surveys returned at the Big XII Conference was 13.3%. Conference attendees who completed the survey comprised 32.5% of the current sample.

Due to the relatively small ratio of student-athletes to the general non-athlete undergraduate portion of the current sample and, thus, the relatively small percentage of participants who were athletes, African American male athletes were oversampled, as this

population was the primary focus of this study. As a final recruitment method to oversample student- athletes, the PI was given permission to set up a table in the Academic Center for student-athletes at Oklahoma State University to solicit surveys. As with the Big XII Conference, interested persons were allowed to complete the survey at the table or return the completed survey before the PI left for the day. Participants also received an item of small value (i.e., a cell phone wallet) upon return of a completed survey. Student-athletes who participated in the study at the Academic Center were included in the survey response rate for the online survey as they were initially invited to participate in the study via the electronic survey link that was sent to all OSU students who self-identified as African American. Student-athletes who participated in the study at the Academic Center comprised 11% of the current sample.

Completion of the survey implied the students' consent to participate. All students were informed, by verbal statement as well as written communication attached to each survey, of the voluntary nature of participating in the study and any risks and benefits to the individual prior to completing the survey. This information was provided to ensure anonymity and confidentiality and was thought to be necessary to overcome African American students' concerns about being exploited for research purposes. All research procedures, including the waiver of consent form, were approved by the IRB.

The office of Institutional Diversity provided the incentive for the current study. All participants, regardless of recruitment method, received an item of small value for completing the survey (i.e., a cell phone wallet).

Measures

Age. Age was a single self-reported variable. Age values ranged from 18 years old to 25 years old.

Academic Standing. Academic standing was a single self-reported variable. Values ranged from freshman to 2nd or subsequent year graduate student.

Undergraduate GPA. Undergraduate GPA was measured by a single item. Possible responses range from 0.0 to 4.0.

High School GPA. High school GPA was measured by a single item. Possible responses range from 0.0 to 4.0.

Gender. Gender was a single self-identified dichotomous (male/female) variable.

Race. Race was a single self-identified variable assessed by the following question: "What is your race/ethnicity? (Mark all that apply.)" Racial categories were listed as Black, White, Asian, American Indian or Alaskan Native, and Hispanic, and Other. Only participants who self-identified as being Black were included in the analyses, whether they also marked other racial categories or not. An additional question for students who selected "Black" for their race/ethnicity was, "If you selected "Black" as your race/ethnicity, which of the following best describes you? (Mark all that apply.)." Response categories were listed as African (1st or 2nd generation), African American, Caribbean, South American, or Other.

Socio-Economic Status (SES). SES was approximated by parents' (both mother and father) highest level of education obtained. Responses ranged from "Less than 9th grade" to "PhD, JD, or MD."

Intercollegiate Athlete (or not): Responses for athlete status were: "I have never been an intercollegiate athlete; Have an athletic scholarship; Walk-on athlete for a university sport; Was an intercollegiate athlete previously but not anymore." Participants who reported scholarship recipient athlete and non-scholarship recipient athlete statuses were also asked to specify the sport for which they selected an athlete status. Participants who reported having ever played a college sport were considered athletes whereas participants who indicated that they have never played a college sport were considered as non-athletes.

Professional Sport Career Path: The pursuit of a professional sport career path was assessed by the following question: "In addition to any major-related career goals that you may have, are you currently pursuing a professional sport career path?" Potential responses included: "No, I am not pursuing a career in a professional sport; Yes, football; Yes, basketball; Yes, baseball; Yes, hockey; Yes, tennis; Yes, golf; Yes, other_____."

Total Number of Identified Major-Related Careers: The number of careers that were related to their major that participants were able to identify was assessed by the following open-ended item: "List up to 5 careers for which your major is preparing you and which you are willing to pursue." A score (sum of reported careers) for the total number of identified major-related careers was computed for each student.

Commitment to Career Choices Scale (CCCS). The CCCS measures two

constructs: Tendency to Foreclose (TTF) and Vocational Exploration and Commitment

(VEC). The TTF scale (TTFS) includes 20 items, which assess an individual's lack of

willingness to consider multiple career options. The VEC (VECS) scale includes 29

items, which assess an individual's level of vocational exploration and career

commitment. Responses for both the TTFS and VECS are based on a 7-point Likert-type

scale (Blustein et al., 1989). Sample items for the TTFS include, "I believe that no matter

what others might think, my educational and career decisions will either be right or

wrong and " Based on what I know about my interests, I believe that I am suited for only

one specific occupation." Sample items for the VECS include, "I find myself changing

academic majors often because I cannot focus on one specific career goal" and "I have

difficulty making decisions when faced with a variety of options." Scores for subscales

were computed as item averages as long as 80% of subscale items were not missing for a

particular participant. Higher scores indicated a higher degree of tendency to foreclose or

level of vocational exploration and career commitment. In the development of the TTFS

and VECS, Cronbach's alphas were computed to assess internal consistency of the TTFS

(α= .82 and .78) and VECS (α= .92 and .91) across two samples (Blustein et al., 1989).

Test-retest reliability was also performed across two samples at 2 and 4-week intervals

for the TTFS (.82 and .84) and VECS (.90 and .92; Blustein et al., 1989). Cronbach's

alphas were computed to examine the internal consistency of the TTFS and VECS for

this sample (α's ranged from .741 to .915 for full sample and from .720 to .905 and .759

to .955 for males and females respectively). See Tables 3.2 and 3.3 for reliability

coefficients, means, and standard deviations of scales. See Table 3.4 for means and

standard deviations of scales separated by the interaction between gender and athlete status.

Academic Major. Academic major was a single self-reported item. Classifications of academic majors provide an indication of the types of jobs that are available to individuals and thus salary and prestige (Ma, 2009; Thomas, 1985). An additional item asked participants to, "list up to 5 careers for which your major is preparing you and which you are willing to pursue" to assess general knowledge of major-related careers.

Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale (ARESS). The ARESS, a 36-item scale, was developed to measure self-reports of racial and ethnic socialization by mothers and fathers reported by their adolescent children (T. L. Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). This scale has also been used among college students (Blackmon & Thomas, 2014). In the current study, the format of items was adapted from "my maternal/paternal caregiver" used by Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) to "my parents/caregivers" because I did not want to separate students raised in different family structures from each and other and because the importance of this measure for this study was in racial-ethnic socialization and not in the effect of parent gender on racial-ethnic socialization. The construct of *racial socialization* is comprised of 14 items that measure three dimensions: *racial barrier awareness* (6 items, e.g., "My parents/caregivers taught me that racism is present in America"), *coping with racism and discrimination* (5 items, e.g., "My parents/caregivers taught me that if I work hard I can overcome barriers in life"), and the *promotion of cross-racial relationships* (3 items, e.g., "My parents/caregivers encouraged me to have White friends") (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). *Ethnic socialization* is

comprised of 22 items that measure five dimensions: C*ultural embeddedness* (4 items, e.g., "My parents/caregivers had Black magazines like Essence, Ebony, Jet in the home"), *African American cultural values* (4 items, e.g., " My parents/caregivers taught me the importance of family loyalty), *African American history* (4 items, e.g., "My parents/caregivers taught me about slavery in this country), celebrating *African American heritage* (5 items, e.g., "My parents/caregivers encouraged me to go to Black museums"), and promotion of *ethnic pride* (5 items, e.g., "My parents/caregivers taught me to never be ashamed of my skin color" (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). Responses assess how often racial-ethnic socialization messages were communicated from caregivers and are scored on a 4-point Likert scale (0= never, 1 = a few times, 2 = lots of times, 3 = always). Scores for subscales were computed as averages for items as long as 80% of subscale items were not missing for a particular participant. Higher scores indicated a higher degree of racial and/or ethnic socialization. In previous research, internal consistency reliabilities for the aforementioned subscales ranged from .63 to .91 (Blackmon & Thomas, 2014; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). Reliability coefficients indicating internal consistency of the ARESS subscales for the sample ranged from .561 to .884 (see Table 3.2). Scores for each subscale was computed as the average of the items as long as 80% of scale items were not missing for a particular participant. Because the 80% rule was followed for all participants, a clerical error—duplication of one item and, thus, omission of another item on the cultural embeddedness subscale— on the paper-surveys (*n*=73) was not thought to have compromised the validity of that particular subscale or the results of this study. Additionally, because of discrepancies between table and text in Brown and Krishnakumar's (2007) article—duplication of one item and thus omission of another

item on the racial barrier awareness subscale—the racial barrier awareness subscale in the current study only consisted of five items. As with the error found in the paper-surveys for this study, the use of average scores for racial barrier awareness subscale provided a basis for why the omitted item was not deemed as compromising to the validity of that particular subscale. Table 3.2) presents reliability coefficients, means, and standard deviations of scales for the whole sample and Table 3.3 presents these same values separately for males and females. See Table 3.4 for means and standard deviations of scales separately for male and female athletes and non-athletes.

Parental Responsiveness Scale. This scale consisted of five items that assessed responsiveness and warmth (Paulson, Marchant, & Rothlisberg, 1998). Sample items included, " My parents/caregivers encouraged me to talk with them about things" and "My parents/caregivers seldom praised me for doing well." Scores for parental responsiveness were computed by item averages of response values (i.e., very unlike =1, more unlike than like= 2, neither like nor unlike= 3, more like than unlike=4, very like= 5) that indicated the level of agreement with scale items (see Tables 3.2 and 3.3). Scores for parental responsiveness was computed as the average of the items as long as 80% of scale items were not missing for a particular participant. High scores indicated high levels of responsiveness. In previous research the internal consistency reliability estimate for this scale was .71 (Paulson et al., 1998). The reliability coefficient indicating the internal consistency of this scale was .832 (see Table 3.2 for the reliability coefficient, mean, and standard deviation of this scale for the full sample and Table 3.3 for the same statistics separated by gender). See Table 3.4 for means and standard deviations of scales for male and female athletes and non-athletes.

Parental Support for Careers. Parental support for careers was measured by the Verbal Encouragement (VE) and Emotional Support (ES) subscales of the Career-Related Support Scale and consists of thirteen items. Sample items for the VE subscale include "My parents/caregivers encouraged me to make good grades" and "My parents/caregivers told me they expect me to finish school. Sample items for the ES subscale include, "My parents/caregivers talked to me when I was worried about my future career" and "My parents/caregivers praised me when I learned job-related skills." Participants responded to both subscales on a 5-point Likert-type response scale (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree). Responses for subscales were computed as item averages as long as 80% of scale items were not missing. Higher scores indicated a higher level of parental support for careers. In previous research, internal consistency reliability estimates were .83 and .85 for the VE and ES subscales, respectively (Turner et al., 2003). Cronbach's alpha was computed to examine internal consistency of scales for this sample. Alphas were .692 for VE and .815 for ES for this sample. See Tables 3.2—3.3 for reliability coefficients, means, and standard deviations of scales for the full sample and by gender. See Table 3.4 for means and standard deviations of scales for male and female athletes and non-athletes.

Plan of Analyses

Research Question 1. On average, what does career development (i.e., tendency to foreclose and career exploration and commitment) look like for African American male emerging adults in comparison to African American female emerging adults? Specifically, how do African American male athletes and non-athletes compare to

African American female athletes and non-athletes on those measures of career development?

To answer this question, a 2 (gender) X 2 (athlete/non-athlete status) analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted to determine whether there were significant differences between groups in continuous career-related variables, including vocational exploration and commitment and tendency to foreclose controlling for academic year. ANCOVA was selected to test research question 1 because it is robust to moderate violations of its assumptions (Kepple & Wickens, 2004; Schmider, Ziegler, Danay, Beyer, & Buhner, 2010) and because of its appropriateness for testing for significant group differences in means while controlling for the effect of covariates. Additionally, a 2 (gender) by 2 (athlete/non-athlete status) contingency-table analysis was used to test whether there were any gender X athletic status differences in the total number of reported major-related academic majors. A 2 (gender) by 2 (athlete/non-athlete status) contingency-table analysis was also used to test for gender X athletic status differences in majors defined as being associated with having 50% (more or less) job offers immediately upon graduating from college. Chi-square tests were selected on the basis that assumptions for adequacy of sample size and independence were not violated and its appropriateness for determining differences between two groups. From these analyses I was able to determine whether my hypothesis that African American male athletes were (a) more likely to report fewer major-related careers, (b) less likely to choose majors that are linked to a higher percentage of job offers for professional careers upon graduating from college, (c) less likely to explore and less likely to commit to careers, and (d) more likely to foreclose on a career in athletics than African American male non-athletes,

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African American female athletes, or African American female non-athletes was supported.

Research Question 2. What aspects of racial-ethnic socialization best prepare young African American males and females to make a successful transition (i.e., higher career exploration and commitment, lower tendency to foreclose) into careers and is this relationship moderated by the interaction between gender and athlete status?

To answer this question, multiple regressions using a multiple group analyses approach in MPlus were used to assess which indicators of racial and ethnic socialization best predicted tendency to foreclose and career commitment. Mplus was selected to test research question 2 because of the advantage that a multiple group analysis feature, which is specific to Mplus, had in relation to the test of equivalence of group-specific (i.e., male athlete, male non-athlete, female athlete, female non-athlete) coefficients which is not provided in an ordinary least squares regression in SPSS. Because SES is so closely related to career exploration- a crucial part of career development – parent education as an approximation of SES was controlled for. The multiple-group analysis of gender and athletic status while controlling for SES and current college classification was conducted to assess the extent to which the seven indicators of racial and ethnic socialization predicted career exploration and commitment and tendency to foreclose. The multiple group analyses allowed me to test for moderation effects on the relationship between racial and ethnic socialization and career exploration and commitment and tendency to foreclose. From this analysis I was able to determine whether my hypothesis that each of the indicators of racial and ethnic socialization predicted career exploration

and commitment and whether those predictions significantly differed by gender and athletic status, controlling for SES as approximated by parent education.

Research Question 3. Do families socialize African American males differently from African American females in relation to career development in terms of racial and ethnic socialization and career-related parental support and is this relationship moderated by athlete status?

To answer this question a 2 (gender) X 2 (athlete/non-athlete status) MANOVA was conducted to determine whether there were significant differences in racial and ethnic socialization and career-related parental support by gender and athlete/non-athlete status. MANOVA was selected to test this research question on the basis that assumptions of independence and normality of distribution were not violated and because of its appropriateness for testing differences in means with the continuous dependent variables and categorical independent variables. From this analysis I was able to determine whether my hypothesis that African American male athletes and non-athletes and female athletes and non-athletes were socialized differently both in respect to racial and ethnic socialization and career-related parental support.

Research Question 4. Does racial and ethnic socialization predict tendency to foreclose on careers and career exploration above and beyond parental career-related support and parental responsiveness?

To answer this question, multiple regression analyses were used to examine whether racial socialization significantly influenced tendency to foreclose on careers and vocational exploration and career commitment above and beyond parental career-related

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support and parental responsiveness (controlling for parent education). Multiple

regression was selected to test research question 4 on the basis that assumptions of

linearity, independence, and normality of distribution were not violated and because of its

appropriateness for testing for significant associations between multiple independent

variables and continuous dependent variables while controlling for the effect of other

entered variables. Because this research question was exploratory in nature, no

directional hypotheses were made. However, it was hypothesized that racial-ethnic

socialization would influence the aforementioned career development outcomes above

and beyond the other parental behaviors of career-related verbal encouragement and

emotional support and parental responsiveness.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the results of each analysis that was

proposed in Chapter III. First, a description of preliminary analyses will be discussed.

Next, an overview of the results and how well they support the research questions will be

discussed prior to the detailed discussion of the results for each analysis. The results are

presented by order of research question. For example, an overview and detailed

description of the analyses relevant to research question 1 will be covered first, then the

results of the analyses relevant to research question 2 will be covered, and so on.

Preliminary Analyses

Factor analysis of Commitment to Career Choices Scale. Blustein et al.'s

(1989) measure of Career Choices and Commitment Scale (CCCS) has mostly been used

with White adolescents (Ellis & Blustein, 1992; Lopez, 1994). Because of this, a factor

analysis was conducted as a preliminary analysis. The results of the factor analysis

supported a three-factor solution (see Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1), which differs from the

original two-factor structure of the instrument.

The original two-factor solution combined both vocational exploration and career commitment items onto one factor (Blustein et al., 1989). Because items 15 and 16 for the CCCS had similar loadings for both career commitment and tendency to foreclose, they were included in the tendency to foreclose scale to maintain consistency with Blustein et al.'s (1989) original scale items for tendency to foreclose. The initial eigenvalues for the three-factor solution indicated that career commitment explained 28.626% of the variance, tendency to foreclose explained 14.218% of the variance, and vocational exploration explained 7.565% of the variance, for a total explained variance of 50.409%. The three-factor structure accounted for 7.565% more variance than the original two-factor structure of the CCCS, which explained a total of 42.85% of the variance. In the two-factor structure of the CCCS, tendency to foreclose and vocational exploration and career commitment (as one factor) accounted for 28.626% and 14.218% of the variance, respectively. The factor analysis for a three-factor solution also provides empirical support a conceptual distinction between vocational exploration and career commitment, which aids in interpretation and understanding of the results for vocational exploration and career commitment. Therefore, based on the results of the factor analysis, all of the research questions focused on the original two-factor structure will instead focus on three factors. That is, research questions examining indicators of career development will include three outcomes (i.e., tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, career commitment) instead of two outcomes (i.e., tendency to foreclose, vocation exploration and commitment).

Group Differences in Background Variables of Sample. A MANOVA was calculated to test for significant group differences in the sample by recruitment method

(i.e., Academic Center for Student Athletes, Big XII Conference, electronic mailing list for African American students). Participants recruited from the Academic Center for Student Athletes, Big XII Conference, and electronic mailing list for African American students significantly differed in age, F (2, 197) = 4.502, p = .012, academic year, F (2, 197) = 5.935, p = .003, and current GPA, F (2, 197) = 4.507, p = .012. Participants who responded to the electronic (e-mail) survey invitation and who were recruited from the Big XII Conference were significantly older in age, more advanced in academic year (mean year: junior compared to sophomore), and had significantly higher GPAs than participants who were recruited from the Academic Center (see Table 4.2 for means by recruitment method). Participants did not significantly differ by recruitment method in their mother's education, F (2, 197) = .728, p > .05, father's education, F (2, 197) = .522, p > .05, parents' marital status F (2, 197) = .012, p > .05, or high school GPA F (2, 197) = .462, p > .05.

A chi-square test was used to test for significant differences in the number of athletes by recruitment method, $\square^2$ (2) = 75.218, p < .001. There were noticeably significant differences in the number of non-athletes that participated in the study by recruitment method: 0 non-athletes were recruited from the Academic Center; 49 (30.8%) non-athletes were recruited from the Big XII conference; 110 (69.2%) non-athletes were recruited from the electronic survey invitation. The percentage of Big XII conference attendees who were athletes (33.9%) was only slightly higher than the percentage of athletes who were recruited using the electronic survey invitation (27.4%). The importance of this test was to determine whether significant differences in the percentage

of *athletes* by recruitment method, which would have biased the sample on all variables that differed between Big XII conference attendees and OSU participants, existed.

Chi-square tests were used to test for significant group differences in background variables by gender. Male and female participants did not significantly differ in age, χ^2 (7) = 10.060, p > .05, academic year, χ^2 (5) = 5.064, p > .05, current GPA χ^2 (69) = 65.157, p > .05, high school GPA, χ^2 (53) = 62.931, p > .05, parents' marital status, χ^2 (4) = 4.200, p > .05, mother education, χ^2 (7) = 11.130, p > .05, or father education, χ^2 (8) = 7.310, p > .05. See Table 4.3 for means and standard deviations by gender.

Additional chi-square tests were used to test for significant group differences in background variables by athlete status. Athletes and non-athletes did not significantly differ in age, χ^2 (7) = 7.916, p > .05, current GPA, χ^2 (69) = 61.239, p > .05, high school GPA, χ^2 (53) = 50.482, p > .05, parents' marital status, χ^2 (4) = 2.804, p > .05, mother education, χ^2 (7) = 5.453, p > .05, or father education, χ^2 (8) = 10.809, p > .05. However, non-athletes were more advanced (i.e., academic year) students than athletes, χ^2 (5) = 11.979, p = .035. See Table 4.4 for means and standard deviations by athlete status.

Distribution of Key Outcome Variables. The data for the career development outcomes (i.e., tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, career commitment) were normally distributed based on inspection of histograms and evaluation of tests of kurtosis and skewness. Therefore, the assumption of normally distributed data was not violated and the analyses were performed as initially proposed.

The skewness and kurtosis of all outcome variables are included in Table 3.2. Although many of them differ significantly from normality, ANOVA and related statistical tests, such as multiple regression and ANCOVA, are known to be robust to departures from normality of this level (Kepple & Wickens, 2004; Schmider et al., 2010). Ethnic pride is the only continuous outcome variable that departs from normality more than parental responsiveness, which is typically analyzed with parametric statistics in the literature, despite its level of skewness.

Research Question 1: Career Development by Gender and Athletic Status

Overview. On average, what does career development (i.e., tendency to foreclose, career exploration) look like for African American male emerging adults in comparison to African American female emerging adults? Specifically, how do African American male athletes and non-athletes compare to African American female athletes and non-athletes on those measures of career development?

Of the three hypotheses pertaining to research question 1, only hypothesis 1.d was partially supported: African American male athletes were more likely to indicate a pursuit of a professional sport career path than African American female male non-athletes, African American female athletes, or African American female non-athletes. Surprisingly, hypotheses 1.c and 1.d (see explanation below), were not fully supported in that there were no significant group differences by gender or athletic status in tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, or career commitment. Hypothesis 1.a was not supported by the results of this study, as there were no significant group differences by gender or athletic status in the total number of reported major-related careers. Hypothesis

1.b was not supported as athletes were not found to enroll in less demanding majors than non-athletes.

Results for Research Question 1. To test for significant group differences by gender and athletic status in tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment, 2 (gender) X 2 (athlete status) between-subjects analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) were conducted, controlling for academic year. On tendency to foreclose, after controlling for academic year, $F(1,194) = 6.144$, $p = .014$, gender, $F(1,194) = .423$, $p > .05$, and athlete status, $F(1,194) = 1.376$, $p > .05$, analyses did not reveal group differences (see means in Table 4.5). Academic year appears to reduce students' tendency to foreclose. Advanced students were less likely to foreclose on careers than less advanced students (e.g., freshmen). The interaction between gender and athlete status was not significant, $F(1,194) = .497$, $p > .05$. Contrary to expectations, the gender X athlete interaction had no effect on the tendency to foreclose on careers among African American emerging adults in this sample. The means in Table 4.5 indicate that male athletes were more likely to foreclose, but the differences were not large enough to be significant.

For vocational exploration, after controlling for academic year, $F(1, 213) = 3.749$, $p=.054$, there were marginal gender differences, $F(1,213) = 2.742$, $p = .099$, but athlete status was not significant, $F(1,213) = 1.438$, $p>.05$ (see means in Table 4.5). Females ($M= 5.781$), in general, engaged in marginally more vocational exploration than males ($M=.5.539$). The interaction between gender and athlete status also was not significant $F(1,213) = 2.133$, $p>.05$. Athlete status had no effect on the degree to which African American emerging adults explored careers. Thus, my expectation for non-athletes of the

converse to exhibit a low tendency to foreclose on careers and a high degree of vocational exploration was not supported by the results of this study. The means in Table 4.5 indicate that male athletes had the lowest vocational exploration, but the only difference that approached significance was that males in general had explored vocational options less than females.

In relation to career commitment, after controlling for academic year, $F(1,214) = 3.596$, $p < .10$, the main effects for gender, $F(1,214) = 1.595$, $p > .05$, and athlete status, $F(1, 214) = .235$, $p > .05$, were not significant. The interaction between gender and athlete status was not significant, $F(1, 214) = .531$, $p > .05$, either. Gender and athlete status had no effect on the level of commitment African American emerging adults had for a career. The means in 54.3 indicated that male athletes had a lower commitment than either female group, but the differences were not significant.

Next, a 4 (combined gender X athlete status groups) X 2 (majors' job likelihood) chi-square contingency table was created to determine whether the four gender X athlete groups differed in their enrollment in majors that were identified by Forbes (2014) as having a greater than 50% job placement among undergraduates or not. This relationship was not significant, $\square^2$ (3)= 3.823, $p > .05$. The results for the frequencies for the four groups can be found in Table 4.6. The type of major that African American college students enrolled in was not significantly related to group status (male and female; athlete and non-athlete) nor was the relationship shown in the expected direction. Instead, the non-significant trend indicated that male athletes were more likely than any other group to be enrolled in majors with a greater probability of having a job offer upon graduation. Thus, hypothesis 1.b was not supported by the results of this study.

Additionally, a 2 (gender) X 2 (athlete status) chi-square contingency table was created to compare the results of the percentage of students who reported a pursuit of a professional sport career path (see Table 4.7). The results of this test support the hypothesis that African American male athletes would indicate a pursuit of a professional sport career path more than other African American males and female athletes and non-athletes. This relationship was highly significant, χ^2 (3)= 85.479, $p < .001$. African American male athletes were almost five times more likely than African American female athletes to indicate that they were actively pursuing a professional sport career, 59.5% vs. 12.5%. The results for the frequencies for the four groups can be found in Table 4.7. The indication of the pursuit of a professional sport career path was dependent upon both gender and athlete status. These results support the hypothesis that African American male athletes would pursue a professional sport career path more than male non-athletes and females. Pearson's correlation between the indication of a professional sport career path and academic year was calculated as a follow-up analysis. The indication of a professional sport career path was significantly and negatively associated with academic year ($r = -.271$, $p < .001$). That is, athletes who were more advanced in their majors were significantly less likely to indicate the pursuit of a professional sport career path.

Finally, a 2 (gender) X 2 (athlete status) between-subjects ANCOVA was calculated comparing the total number of major-related careers for athlete and non-athlete males and females. The main effects for gender, $F(1, 214) = 1.39$, $p > .05$, and athlete status, $F(1, 214) = .01$, $p > .05$, were not significant. The interaction between gender and athlete status was not significant, $F(1,214) = .79$, $p > .05$. Although the interaction

between gender and athlete status was not significant, as expected, African American male athletes ($M = 3.058$) reported fewer major-related careers than African American male non-athletes ($M = 3.337$), African American female athletes ($M = 3.631$), and African American female non-athletes ($M = 3.417$). See means for total number of reported major-related careers by group in Table 4.8. Gender and athlete status had no effect on the number of major-related careers that African American emerging adults were able to identify (See Table 4.8).

Research Question 2: Effects of Racial-Ethnic Socialization on Career Development

Overview. What aspects of racial-ethnic socialization best prepare young African American males and females to make a successful transition (i.e., higher vocational exploration, higher career commitment, lower tendency to foreclose) into careers, and is this relationship moderated by the interaction between gender and athlete status?

The results confirm moderation by gender and athlete status of the relation of racial-ethnic socialization to career development indicators. In other words, significant relationships between career development outcomes and racial-ethnic socialization predictors varied by gender and athlete status. These results are described in more detail below.

Because of the exploratory nature of research question 2, no directional hypotheses about the relationship between racial-ethnic socialization and tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, career commitment were stated. However, the results support the hypothesis implied by the general research question, that racial-ethnic socialization significantly impacts career development indicators (e.g., tendency to

foreclose) among African American college students, but in different ways for different subgroups.

Results for Research Question 2. Multiple regressions using a feature specific to Mplus— multiple group analyses— were calculated to examine the relation of the eight facets of racial-ethnic socialization (i.e., coping with racism and discrimination, promoting cross-racial relationships, racial barrier awareness, cultural embeddedness, African American cultural values, African American history, African American heritage, ethnic pride) to vocational exploration, career commitment, and tendency to foreclose, controlling for parent education and academic year. Because these results provide interesting comparisons of the relationship between racial-ethnic socialization and career development among all four groups, the results for African American female athletes are included despite a small sample size. However, it is important to note that caution is warranted in interpreting the findings of these regressions for African American female athletes due to the small sample size of this particular group. Finally, to test for significant differences in tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment by gender and athlete status, chi square difference tests were calculated. The importance of using a multiple group analysis approach for these analyses is to reveal any distinctive patterns of racial-ethnic socialization that are significantly associated with the aforementioned career development outcomes. Because group differences in the effect of racial-ethnic socialization on tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career development by gender and athlete status were hypothesized, a multi-group analysis approach was ideal as it provided a clear picture of the differential effects of racial-ethnic socialization on the specified career development outcomes. The combination of the

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multiple group analyses approach and chi square difference tests provided the ability to test whether females and males and/or athletes and athletes significantly differed on how the eight facets of racial-ethnic socialization influenced tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment. It should be noted that Mplus was used for these analyses because of its specific feature of the multiple group analysis and not for structural equation model building as is common with Mplus. Therefore, the fit statistics for the three regressions, which are not as ideal for structural equation model building as one might desire in Mplus, were not considered as determinants for rejection of the results. Because the regressions predicting tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment were just-identified, meaning that there were zero degrees of freedom, the fit statistics were as follows for each of the aforementioned regression models: $\chi^2 (0) = 0.00$, $p = 0.00$, RMSEA = 0.00, SRMR = 0.00, CFI/TLI = 1.00.

Chi square difference tests showed that male athletes significantly differed from male non-athletes, $\chi^2 (8) = 27.22$, $p < .001$, female athletes, $\chi^2 (8) = 53.24$, $p < .001$, and female non-athletes, $\chi^2 (8) = 27.87$, $p < .001$, in tendency to foreclose on careers. Although additional chi square difference tests indicated that African American male athletes significantly differed from African American female athletes, $\chi^2 (8) = 73.88$, $p <.001$ and African American female non-athletes in career commitment, $\chi^2 (8) = 20.41$, $p = .009$, and vocational exploration, $\chi^2 (8) = 82.96$, $p < .001$ (female athletes), $\chi^2 (8) = 15.90$, $p = .044$ (female non-athletes), they only differed marginally from African American male non-athletes in career commitment, $\chi^2 (8) = 14.61$, $p = .067$, and vocational exploration, $\chi^2 (8) = 13.49$, $p = .096$.

Tendency to Foreclose. In the regression equation that predicted tendency to

foreclose, after controlling for parent education and academic year, there were no

significant predictors for African American female non-athletes. However, facets of

racial-ethnic socialization that significantly predicted tendency to foreclose were different

for African American male athletes, male non-athletes and female athletes. The results

from these regressions are described in detail next. See Table 4.9 for the results of all

multiple regression analyses of tendency to foreclose.

African American Female Athletes. In comparison to the other three groups in

tendency to foreclose, facets of racial-ethnic socialization had the greatest association

with tendency to foreclose among African American female athletes. In relation to the

control variables, mother education (ß = .530, *p* = .003), father education (ß = -.477, *p* =

.002) and academic year (ß = -.479, *p* = .014), all significantly influenced foreclosure.

Female athletes whose mothers had higher educational attainment were more likely to

foreclose. Female athletes whose fathers had higher educational attainment were less

likely to foreclose. And female athletes with a higher academic year classification were

less likely to foreclose. Five of the eight facets of racial-ethnic socialization were found

to significantly influence tendency to foreclose. Of these five facets, messages about

coping with racism and discrimination (ß = -1.633, *p* < .001), African American cultural

values (ß = -.450, *p* = .013), and ethnic pride (ß = -.616, *p* =.006) were significantly

associated with a lower tendency to foreclose on careers. Messages about the promotion

of cross-racial relationships (ß = 1.020, *p* =003) and cultural embeddedness (ß = .913, *p*

=.004) were significantly associated with a higher tendency to foreclose. Coping with

racism and discrimination was the strongest negative predictor and the promotion of

cross-racial relationships was the strongest positive predictor of tendency to foreclose. The other three facets of racial-ethnic socialization did not significantly influence tendency to foreclose among African American female athletes (see Table 4.9). Results for female athletes should be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size of this group.

African American Female Non-Athletes. Racial-ethnic socialization was not significantly associated with African American female non-athletes' tendency to foreclose. Thus, racial-ethnic socialization did not appear to influence career development in relation to tendency to foreclose among African American female non-athletes.

African American Male Athletes. African American male athletes who reported having received more messages about promoting cross-racial relationships ($ß = -.363$, $p =.011$) and about ethnic pride ($ß = -.642$, $p =.002$) were less likely to foreclose than those who reported lower levels of the aforementioned facets of racial-ethnic socialization. Messages about racial barrier awareness ($ß = -.298$, $p=.073$) also predicted less foreclosure among African American male athletes, albeit only marginally. However, African American male athletes who reported having received more messages about African American values ($ß = .381$, $p = .054$) and African American history ($ß = .610$, $p = .008$) were significantly more likely to foreclose on careers. Ethnic socialization messages about African American history was the strongest predictor of high levels of tendency to foreclose, and ethnic socialization messages about ethnic pride was the greatest predictor for lower levels of tendency to foreclose among African American male athletes. Additionally, across all groups, academic year was only significant in its

relationship to tendency to foreclose among African American athletes. African American male athletes who stay in college longer are less likely to foreclose on careers (β = -.239, p = .037).

African American Male Non-Athletes. African American male non-athletes who reported having received more messages about cultural embeddedness (β = -.382, p = .047) were significantly less likely to foreclose whereas those who reported having received more messages about African American cultural values (β = .572, p = .005) were more likely to foreclose on careers. Cultural embeddedness and African American cultural values as facets of racial-ethnic socialization were the only significant predictors of tendency to foreclose on careers among African American male non-athletes.

Summary of Between-Group Differences in Predictors of Foreclosure. In sum, racial-ethnic socialization practices seem to influence athletes, both male and female, in relation to tendency to foreclose on careers. For athletes, where significant predictors (i.e., promotion of cross-racial relationships, cultural values) were the same for both males and females, the relation of racial-ethnic socialization to tendency to foreclose was in the opposite direction for females versus males, with the exception of ethnic pride, which was associated with less foreclosure among both groups. For example, messages about cultural values were associated with a lower tendency to foreclose among male athletes but were associated with a higher tendency to foreclose among female athletes. Of the two groups of males, African American male athletes' tendency to foreclose seem to be influenced more by racial-ethnic socialization practices. Messages about African American values was the only facet of racial-ethnic socialization to significantly influence both groups of African American males to have a higher tendency to foreclose

on careers. Furthermore, most other specific racial-ethnic socialization messages that are associated with tendency to foreclose varied by athlete status for African American male athletes. However, none of the racial-ethnic socialization messages that were significantly related to tendency to foreclose operated in opposite directions for African American male athletes and African American male non-athletes. In contrast, no racial-ethnic socialization scales predicted significant differences in foreclosure for female non-athletes.

Vocational Exploration. Vocational exploration was regressed on the eight facets of racial-ethnic socialization while controlling for parent education and academic year. Significant predictors of vocational exploration were found among all four groups—African American male athletes, male non-athletes, and female athletes and female non-athletes. The results of these regression analyses are described in detail below. See Table 4.10 for results for all regression analyses on vocational exploration.

African American Female Athletes. Astoundingly, each of the eight facets of racial-ethnic socialization highly significantly influenced vocational exploration among female athletes. Female athletes who reported that their parents communicated messages about coping with racism and discrimination (ß = -1.99, *p* < .001), African American cultural values (ß = -2.086, *p* < .001), African American heritage, and ethnic pride (ß = -2.284, *p* < .001) were less likely to explore careers. However, female athletes who reported their parents communicated messages about promoting cross-racial relationship (ß = 3.656, *p* < .001), racial barrier awareness (ß = 2.803, *p* < .001), cultural embeddedness (ß = 2.933, *p* < .001), and African American history (ß = 12.381, *p* < .001) were more likely to explore careers. The strongest predictors of vocational exploration

were messages about African American history and heritage, albeit in opposite directions. As previously stated, results for female athletes should be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size of this group. This seems especially important to highlight here given the large coefficients for this regression. As with tendency to foreclose, the control variables were significant in their association to vocational exploration. Female athletes whose mothers had higher educational attainment ($\beta = 2.832$, $p < .001$) were significantly more likely to explore careers. However, female athletes whose fathers had higher educational attainment ($\beta = -1.866$, $p < .001$) and who were further along in their programs of study ($\beta = -2.785$, $p < .001$) were less likely to explore careers. Again, results for female athletes should be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size of this group and perceived unreliability due to unusually large coefficients ($> |1.00|$).

African American Female Non-Athletes. African American females non-athletes who reported having received more messages about coping with racism and discrimination were significantly more likely to have higher levels of vocational exploration ($\beta = .552$, $p < .001$). However, African American female non-athletes who reported having received high frequencies of messages about racial barrier awareness were significantly more likely to have lower levels of vocational exploration ($\beta = -.341$, $p = .012$). Racial socialization messages about racism and discrimination and racial barrier awareness were the only significant predictors of the eight racial-ethnic socialization facets for vocational exploration among African American female non-athletes.

African American Male Athletes. African American male athletes who reported having received higher frequencies of messages about promoting cross-racial relationships ($\beta = -.385$, $p = .033$) and cultural embeddedness ($\beta = -.522$, $p = .017$)

reported significantly lower vocational exploration than those who reported receiving lower frequencies of such messages. However, those who reported having received more messages about racial barrier awareness were marginally more likely to explore careers than other African American male athletes (ß = .381, *p* = .074). Socialization messages centered around cultural embeddedness was the strongest predictor of vocational exploration among African American male athletes.

African American Male Non-Athletes. Higher frequencies of messages from parents about coping with racism and discrimination significantly predicted lower levels of vocational exploration among male African American non-athletes (ß = -.491, *p* =.015). Marginal significance was found for the racial-ethnic socialization facet, African American history. African American male non-athletes who received high frequencies of messages about African American history were marginally more likely to have higher levels of vocational exploration (ß = .418, *p* =.073). No other facet of racial-ethnic socialization significantly predicted vocational exploration among African American male non-athletes.

Summary of Between Group Differences in Vocational Exploration. In sum, racial-ethnic socialization messages appear to have the greatest association with vocational exploration for female athletes and differentially influence vocational exploration for the four groups: African American male athletes, African American male non-athletes, African American female athletes, and African American female non-athletes. That is, no indicator significantly influenced vocational exploration across all three groups. Most of the facets of racial-ethnic socialization that were significantly associated with vocational exploration across all four groups decreased the extent to

which African American emerging adults explored careers. Facets of racial-ethnic socialization that were significantly associated with higher exploration include promoting cross-racial relationships, racial barrier awareness, cultural embeddedness, and African American history among female athletes and coping with racism and discrimination among female non-athletes.

Career Commitment. Career commitment was regressed on the eight facets of racial-ethnic socialization while controlling for parent education and academic year. Significant predictors of career commitment were found only among African American female athletes, female non-athletes, and male athletes. As with tendency to foreclose and vocational exploration, racial-ethnic socialization had the greatest influence on career commitment among African American female athletes. However, relatively large coefficients and small sample size warrant caution in interpreting results for African American female athletes. The results of these regression analyses are described in detail below. See Table 4.11 for results for all regression analyses on career commitment.

African American Female Athletes. The educational attainment of mothers was marginally related to lower levels of career commitment ($\beta = -.177$, $p = .062$) among female athletes. All but one facet of racial-ethnic socialization was significantly associated with career commitment. Female athletes who reported having received messages about coping with racism and discrimination ($\beta = 1.11$, $p < .001$), racial barrier awareness ($\beta = .704$, $p = .001$), African American cultural values ($\beta = .260$, $p = .029$), and African American history ($\beta = 4.259$, $p < .001$) had higher career commitment. However, messages about cultural embeddedness ($\beta = -.579$, $p = .004$), African American heritage ($\beta = -4.284$, $p < .001$), and ethnic pride ($\beta = -.602$, $p = .002$) were related to lower career

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commitment among female athletes. The strongest predictors of career commitment among female athletes were messages about African American history and heritage. Messages about the promotion of cross-racial relationships were the only facet of racial-ethnic socialization that was not significantly associated with career development among African American female athletes. Again, results for female athletes should be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size of this group and perceived unreliability due to relatively large coefficients.

African American Female Non-Athletes. African American females who received more messages about coping with racism and discrimination ($\beta = .498$, $p < .00$) and cultural embeddedness ($\beta = .344$, $p = .008$) were more likely to have high levels of commitment to a career. However, those who reported having received more messages about promoting cross-racial relationships ($\beta = -.166$, $p = .098$) and racial barrier awareness ($\beta = -.245$, $p = .062$) were marginally more likely to have lower levels of career commitment than those who received fewer such messages. Messages centered around coping with racism and discrimination was the greatest predictor of career commitment among African American female non-athletes. African American female athletes who reported higher levels of educational attainment for their mothers ($\beta = .208$, $p = .050$) had higher career commitment. However, those who reported higher levels of educational attainment for their fathers ($\beta = -.401$, $p < .001$) had lower career commitment.

African American Male Athletes. Racial socialization messages about coping with racism and discrimination ($\beta = .495$, $p = .034$) and ethnic socialization messages about ethnic pride ($\beta = .642$, $p = .006$) significantly predicted higher levels of career

commitment among African American male college athletes. However, higher frequencies of ethnic socialization messages about cultural embeddedness ($\beta = -.460$, $p = .023$) and African American cultural values ($\beta = -.543$, $p = .019$) significantly predicted lower levels of career commitment among African American male athletes. Messages about African American cultural values and ethnic pride were the strongest predictors of career commitment, albeit in opposing directions.

Summary of Between-Group Differences in Predictors of Career Commitment. In sum, racial-ethnic socialization messages appear to differentially influence career commitment for the four groups: African American male athletes, African American non-athletes, and African American females athletes, African American female non-athletes. That is, no indicator similarly and significantly influenced career commitment across all four groups. However, where racial-ethnic socialization was found to significantly influence career commitment across groups (i.e., male athletes, female athletes, female non-athletes), coping with racism and discrimination was the only facet that was significantly and consistently associated with higher career commitment. Messages centered on cultural embeddedness were also consistent in their significant relationship to career commitment but those messages had an effect in opposite directions for African American athletes and African American female non-athletes. Cultural embeddedness was significantly associated with lower levels of career commitment among African American athletes but was significantly related to higher career commitment among African American female non-athletes. As with the regressions predicting tendency to foreclose and vocational exploration, racial-ethnic socialization had the greatest association with career commitment for African American female athletes.

Research Question 3: Parenting Behaviors by Gender and Athlete Status

Overview. Do families socialize African American males differently from African American females in relation to career development in terms of racial and ethnic socialization, career-related parental support, and parental responsiveness and is this relationship moderated by athlete status?

The results for the analyses testing research question 3 provide little support for the hypothesis that African American male athletes and non-athletes and female athletes and non-athletes are socialized differently in respect to racial and ethnic socialization, and career-related parental support and encouragement. There were significant group differences in parental responsiveness by the interaction between gender and athletic status (see Table 4.12 for means and standard deviations). However, significant group differences existed only for one facet of racial-ethnic socialization and it was only a marginal difference by athlete status. Likewise, groups were only marginally significantly different on career-related emotional support.

African American females received significantly more career-related verbal encouragement than African American males. African American females also received slightly more career-related emotional support from their parents than did African American males in this sample. Additionally, African American female athletes reported the highest levels of parental responsiveness. These results are described in detail below.

Results for Research Question 3. A two-way MANOVA was conducted examining the effect of gender (male, female) and athlete status (non-athlete, athlete) on parental responsiveness, career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support, and

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racial (coping with racism and discrimination, promoting cross-racial relationships, racial

barrier awareness) and ethnic (cultural embeddedness, African American cultural values,

African American history, African American heritage, ethnic pride) socialization (see

Table 4.13). A significant effect was found for gender, $F(11,198) = 1.816$, $p = .053$,

based on Wilkes' lambda, and the interaction between gender and athlete status, $F(11,$

$198) = 2.060$, $p = .025$. No significant effect was found for athlete status alone, $F(11,$

$198) = 1.545$, $p > .05$.

Follow-up univariate ANOVAs indicated significant group differences by gender

among African American emerging adults in career-related verbal encouragement, $F(1,$

$208) = 5.684$, $p = .018$. Marginally significant group differences by gender were found in

career-related emotional support, $F(1, 208) = 3.560$, $p = .061$, and African American

heritage, $F(1, 208) = 3.546$, $p = .061$. That is, African American females received more

career-related verbal encouragement and marginally more emotional support and

messages about African American heritage than African American males (See Table 4.12

for means and standard deviations). Significant group differences by athlete status were

also found in parental responsiveness, $F(1, 208) = 6.292$, $p = .013$, but these were qualified

by the significant athlete status by gender interaction. Being both female and an athlete

was significantly associated with the highest parental responsiveness, $F(1, 208) = 8.471$,

$p = .004$ (See Tables 4.12 and 4.13). This result could be idiosyncratic to this sample, due

to the small number of female athletes.

Research Question 4: Additional Effects of Racial-Ethnic Socialization on Career Development

Overview: Does racial and ethnic socialization predict tendency to foreclose on careers and career exploration in the full sample above and beyond parental career-related support and parental responsiveness?

Contrary to my hypothesis, racial-ethnic socialization practices did not significantly predict tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration and career commitment, above and beyond parenting behaviors such as responsiveness and career-related parental support. Due to the general exploratory nature of this particular research question, no directional or specific hypothesis of which aspects of racial-ethnic socialization would impact indicators of career development were made. The results of this study suggest that parental career-related verbal encouragement is vital for career development. Although cultural embeddedness was marginally associated with lower foreclosure, these results do not show that other types of racial-ethnic socialization messages have a significant influence on career development above and beyond career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support from parents.

Results for Research Question 4

Multiple hierarchical linear regression analyses were computed to predict tendency to foreclose on careers, vocational exploration, and career commitment, based on the racial and ethnic socialization scales, controlling for parental education, academic year, parental career-related emotional support and verbal encouragement, and parental

responsiveness. The results for these regression analyses are described below (See Table 4.14 for additional information).

The regression equation predicting tendency to foreclose was significant, $F(14,180) = 2.329$, p = .006, with an R^2 of .153. Ethnic socialization practices that taught specifically about cultural embeddedness (ß= -.195, $p = .066$) constituted the only marginally significant predictor in the regression equation after controlling for parent education, academic year, parental career-related support and parental responsiveness. That is, emerging adults who reported higher levels of how often their parents communicated messages about cultural embeddedness were marginally less likely to exhibit a tendency to foreclose on careers. Other aspects of racial and ethnic socialization did not approach significance in the regression equation for tendency to foreclose. However, career-related parental emotional support (ß = .303, $p = .005$) was significantly associated with a higher tendency to foreclose whereas verbal encouragement (ß = -.282, $p=.007$) significantly influenced African American college students to have a lower tendency to foreclose. Career-related emotional support became significant only after controlling for verbal encouragement. These findings are crucial because they show the importance of parental career-related verbal encouragement on tendency to foreclose. Academic year was negatively associated with tendency to foreclose (ß = -.191, $p = .009$). Compared to more advanced students, younger college students had higher tendency to foreclose scores.

The regression equation predicting vocational exploration was marginally significant, $F(14, 180) = 1.633$, $p = .074$, with an R^2 of .113. No facet of racial and ethnic socialization significantly predicted vocational exploration above and beyond parent

education, academic year, parent career-related support, and parental responsiveness. However, parental career-related support in the form of verbal encouragement in relation to vocational exploration was marginally significant ($\beta = .185$, $p = .082$). Academic year ($\beta = .132$, $p = .074$) was also marginally significant in its association with vocational exploration.

The regression equation predicting commitment to a career was significant, $F(14,180) = 2.401$, $p = .004$, with an R^2 of .157. However, no facet of racial-ethnic socialization significantly predicted career commitment above and beyond parental responsiveness, career-related emotional support and verbal encouragement. Messages about racial barrier awareness were marginally significant and were associated with lower levels of career commitment ($\beta = -.168$, $p = .076$). However, career-related parental support in the form of verbal encouragement ($\beta = .215$, $p = .039$) positively influenced career development as it was significantly associated with higher levels of career commitment among African American college students. As with tendency to foreclose, this finding is vital because it suggests that verbal encouragement from parents about careers positively influences career development and does so in a much greater way than does racial-ethnic socialization. Academic year was positively associated with career commitment ($\beta = .143$, $p = .048$). Advanced college students were more likely to indicate a higher level of career commitment. Education levels of fathers had a marginally significant association with career commitment among African American college students ($\beta = -.178$, $p = .029$). College students whose fathers had a high level of educational attainment were less likely to commit to careers.

In sum, verbal encouragement and academic year were associated with better career development as indicated across all three scales, albeit only marginally for vocational exploration. These variables appear to be critical to career development as they continue to influence African American college students throughout the most crucial stages of career development. These results suggest that the effects of racial-ethnic socialization practices are not consistent enough across subgroups to influence career development for the full sample beyond the positive influence of verbal encouragement about careers and staying in school longer, at least for African American emerging adults.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the results of this study in the larger context of the intersection of literatures on the career and vocational choices and paths of African American male athletes as well as African American college students in general, African American family socialization practices, and career development of emerging adults. First, key findings of this study will be discussed. Next, implications for African American families and educators will be discussed. Then, limitations of the current study will be discussed. Finally, concluding remarks will be provided.

Key Findings

Research Question 1: Career Development by Gender and Athletic Status.

Overview. On average, what does career development (i.e., tendency to foreclose, career exploration) look like for African American male emerging adults in comparison to African American female emerging adults? Specifically, how do African American male athletes and non-athletes compare to African American female athletes and non-athletes on those measures of career development?

Hypothesis 1a. In relation to hypothesis 1a, it was surprising that a higher percentage of athletes were enrolled in majors that are associated with at least a 50% chance of receiving a job offer immediately upon graduating from college, although they were not significantly more represented in those majors. Because athletes have been known to enroll in "easy" majors due to intense athletic schedules, the assumption was that "easy" majors might not lead to immediate job success upon graduating from college, hence the grouping of majors by more than or less than 50% job offers (Forbes, 2014). Perhaps, the grouping of majors in this study does not adequately group "easy" majors that athletes are commonly encouraged to enroll in. The grouping of majors that receive at least 50% of job offers upon graduation consisted of: computer science, economics, accounting, engineering, and business administration (Forbes, 2014). Assuming that majors were appropriately grouped for the purposes of this study, it seems that the athletic departments at OSU and other universities represented at the Big XII Conference, have in some way positively influenced their student-athletes to enroll in majors that might more immediately lead to a job upon graduating— slightly but not significantly more than other non-athlete university students do.

Student-athlete participants recruited from the Academic Center for Student Athletes at OSU who were enrolled in majors with at least a 50% chance of receiving job offers immediately after graduating according to Forbes (2014) consisted of 2 female athletes (28.6%) and 5 male athletes (71.4%). Contrarily, all of the student-athletes recruited from the Academic Center for Student Athletes at OSU who were enrolled in majors that were associated with a lower chance (less than 50%) of receiving a job offer upon graduation were male athletes (16; 100%). Student-athlete participants recruited

from the Big XII conference who were enrolled in majors with at least a 50% chance of receiving job offers immediately after graduating consisted of 2 female athletes (15.4%) and 5 male athletes (38.5%). However, the student-athletes recruited from the Big XII conference who were enrolled in majors that were associated with a lower chance (less than 50%) of receiving a job offer upon graduation consisted of 8 female athletes (13.3%) and 6 male athletes (10.5%). Student-athlete participants recruited for the study using the electronic mailing list for African American students at OSU who were enrolled in majors with at least a 50% chance of receiving job offers immediately after graduating consisted of 0 female athletes (0%) and 5 male athletes (15.6%). Contrarily, student-athletes recruited for the study using the electronic mailing list for African American students attending OSU who were enrolled in majors that were associated with a lower chance (less than 50%) of receiving a job offer upon graduation consisted of 4 female athletes (4.3%) and 8 male athletes (8.5%). Because the number of male athletes who were currently enrolled in majors with at least a 50% chance of being offered a job upon graduation were equally distributed between the three recruitment methods, maybe the positive trend in majors related to a 50% chance of having a job offer is related to personal characteristics (e.g., differences in career interests and/or understanding of career preparation) of those athletes.

The treatment of athletes in relation to major enrollment at these universities deserves some attention as the aforementioned finding differs from that which is reported in the literature on African American students in general and African American student-athletes. African American students are largely represented among college majors, such as social sciences, that may not lead to high paying jobs (Ma, 2009) or high job

placement (Forbes, 2014). And it is plausible that because many African American male student-athletes have a high tendency to foreclose on careers and thus lower likelihood of exploring multiple careers at one time, they may be less likely to enroll in demanding majors that are positively associated with job offers, such as engineering. (Beamon, 2012; Harrison, 2011; Thomas, 1985).

Hypothesis 1b. Least surprising of the results of this study was the finding that an extremely large percentage of African American male athletes indicated that they were currently pursuing a professional sport career path. Given that less than 2% of athletes, regardless of race, will get to play sports at the professional level, it seems that many of the 60.9% of athletes within this sample who indicated they are pursuing a professional sport career path are competing for a career that is statistically improbable. Significantly fewer female athletes indicated a pursuit of a professional sport career, which might be influenced by more realistic expectations of their likelihood of playing professional sport or by fewer actual opportunities to play sports at that level when compared to males. This finding is consistent much speculation that many African American male athletes participate in sports because of a perceived avenue of success being professional sport participation. It seems that the reality of a professional sport path should continually be provided to African American male athletes by athletic staff and African American families as the intense pursuit of a professional sport career may derail student-athletes from taking full advantage of their college educational experience (Harrison et al., 2011). However, given the gravity of sport participation for African American males and strong professional sport career path pursuits that are likely to ensue, simply informing African American male athletes of their limited chances of "making it" may or may not be

enough to influence them to consider other career options. Given the negative and significant correlation between the indication of a professional sport career path pursuit and academic year, it seems that the best thing that coaches, faculty, and parents can do in relation to demystifying the common professional athletic dream of African American males is to encourage and support them in their college years so that they matriculate through their programs of study.

On the other hand, the item assessing whether athletes were currently pursuing a "professional sport career path" may have been interpreted in other ways than intended because the pursuit of an *athletic* professional sport career path was not indicated. It is possible, that a college athlete may have been pursuing a career in the professional sport domain in capacities outside of the professional athlete, such as a professional sport coach, scout, media personality, or sportswriter. Therefore, the finding that African American male athletes were significantly more likely to indicate a professional sport career path should be interpreted while keeping this in mind.

Hypotheses 1c and 1d. Contrary to my expectations that male athletes would not have made as much progress in career development, marked by higher exploration, lower tendency to foreclose, and higher commitment as the other groups, African American male athletes did not have an overall greater tendency to foreclose on careers, lower level of vocational exploration and higher level of career commitment than African American male non-athletes or African American females. The non-significant finding on tendency to foreclose on careers was especially surprising given previous research that shows that African American male athletes have a high tendency to foreclose (Beamon, 2012; Harrison 2011). However, the non-significant finding on group differences in tendency to

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foreclose in this study is similar to the non-significant results from Linnemeyer's (2010) work examining group differences in tendency to foreclose between student-athletes, fine-art students, and students in general. This non-significant finding seems positive in that the African American male athletes in this sample were generally very similar to other African American students in the way (i.e., tendency to foreclose) at which they arrive at career commitment. Perhaps the male athletes of this sample did not have a higher tendency to foreclose when compared to female athletes, female non-athletes, and male non-athletes because, unlike many African Americans who will not attend college given low college attendance and graduation rates (National Center for Education Statistics, 2014; U.S. Census, 2012), their mere enrollment in college may suggest that they are open to the idea of considering multiple careers. Although this might not be true for the vast majority of athletes, it may be that characteristics such as leadership and decision-making skills gained while playing sports in positions such as right guard or center (in football) positively influences them so that their career development, namely tendency to foreclose, is then comparable to that of other African American students—assuming that male athletes have a higher tendency to foreclose than the general student population. If this is true, it might explain why no significant group differences in tendency to foreclose were found. What seems most important to educate parents, educators, and African American college students on is the necessity of staying in college as it relates to a better career development trajectory given the significant or marginally significant effect academic year had on all three indicators of career development. In other words, college students who stay in school longer become less likely to foreclose on careers, more likely to explore career options, and more likely to commit to a career

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than those who do not. It seems that some of what should be considered then is how to then increase the enrollment of African American college students and assist those who are enrolled in matriculating through their programs of study. For example, Martin et al. (2010) found that African American male athletes who had faculty members who served as mentors for them tended to do better academically than those who did not have supportive relationships with faculty members. Beamon (2014) also suggests that universities provide supportive networks that include mentors for African American student athletes to help them feel more comfortable and remain successful despite negative experiences surrounding race. And although Martin et al. (2010) and Beamon's (2014) suggestions are specifically targeted for African American student-athletes, it seems that all African American students, regardless of athlete status, might benefit from such supports as well.

Research Question 2: Effects of Racial-Ethnic Socialization on Tendency to Foreclose, Vocational Exploration, and Career Commitment.

Overview. What aspects of racial-ethnic socialization best prepare young African American males and females to make a successful transition (i.e., higher vocational exploration, higher career commitment, lower tendency to foreclose) into careers, and is this relationship moderated by the interaction between gender and athlete status?

Effect of Racial-Ethnic Socialization on Career Development. The multi-group analyses in Mplus provided insight on the extent to which coefficients of racial-ethnic socialization facets differed by group status in a way that may have not been as easily recognized in a simple linear regression in SPSS with the inclusion of interaction terms.

The effect of racial-ethnic socialization on tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment by gender and athlete was evident across groups but a clear pattern of how racial-ethnic socialization affects career development across all four groups was not shown.

There was no consistent pattern of specific significant predictors for the eight aspects of racial-ethnic socialization across the four groups. Moreover, while there were both positively and negatively influencing facets of racial-ethnic socialization on tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment, there were no clear patterns of such directions (e.g., positive or negative) across all groups on many of those significant predictors. Therefore a concise description of how racial-ethnic socialization affects career development, from the results of this study, is hardly an easy task.

Messages about coping with racism and discrimination were the only facet of racial-ethnic socialization that increased career commitment among African American college students, both male and female, except for male non-athletes. This finding remained true despite the relatively low reliability of the coping with racism and discrimination subscale. Because of this, it may be particularly important for families to focus their efforts, in relation to racial socialization, on teaching their children how to cope with racism and discrimination. Perhaps an awareness of how to cope with racism and discrimination influences African Americans to have a higher level of commitment to career choices due to an awareness of how to overcome potential obstacles related to racism and discrimination.

In relation to tendency to foreclose on careers, messages focused on such aspects of African American ethnicity and culture as African American values and African American history significantly increased the likelihood that African American males foreclosed on careers, especially male athletes. It is possible that African American values such as the importance of family loyalty and African Americans helping one another (see Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007 for full scale items) might influence African American males to become collegiate athletes with the perception that becoming professional athletes is the "best" way to provide for their families and give back to their communities—particularly those from low-income backgrounds. The same may also be true for African American male non-athletes because messages about African American values were significantly associated with a higher tendency to foreclose on careers. It may be that such messages influence African American male non-athletes to commit to careers before exploring careers to a high degree because of a perceived responsibility to give back to their families in a way that yields the fastest return on investment of time and effort given the societal disadvantage that many African American families experience. This relationship may also be explained by the greater complexity of raising African American males when compared to females. Mandara et al. (2010) found that African American mothers tended to have higher educational aspirations for their daughters than they did their sons, which is likely due to an awareness of racism and discrimination that seems to affect African American males disproportionately. Could it be that because many African American males are unjustly targeted for crimes and antisocial behavior, they quickly and hastily commit to career choices (that are

potentially perceived as being the "only or best way out") without exploring all possible avenues?

Given the significant chi square difference test finding for racial-ethnic socialization on tendency to foreclose between African American male athletes and African American male non-athletes, African American female athletes and African American female non-athletes, it seems that one may question how then to decrease the likelihood that African American males, particularly athletes, will foreclose on careers. Messages about the promotion of cross-racial relationships and ethnic pride significantly lowered tendencies to foreclose among African American male athletes. Perhaps the promotion of cross-racial relationships allows for African American male athletes to acknowledge a greater number of career choices due to increased relationships with the majority culture (i.e., White) and thus exhibit a lower likelihood to foreclose on careers. It is possible that cross-racial relationships with teammates and coaches allow African American male athletes to become more aware of career opportunities or become more realistic in their perceptions of career success, which then decreases their likelihood of inflexibly choosing a career path, such as a professional sport career, that statistically speaking, is very unlikely. It is also possible that higher frequencies of messages on ethnic pride might instill a greater sense of confidence in African American male athletes to pursue or explore careers that might not traditionally be represented widely by African Americans. Ethnic pride only enhanced career development by decreasing tendency to foreclose and increasing career commitment among African American male athletes. Perhaps, African American male collegiate athletes are proud of the success of African American athletes in sports as it garners a sense of accomplishment for the African

American community (Hartman, 2000). Perhaps ethnic pride is translated in a way that encourages young African American males to think that they can be successful, in whatever they put their minds to. It is also possible that successful African American male professional athletes reach back to their communities and encourage the younger generations, particularly young African American male athletes who may look up to them, that they are capable or excelling in areas outside of sports as well.

Although there were not consistent specific facets of racial-ethnic socialization that significantly predicted tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, or career commitment across groups, messages about cultural embeddedness significantly predicted each of the aforementioned outcomes in at least one group. Cultural embeddedness refers to behaviors that parents engage in which communicate messages about the cultural work of African Americans. Items assessing cultural embeddedness include, "My parents/caregivers: watch Black television shows; have Black art, sculptures, and pictures, reads books written by Black writers; has Black magazines like Essence, Ebony, Jet in the home." Cultural embeddedness was significantly associated with a lower tendency to foreclose among male non-athletes and a higher commitment to careers among females, respectively, but was associated with lower levels of vocational exploration and career commitment among male athletes.

Messages about cultural embeddedness seem to be positive in their association with career development for African American male non-athletes in the sense that they are related to a decreased tendency to foreclose but they seem to hamper career development among African American male athletes because these messages are related to decreased vocational exploration and career commitment. The complexity of this

interpretation is also exacerbated by significant gender differences in the relation of cultural embeddedness to career commitment— females have higher career commitment when parents are reported to communicate more messages about cultural embeddedness. At most, it can be stated that messages about cultural embeddedness appears to reduce career development progress for male athletes but it enhances career development progress for all other groups.

Perhaps, messages about cultural embeddedness enable African American females to see the work of other African American women that might not be as visible outside of their home, which then influences an increased commitment to the careers they have selected. Whether or not the same can be said among African American male athletes is dependent upon which career development outcome one is assessing. It seems that further research on this relation among African American male athletes is warranted. Maybe, African American male athletes interpret messages about cultural embeddedness differently than African American females. This finding then poses the question about how African American males are portrayed in Black magazines and television shows and how the success of the work of African American males (e.g., books, art, sculptures) is perceived. If the overwhelming majority of successful African American men seem to be athletes, a positive perception or one that invokes a sense of cultural belonging in non-sport career fields, may be lacking among young African American male athletes who may then find it difficult to explore and commit to careers outside of athletics.

It was surprising to find that racial-ethnic socialization had such a unique and overwhelming influence on the career development of African American female athletes as such strong relationships were anticipated for the entire sample and not just for female

athletes. Again, caution of interpretation of these findings is warranted due to the small sample size of African American female athletes. Because significant effects were detected among such a small sample, the importance of further examining the effects of racial-ethnic socialization among African American female athletes—although not hypothesized, a group not expected to have been influenced the most by racial-ethnic socialization—is encouraged. In relation to the awareness of cautionary interpretation of these findings due to the small sample size, it is possible that the characteristics of these female athletes are dissimilar from the characteristics of other female athletes. It is not clear as to why racial-ethnic socialization so greatly influenced career development of female athletes in a way dissimilar to that of African American female non-athletes, African American male athletes, or African American male non-athletes. When examining how racial-ethnic socialization was related to the three indicators of career development among the four groups, what becomes clear is that messages about coping with racism and discrimination, cultural embeddedness, African American cultural values, and ethnic pride significantly influenced each of the three indicators of career development among female athletes. The ability for any single facet of racial-ethnic socialization to influence tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, *and* career commitment was only evident among African American female athletes. However, the direction of these effects varied by aspect of racial-ethnic socialization.

Overall, the results from the multi-group analyses show that racial-ethnic socialization is significantly related to tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career development even when controlling for parental education and students' academic year. However, the lack of consistent patterns of significant associations between racial-

ethnic socialization and career development across and within all four groups is perplexing. It could be that the effect of racial-ethnic socialization on career development actually varies, as was shown in the results of this study, in the true population. Or it could be that a covariate not included in the analyses better explains variations in career development than does racial-ethnic socialization. This may explain why racial-ethnic socialization had no significant associations with career development when controlling for parenting behaviors such as career-related parental verbal encouragement. The latter explanation seems to be the most logical explanation given the findings from research question 4.

The results from research question 4 show that racial-ethnic socialization does not have a significant association with the career development when parental career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support are controlled for. In other words, racial-ethnic socialization does have an effect on career development but it loses its significant association with career development when other parenting variables, particularly career-related verbal encouragement, are accounted for. Thus, the results of the analysis of research question 4 qualify the results of the analysis of research question 2 and show that the greatest influence on career development from parents is career-related verbal encouragement.

Research Question 3: Parenting Behaviors by Gender and Athlete Status.

Overview. Do families socialize African American males differently from African American females in relation to career development in terms of racial and ethnic

socialization, career-related parental support, and parental responsiveness and is this relationship moderated by athlete status?

Effect of Gender and Athlete Status on Parental Responsiveness and Career-Related Parental Support. In relation to the marginally significant finding for gender on parental responsiveness, parents tend to be more responsive to African American males. This finding may be explained by how African American parents, particularly mothers, have been found to interact with their sons. Although the parent from which responsiveness was reported was not specified, because mothers are usually the primary caregivers for children, it is likely that parental responsiveness was reported largely for mothers. Some African American mothers have been found to 'love their sons and raise their daughters'— a concept for differential parenting behaviors that are related to specific outcomes for their children based on their gender (Mandara et al., 2010). For example, it is often thought that African American sons will experience a greater level of discrimination and may thus be less likely to obtain a high degree of education, so African American mothers tend to 'love' their sons. However, the concept that African American mothers tend to 'raise' their daughters comes from the idea that they tend to have higher educational and career aspirations and expectations for their daughters. Such expectations are influenced by the perception that although African American girls are subject to racism and discrimination, it is to a lesser degree than what African American boys are expected to experience (Mandara et al., 2010). These expectations may also be influenced by the likelihood of single motherhood which means that African American girls will one day have the sole responsibility of raising their children and providing for their families given its common occurrence among African American families (U.S.

Census, 2013). This reasoning may also explain why African American females were found to report a significantly higher level of career-related verbal encouragement and marginally more career-related emotional support than African American males.

The significant finding for the effect of the athlete status on responsiveness is likely due to the significant interaction between athlete status and gender. It is not clear why African American female athletes reported a much higher level of parental responsiveness than all other groups as indicated by the highest mean. However, this may prove not to be replicable due to the small sample size of African American female athletes.

Generally speaking, African American parents racially and ethnically socialize African American males and females similarly except for marginal gender differences relating to African American heritage. Females reported receiving slightly more messages about African American heritage than did males. Brown, Linver, and Evans (2009) also found gender differences in racial-ethnic socialization, using the same instrument that this study utilized. However, gender differences were only found for socialization for coping with racism and discrimination (Brown et al., 2009). Potential differences in the results of this study and the results of Brown et al.'s (2009) study may be due to developmental ages of participants and region of residence or upbringing within the samples. For example, 48% of the sample in Brown et al.'s (2009) study received free lunch. And although whether participants received free lunch was not assessed in the current study, given the relatively high percentage of maternal education beyond some college or technical school it is possible that the majority of this sample was not low-income. This is important because of the role that SES may play in how African

Americans perceive the world around them—particularly issues surrounding racism and discrimination. Additionally, participants in Brown et al.'s (2009) study were adolescents recruited from high school classrooms, who received pizza parties and classroom bonus points for participation, whereas participants of this study were college students (i.e., college students between the ages of 18 – 25 of years) who participated on an individual volunteer basis. And as one might expect, the individual volunteer nature of recruitment compared to group participant recruitment may highlight important differences in the perception of the value of completing survey, which in turn might influence findings. The differences in age of participants may have influenced slightly different findings between Brown et al. (2009) and the current study due to the retrospective design of the questionnaire. Participants of this study essentially had to recall information about parental socializing behaviors that occurred years before the time at which they completed the survey when compared to the adolescents of Brown et al.'s study who were recalling more current information. This may have influenced how participants responded to the items assessing racial-ethnic socialization. Also, all participants who self-identified themselves as Black, regardless of origin outside of the U.S. (e.g., African, Caribbean, etc.) or mixed race with Black were included in the study but only participants who self-identified as African American (by both parents) were included in Brown et al.'s (2009) study. And although only a relatively small percentage of the individuals who self-identified as being Black or mixed with Black from a country outside of the U.S. comprised the sample, it is important to note such cultural differences may have had some influence on the findings related to racial-ethnic socialization of this study. Furthermore, Brown et al. (2009) examined racial-ethnic socialization among adolescents

residing in a northeastern city whereas participants of this study were college students largely from a Midwestern city and student-athletes, likely raised in a variety of regions given the high recruitment and success of the athletic department of the university at which they were attending. Regional differences in upbringing may differentially influence perceptions of issues surrounding race due to the variation of racial composition and culture of populations.

In the larger picture of racial-ethnic socialization, the results of this study were for the most part similar to Brown et al.'s (2009) results in that both males and females largely received similar levels of racial-ethnic socialization messages with the exception of one facet of racial-ethnic socialization in both studies. Because of these findings, it is possible that these results were due to type I errors— the occurrence of significant findings that are not consistently replicable. However the extent to which the facets of racial-ethnic socialization differentially affect tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career development varied by both gender and athlete status in the current study, suggesting the importance of the current study's extension of the previous literature.

Surprisingly, African American male athletes did not significantly differ from non-male athletes and females in tendency to foreclose and career commitment, and differences in vocational exploration were only marginally significant when comparing African American males to African American females. These findings are inconsistent with research that shows that African American male athletes have a higher tendency to foreclose on careers than other athletes (Harrison et al., 2011). These differences may be due to characteristics of the sample in general, such as a fairly large percentage of

upperclassmen and graduate students, or small sample size of African American male athletes in comparison to African American female non-athletes. Among the reasons for the differences between the current sample and other samples could be the fact that participants were recruited in three different ways, one of which included solicitation of surveys at a regional conference on 'Black Student Government.' It may be that the students attending the conference were somehow different from individuals who did not/would not attend a conference on that subject matter. For instance, were these conference attendees more proactive in their career pursuits, college education, and/or awareness of a need to learn about how African American college students might benefit from an understanding provided by the conference? Recall that significant differences in GPA, academic year, and age by recruitment method existed. Because participants who attended the conference did not have higher GPAs and were not older in age or more advanced students when compared to other participants, the extent to which such differences may have biased the results of this study is unlikely. Additionally, because OSU students recruited from both the Academic Center and electronic mailing list, comprised the majority of the sample (66.1% of all athletes, 69.2% of all non-athletes), it seems that non-significant differences in tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment may be due to characteristics of OSU students. For instance, were OSU students, particularly athletes, less likely to foreclose on careers because of factors associated with how athletic staff and university faculty interact with them? Were the participants, regardless of recruitment method, more similar than expected because they were more cognizant of career planning as might be suggested by their college attendance?

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Research Question 4: Additional Effect of Racial-Ethnic Socialization on Tendency to Foreclose, Vocational Exploration, and Career Commitment.

Overview. Does racial and ethnic socialization predict tendency to foreclose on careers, vocational exploration, and career commitment above and beyond parental career-related support and parental responsiveness?

Effect of Career-Related Parental Verbal Encouragement on Career Development. When multiple facets of racial-ethnic socialization were examined as predictors above and beyond other pertinent parenting variables related to career development (i.e., parental responsiveness, career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support), they generally did not significantly predict tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment in this sample. The only exception was that ethnic socialization messages on cultural embeddedness predicted a greater tendency to foreclose. Even then, this exception was only marginally significant. The lack of statistical significance among other racial-ethnic socialization facets after controlling for other parenting variables may be due to the how widely each of the eight facets of racial-ethnic socialization varied in their associations to career development by group status. It is believed that potential significant relationships, as were revealed in the multiple group analyses, between career development outcomes and racial-ethnic socialization, after controlling for parental responsiveness, career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support, may have been obscured.

To further examine the effects of racial-ethnic socialization on career development while lessening the degree to which multicollinearity between the eight

subscales, which was thought to have potentially obscured significant findings, all three of the racial socialization subscales were combined to create a sum score for racial socialization. Likewise, all five of the ethnic socialization subscales were combined to create a sum score for ethnic socialization. Both racial and ethnic socialization sum scores were entered separately into the regression for each of the three career development indicators after controlling for parental responsiveness, career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support. However, these results yielded similar non-significant findings, as did the initial regression equations, which included all of the eight racial-ethnic subscales and individual variables in the third step. Because this follow-up examination yielded similar results, they were not deemed as necessary to include in the results section. However, these results are worthy to discuss in this section as they confirm that racial-ethnic socialization did not significantly predict tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, or career commitment while controlling for parental responsiveness and career-related verbal encouragement and emotional support.

It may also be that career-related verbal encouragement is a greater predictor of tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, and career commitment than are facets of racial-ethnic socialization. This finding was particularly interesting given that parental responsiveness and emotional support (with the exception of tendency to foreclose) had no significant associations with career development after controlling for each other. When career-related emotional support was found to have a significant relationship with tendency to foreclose, and only after controlling for verbal encouragement, it was associated with a negative effect on career development in that it was related to a higher tendency to foreclose. In mere speculation, it may be that parents' career-related

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emotional support is provided in efforts to console children during emotional lows (e.g., poor performance in desired career field), which is good, but may inadvertently discourage their children to maintain their pursuit of that particular career path even in the face of difficulties. However, because career-related parental verbal encouragement was consistently associated with better career development (i.e., low foreclosure, high exploration and commitment), it is necessary to highlight its importance in positive parenting. Verbal encouragement appears to be the anchor of positive parenting in relation to career development, because without it, it is plausible that career-related emotional support and possibly parental responsiveness influence children to wallow in self-pity or continue behaviors that may not be conducive to a positive career development trajectory. Altogether, verbal encouragement may address cognitive processes whereas emotional support may address emotional processes. And as can be seen from the results of this study, facilitating emotional processes, alone, do not appear to lend to better career development.

Career-related verbal encouragement was consistently associated with better career development outcomes such as a lower tendency to foreclose, higher career commitment, and marginally higher vocational exploration. It seems that verbal encouragement is the most important thing that African American parents can provide to facilitate positive career development of their children, especially since they are likely to experience barriers due to racial/ethnic discrimination. The items assessing career-related parental verbal encouragement centered on academics. Therefore, parents should aim to verbally encourage their children's academic progress, as education is indicative of career options. Additionally, racial-ethnic socialization messages about what it means

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to be African American may include implicit lessons for career development, whereas verbal encouragement messages from parents are explicit and more directly help guide African American youth through the career development process during emerging adulthood in a positive manner. It is also important to consider the effect of academic year on the career development of African American emerging adults. It seems that simply staying in school longer may foster positive career development. Not only does academic year positively influence career development, but it is plausibly related to graduating from college— which undoubtedly provides African Americans with better career options when compared to those who do not graduate from college.

Another explanation for the null findings in that racial-ethnic socialization did not significantly predict tendency to foreclose, vocational exploration, or career commitment is multicollinearity of racial-ethnic socialization and parental support (see Table 4.15 for correlations among key variables). All of the subscales for the racial-ethnic socialization measure were highly and significantly correlated with career-related emotional support (with the exception of cultural embeddedness) and verbal encouragement (with the exception of racial-barrier awareness and cultural embeddedness). Blackmon and Thomas (2014) conducted a study with African American college students utilizing the same racial-ethnic socialization scale and career-related parental support scale (only two subscales were used in this study) that was used in this study. They found many significant relationships between career-related parental support and racial-ethnic socialization. For example, parents who communicated many messages about coping with racism and discrimination, cultural embeddedness, and African American history provided more career-related verbal encouragement than parents who did not (Blackmon

& Thomas, 2014). Mediation effects were also revealed in Blackmon and Thomas' (2014) study as the relationship between career-self efficacy and racial socialization messages about coping with racism and discrimination was significantly mediated by emotional support and verbal encouragement. That is, emotional support and verbal encouragement explained why messages about coping with racism and discrimination positively predicted career-self efficacy.

Implications

The results of this study highlight several implications for parents, coaching staff, and university faculty and staff. First, African American parents should be reminded that the messages they communicate to their children about what it means to be 'Black in America' play a crucial role in the career development of their children. However, the finding that racial-ethnic socialization significantly influences career development is not the take-home message here. What seems particularly important to inform parents about is the importance of verbal encouragement given the null findings of significant associations between racial-ethnic socialization and career development after controlling for other parenting behaviors such as career-related parental verbal encouragement. The results of this study suggest that career-related verbal encouragement is vital and more important than racial-ethnic socialization in predicting the tendency for African American emerging adults to resist foreclosing on careers, the extent to which they explore careers and the levels at which they commit to careers among African American male and female emerging adults. In this sense career-related verbal encouragement can be thought of as a buffer against certain racial-ethnic socialization messages that have been found to have a

significant negative association with career development among some of the groups in this study.

Additionally, because cultural embeddedness was consistently associated with better career development except among African American male athletes, the ways in which African American men are and are not depicted in the media is important for parents and educators alike to discuss with African American men, especially male athletes. Additionally, parents should be aware of the messages they communicate regarding African American cultural values to their sons as this facet of ethnic socialization was only significant in its association with tendency to foreclose among male athletes and male non-athletes and career commitment among male athletes. Although African American values such as family loyalty play an important role in teaching African American youth the importance of giving back to their families and communities, it should be done so while considering a broad perspective which includes a basic understanding of the plethora of ways that African American men can do that. For example, African American male college students have a much more reliable way of giving back to their families if they obtain a college degree. The benefit of going to college and finishing college may not be recognized as a benefit that can be immediately utilized, particularly among African American emerging adults from low-income and disadvantaged backgrounds who must find ways to give back to their families as soon as possible, but getting a college degree is undoubtedly important in the long-run. Although simple in nature, perhaps African American males need to be told that there are numerous of opportunities that fit well with their talents, interests, and abilities, outside of the world of sports, which yield success and personal fulfillment. Furthermore, simply encouraging

African American male athletes to stay in college may be enough in helping them navigate through the career development process effectively as their tendency to foreclose significantly decreases with every year that they remain in college. Furthermore, their pursuit of a professional sport career path also decreases the longer they remain in college. In turn, African American male athletes may be more likely to consider multiple career paths, instead of foreclosing without exploring potential careers that might serve as reliable means to provide for themselves and their families. Staying in school is something that coaches, faculty, and mentors alike can encourage African American male athletes to do. Because of the abundance of resources that are centrally located within easy access for student-athletes at the Academic Center for Student Athletes at OSU and other universities, it is possible that African American male athletes may have more opportunities for advancing their career development, through services offered (e.g., financial planning, resume building, tutoring) than the average non-athlete college student. These services seem particularly important for athletes to utilize because they are plausibly more likely to need help transitioning from the student-athlete role upon graduating from college as many of the skills that they learn, as athletes do not translate in areas unrelated to sports. Therefore, deliberate efforts by athletic departments in making sure that athletes are not only aware of such services but also utilize those services is highly encouraged. I am not suggesting that such services are not available to non-athletes. Instead, I am highlighting how accessibility of centrally located resources for a particular group may encourage student-athletes to utilize services that are offered on most campus but which are not centrally located within one building as it is with the Academic Center for Student-Athletes at OSU.

Additionally, because significant gender differences were not evident in racial-ethnic socialization practices in this study— a potential effect of sample selection (discussed later)— African American parents should be aware that although some African American parents do not racially and ethnically socialize their boys and girls differently, the facets of racial-ethnic socialization differentially affect males and females. Therefore, communicating messages that enable their children to develop a strong sense of racial and ethnic pride is just as important as communicating messages that do not limit the career opportunities for African Americans and instead encourage vocational exploration.

Finally, it is recommended that athletic and university personnel work together to assist African American college students, especially African American male athletes, in identifying multiple career paths that might fit students' interests and abilities. This may possibly help those who have received racial-ethnic socialization messages that increase their likelihood of foreclosing on careers and decrease their likelihood of exploring careers.

Limitations

It seems that the greatest limitation of this study was that the sample was selective. All of the participants in this study were currently enrolled in college. Although the information provided by these college students gives parents and educators important information on how the career development process is affected by factors such as racial-ethnic socialization, parental support, and academic year, it does not reveal information for those who it may be most pertinent for—individuals who are not attending college.

Because of low college attendance rates of African American students, it is plausible to say that the students in this sample are far from the typical sample of African American students, especially athletes. Given the positive correlation between parental education and career development, which includes college enrollment, it is possible that the parents of the participants in this study have a higher than average level of education among African Americans. Furthermore, those who did participate in the study may be different from those who chose not to participate in the study in their willingness to help others and their perceptions of the importance of doing research on the career development of African American college students. For example, such students may have been more motivated to participate in the study as well as more pro-active in their career development than other students who chose not to participate in the study, both online and at the Academic Center for student athletes. The same may also be true of those who chose to attend the Big XII Conference on Black student government. Because many of the students who attended the Big XII Conference were leaders at their respective universities (who are required to maintain a minimum GPA of 3.0), it is plausible that they differ from students who are not leaders and/or chose not to attend the conference in characteristics such as higher GPA (e.g., due to minimum GPA requirements for leadership), greater initiative and agency, which might influence career development. It is possible that these students may have also differed in their reporting of parenting behaviors such as responsiveness, support, and racial-ethnic socialization, which may have influenced their career development and likelihood to become leaders and/or attend the Big XII conference. Recall that participants' mothers' education levels were fairly high considering the low percentage of African Americans who have college degrees.

This may also have had an impact on the findings of this study, particularly those findings related to any of the parenting behaviors examined in many of the analyses. Perhaps the parents of the students in this sample were more responsive, supportive in relation to careers, and/or more intentional about racial-ethnic socialization messages than parents of students who were not interested in participating in the study or Big XII conference. In relation to other factors that may have affected the survey response rate, the time during the semester at which the survey was available to students may have been inconvenient to students. It may have been that students overlooked the email invitation for the survey because of busy schedules—a reason that may have also impacted the response rate for this study. And as stated previously, motivation to participate in the study despite busy academic and athletic schedules may differentiate those students from other students who were not willing to participate. Furthermore, because students who responded to the electronic invitation to the survey were found to differ from students recruited through other methods in GPA, it is possible that these participants who make up the majority of the sample influenced the findings of this study. Recall that the majority of the African American male athletes were oversampled and recruited through the Academic Center had a significantly lower GPA than students who were recruited through the electronic mailing list and Big XII conference. Because of this, findings specific to African American male athletes may have differed from the responses of male athletes who were recruited through other methods. In sum, such characteristics of this sample, which might be generally described as being a more elite group of African American emerging adults when considering their current college enrollment and Big XII conference attendance, may have impacted the findings of this study.

The self-report design of the study is also a limitation of this study. Students have essentially reported, in retrospect, on their perceptions of their parents' involvement (career-related support, racial-ethnic socialization), which may differ from actual observed behaviors from parents and parental intentions of behaviors specific to the aforementioned variables. Because sampling procedures are important in their relation to research findings it is also necessary to report how the sampling procedures of the current study may have impacted the results. First, three different recruitment methods were employed. Individuals who completed the survey online via the email invitation link had the option of taking the survey at any time whereas individuals taking the survey in-person are likely to have had inflexible time constraints (e.g., class, tutoring, scheduling of Big XII conference sessions), both of which may have differentially influenced how reflective students were in responding to survey items. Additionally, the differences in the online and paper survey formats may have influenced how students responded. For example, the end-of-survey mark was not visible to participants who took the survey online as the survey was divided into sections so as not to overwhelm participants (and thus deter students from taking the survey) with the visibility of all survey items on one page. The paper format of the survey differed from the online format, as the end-of-survey mark was clearly visible. As previously mentioned, students who were willing to take the online survey without knowing exactly how many items or what kind of items were on the survey may be different from those who were not willing to do so. Furthermore, although students who completed the survey in-person had the option to complete the survey away from the PI, it is possible that a respondent bias occurred, which may have influenced participants to respond in ways they may have deemed as

being favorable to the PI. The presence of the PI at the Academic Center for Student Athletes and Big XII conference might have also influenced response rates in that it may have been more difficult to ignore or decline participation in the survey. It is also possible that students who took the survey in-person were not intrinsically motivated to complete the survey (i.e., responding in a way they thought was favorable to the PI) and thus their responses are likely to have differed from responses from students who were intrinsically motivated to complete the survey.

Additionally, the correlational design of this study does not allow for conclusions about causality. And although most research in this field utilize correlational designs and are thus unable to specify causality, it seems that more useful information might be on understanding the time-specific or sustained effect of various factors such as racial-ethnic socialization and career-related parental verbal encouragement on career development over time. For this reason, longitudinal studies examining the relationships between parental career-related support and racial-ethnic socialization practices on career development are encouraged as they might allow for an understanding of how these factors play a role in African Americans' lives as they progress from emerging adulthood to adulthood.

Other variables that have been shown to affect career development such as academic and career decision-making self-efficacies should be examined in its relationship to racial-ethnic socialization. When individuals are confident in their academic abilities they are more likely to have high educational aspirations that influence their pursuit of academically challenging experiences (Bandura et al., 2001), including a college degree. It is possible that African American male athletes pursue professional

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sport career paths because they have low levels of academic self-efficacy, which might provide additional explanatory power to the relationship between parenting effects on tendency to foreclose and vocational exploration.

Furthermore, career decision-making self-efficacy has been found to be positively and significantly related to vocational identity and career search activities (Gushue, Scanlan, Pantzer, Clarke, 2006). Therefore, career-decision making self-efficacy is an important outcome to examine because confident individuals can do more vocational exploration and thereby develop greater awareness of which careers might best fit with one's personality and characteristics (Blustein et al., 1989). This in turn allows for the individual to make more informed career-related decisions. Conversely, an individual exhibiting low career-decision making self-efficacy may find it difficult to make career-related decisions at all (e.g., not committing to a career path) (Chung, 2002), which may or may not explain additional variance in the understanding of how racial-ethnic socialization influences career commitment.

Concluding Remarks

In the broad picture of this study, career-related verbal encouragement helps young African American men and women navigate the career development process by decreasing their tendency to foreclose and increasing the degree to which they explore and commit to careers. Verbal encouragement also marginally increases the extent to which African American emerging adults explore careers. However, certain messages about what it means to be African American may also hinder the career development process of African Americans.

From the results of this study, few generalizations can be made by gender or athlete status. However, of the patterns that are visible, males in general have a higher tendency to foreclose when they receive messages about African American cultural values and heritage. Athletes, in general, who received messages about cultural embeddedness had significantly lower career commitment. On the other hand, athletes who received messages about ethnic pride were less likely to foreclose. Therefore, communicating messages about ethnic pride is encouraged for parents whose children are athletes. Across groups, the only topic of racial-ethnic socialization that consistently influenced any of the indicators of career development was coping with racism and discrimination. These messages were consistently associated with higher career commitment among all groups except male non-athletes.

A greater number of generalizations can be made in relation to the interaction between gender and athlete status. However, the extent to which this information is helpful to parents and educators is dependent upon which group they are working with. For example, few aspects of racial-ethnic socialization were significant in their relationships to career development among male non-athletes and female non-athletes but many significant relationships were found for male athletes and female athletes. Racial-ethnic socialization more greatly influenced career development among female athletes. The direction of significant effects varied widely among both male athletes and female athletes. Because of these differences in significant effects and in light of a strength-based approach, perhaps parents should focus on communicating messages that specifically promote career development. For example, parents could focus on communicating messages about racial-barrier awareness and ethnic pride as these were

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found to be associated with lower foreclosure among male athletes. Additionally, parents could focus on communicating messages about promoting cross-racial relationships, racial-barrier awareness, cultural embeddedness and/or African American history as these were associated with higher vocational exploration among female athletes. Because of this, it is necessary for parents to actively evaluate the messages they communicate to their children about race and ethnicity while also providing support for their children, especially African American males who may aspire to be professional athletes.

Overall, it seems that the most important findings from this study is the importance of parents communicating career-related verbal encouragement to their children, regardless of gender or athlete status, and the importance of matriculating through their programs of study as advanced students were less likely to foreclose and more likely to explore careers. Coaches and other faculty are also encouraged to support student-athletes' studies in a way that promotes matriculation and graduation from college especially athletes, particularly male athletes, were significantly more likely to indicate that they were currently pursuing professional sport career paths, which in turn might derail athletes from academic pursuits (e.g., poor academic performance, leaving college in attempts to enter the NFL draft). Many recommendations can be made about which racial-ethnic topics should be communicated but because of its varied effects on career development across groups *and* non-significant findings after controlling for career-related parental support, the simplest and most clear way for parents to promote career development is by verbally encouraging their children.

The African American journey is complex. It is challenged by racism and discrimination and includes many obstacles. Yet, those who are on the journey are

empowered by others who seek to encourage them to develop an appreciation for the diversity, achievements, and culture of African Americans. It is no wonder that it has been said that it takes a village to raise a child. To all of those—parents, educators, mentors— who actively participate in such villages, thank you.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 3.1

Frequencies of Demographic Variables

Variable	Frequency	%
Age		
18	24	11.0
19	42	19.2
20	38	17.4
21	46	21.0
22	37	16.9
23	17	7.8
24	10	4.6
25	5	2.3
Academic Year		
Freshman	42	18.8
Sophomore	43	19.3
Junior	62	27.8
Senior	55	24.7
1st Year Grad School	10	4.5
2nd or Subseq. Year Grad School	11	4.9
Race[a]		
African American	201	88.2
African (1st or 2nd Gen.)	19	8.3
Caribbean	5	2.2
Other (Black)	5	2.2
Gender		
Male	106	46.5
Female	122	53.5
Parental Marital Status		
Single; Never married	53	23.3
Single: Living with Partner	6	2.7
Married	102	45.1
Divorced	61	27.0
Widowed	4	1.8
Mother Education		
Some High School	5	2.2
High School Diploma	35	15.4
Some College Or Tech. School	69	30.4
Associate's Degree	18	7.9

Table 3.1 (continued)

Variable	Frequency	%
Mother Education (continued)		
College Degree	51	22.5
Some Graduate Classes	4	1.8
Master's Degree	40	17.6
Phd, JD, Or MD	3	1.3
Father Education		
Less Than 9th Grade	5	2.2
Some High School	9	4.0
High School Diploma	51	22.5
Some College Or Tech. School	51	22.5
Associate's Degree	16	7.0
College Degree	40	17.6
Some Graduate Classes	4	1.8
Master's Degree	27	11.9
PhD, JD, or MD	7	3.1
Intercollegiate Athlete Status[b]		
Never Been An Athlete	159	71.9
Have An Athletic Scholarship	31	14.0
Walk-on Athlete	12	5.4
Was an Athlete But Not Anymore	19	8.6
Athlete Sport[b]		
Not Athlete	144	67.0
Football	32	14.9
Basketball	6	2.8
Swimming	1	.5
Golf	1	.5
Tennis	1	.5
Track and Field	21	9.8
Other	9	4.2
Perception of Sport Involve.[ab]		
Not an athlete	152	66.7
Easy College Admission	7	3.1
Scholarship	41	18.0
Professional Sport	12	5.3
Future Success	39	17.1
A Way to Have Fun	38	16.7
Ignored Interest in Sports	4	1.8
I Do Not Know	10	4.4

Note. Tech.=Technical. Subseq.=Subsequent. Involve.=Involvement. [a] Frequencies deviate from total sample size due to item instructions to mark all that apply. [b] Frequencies vary from total sample size due to occasional missing data on items.

Table 3.2

Reliability Coefficients, Means, and Standard Deviations of Key Scales

Scale	A	*n* of Items	*M* (*SD*)	Skewness[a]	Kurtosis[b]
Parental Responsiveness CRPSS:	.832	4	4.196 (.880)	-1.295***	1.338***
Emotional Support	.815	7	3.727 (.890)	-.708***	.189
Verbal Encouragement	.692	6	4.355 (.679)	-1.113***	.744**
ARESS:					
Racial Barrier Aware.	.859	5	2.851 (.780)	-.398**	-.800**
Cope. Racism & Discr.	.561	5	3.551 (.448)	-1.194***	.930**
Pro. Cross-Racial Relat.	.700	3	2.671 (.863)	-.223	-.746**
Cultural Embedded.	.779	4	2.817 (.836)	-.327*	-.863**
Ethnic Pride	.855	5	3.466 (.686)	-1.522***	1.981***
African Amer. History	.884	4	2.942 (.889)	-.521***	-.810**
African Amer. Heritage	.866	5	2.685 (.880)	-.145	-.955**
African Amer. Cultural Values	.711	4	3.299 (.649)	-.812***	-.044
CCCS:					
Tendency to Foreclose	.816	9	3.483 (1.123)	.243	-.174
Vocational Exploration	.741	5	5.590 (.892)	-.232	-.729**
Career Commitment	.915	14	4.658 (1.258)	-.373**	-.260

Note. [a]Standard errors range from .161- .163. [b]Standard errors range from .321- .325
CRPSS= Career- Related Parental Support Scale; ARESS= Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale; CCCS= Career Commitment Choices Scale. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 3.3

Reliability Coefficients, Means, and Standard Deviations of Key Scales by Group

Scale	Group Male	Female		Group Male	Female
	α		n of Items	M (SD)	
Parental Responsiveness	.813	.849	4	4.202(.855)	4.190(.906)
CRPSS:					
Emotional Support			7	3.595(.943)	3.845(.846)
Verbal Encouragement	.688	.679	6	4.220(.710)	4.475(.629)
ARESS:					
Racial Barrier Aware.	.836	.886	5	2.896(.724)	2.812(.826)
Cope. Racism & Discr.	.547	.574	5	3.526(.446)	3.572(.450)
Pro. Cross-Racial Relat.	.657	.730	3	2.689(.802)	2.656(.916)
Cultural Embedded.	.782	.776	4	2.757(.810)	2.869(.858)
Ethnic Pride	.848	.863	5	3.406(.702)	3.519(.670)
African Amer. History	.875	.894	4	2.880(.881)	2.997(.896)
African Amer. Heritage	.857	.871	5	2.548(.851)	2.805(.891)
African Amer. Cultural Values	.694	.724	4	3.269(.626)	3.326(.670)
CCCS:					
Tendency to Foreclose	.844	.784	9	3.566(1.174)	3.410(1.077)
Vocational Exploration	.720	.759	5	5.560(.860)	5.609(.922)
Career Commitment	.905	.922	14	4.584(1.207)	4.723(1.303)

Note. CRPSS= Career- Related Parental Support Scale; ARESS= Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale; CCCS= Career Commitment Choices Scale.

Table 3.4

Means and Standard Deviations of Key Scales by Group

	Group			
	FA	FN	MA	MN
Scale	*M(SD)*			
Parental Responsiveness CRPSS:	14.38(.89)	16.34(3.73)	16.89(2.92)	17.05(3.59)
Emotional Support	27.88(4.21)	26.73(6.19)	25.69(6.32)	24.90(7.00)
Verbal Encouragement	27.27(2.89)	26.89(3.74)	25.16(3.92)	25.85(4.37)
ARESS:				
Racial Barrier Aware.	11.80(5.93)	13.79(4.23)	14.92(3.68)	13.93(3.87)
Cope. Racism & Discr.	18.56(1.21)	17.71(2.38)	17.83(2.03)	17.47(2.27)
Pro. Cross-Racial Relat.	7.63(3.07)	8.03(2.73)	8.02(2.30)	8.09(2.54)
Cultural Embedded.	12.38(3.83)	11.31(3.37)	10.65(3.18)	11.35(3.34)
Ethnic Pride	18.19(2.76)	17.42(3.47)	16.80(3.45)	17.18(3.59)
African Amer. History	12.56(3.65)	11.87(3.63)	11.35(3.56)	11.64(3.53)
African Amer. Heritage	14.20(4.78)	13.89(4.48)	12.67(3.87)	12.86(4.65)
African Amer. Cultural Values	14.00(1.97)	13.17(2.79)	13.28(2.01)	12.89(2.79)
CCCS:				
Tendency to Foreclose	32.06(11.30)	30.14(9.29)	34.52(10.54)	29.98(10.11)
Vocational Exploration	9.93 (3.47)	12.14(4.60)	12.23(3.80)	11.91(4.63)
Career Commitment	72.47(18.42)	66.52(17.46)	63.37(17.98)	64.10(16.80)

Note. CRPSS= Career- Related Parental Support Scale; ARESS= Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale; CCCS= Career Commitment Choices Scale; FA=Female Athlete; FN=Female Non-Athlete; MA=Male Athlete; MN=Male Non-Athlete.

Table 4.1

Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis With Forced Three Factor Structure With Varimax Rotation of the Commitment to Career Choices Scale

Item #	Item Description	Career Commitment	Tendency to Foreclose	Vocational Exploration
		Factor		
17	It is hard to commit myself to a specific career goal because I am unsure about what the future holds for me.	**.810**	-.043	.189
19	I feel uneasy in committing myself to a career goal because I do not have as much information about the fields that I am considering as I probably should.	**.748**	.153	.288
14	I do not know enough about myself (i.e., my interests, abilities, and values) to make a commitment to a specific occupation.	**.730**	.117	.359
11	While I am aware of my educational and career options, I do not feel comfortable committing myself to a specific occupation.	**.706**	.047	-.053
23	I feel uneasy in committing myself to a specific career plan.	**.693**	.076	.306
13	I find myself changing academic majors often because I cannot focus on one specific goal.	**.690**	.227	.131
20	I have difficulty making decisions when faced with a variety of options.	**.688**	-.031	.227
18	I find it difficult to commit myself to important life decisions.	**.676**	.138	.167
26	I am not very certain about the kind of work I would like to do.	**.644**	.053	.277
5	It is hard for me to decide on a career goal because it seems that there are too many possibilities	**.644**	-.299	.004
12	I feel uneasy about committing myself to a specific occupation because I am not aware of alternative options in related fields.	**.632**	.179	.127
25	I worry about my ability to make effective educational and career decisions.	**.619**	.199	.291
4	I may need to learn more about myself (i.e., my interests, abilities, values, etc.) before making a commitment to a specific occupation.	**.490**	-.067	-.009
15*	I like the openness of considering various possibilities before committing myself to a specific occupation	-.439	**.433**	.165

Table 4.1 (continued)

Item #	Item Description	Career Commitment	Tendency to Foreclose	Vocational Exploration
		Factor		
27	I would change my career plans if the field I am considering became more competitive and less accessible due to a decline in available openings.	**.431**	.298	.132
16*	Based on what I know about the world of work (i.e., the nature of various occupations), I do not believe that I should seriously consider more than a single career goal at a time.	.366	**.348**	-.067
22	Based on what I know about my values (e.g., the importance of money, job security, etc.), I believe that only one single occupation is right for me.	.050	**.818**	.089
10	Based on what I know about my abilities and talents, I believe that only one specific occupation is right for me.	.154	**.800**	.015
2	Based on what I know about my interests, I believe that I am suited for only one specific occupation.	.010	**.798**	.117
28	I believe that there is only one specific career goal that is right for me.	.080	**.760**	.182
1	I believe that a sign of maturity is deciding on a single career goal and sticking to it.	-.022	**.664**	-.221
8	I think that a wavering or indecisive approach to educational and career choices is a sign of weakness; one should take a stand and follow through with it no matter what.	.080	**.596**	-.183
9	I believe that no matter what others might think, my educational and career decisions will either be right or wrong.	.214	**.345**	-.313
7	I have thought about how to get around the obstacles that may exist in the occupational field that I am considering.	.164	.013	**.699**
3	The chances are excellent that I will actually end up doing the kind of work that I most want to do.	.217	.071	**.693**
6	I have a good deal of information about the occupational fields that are most interesting to me.	.202	-.043	**.683**
21	I feel confident in my ability to achieve my career goals	.165	.103	**.671**

Table 4.1 (continued)

Item #	Item Description	Factor		
		Career Commitment	Tendency to Foreclose	Vocational Exploration
24	I think that I know enough about the occupations that I am considering to be able to commit myself firmly to a specific career goal.	.244	-.224	**.592**
	Cronbach Alpha	.915	.816	.741

Note. Factor loadings are in boldface according to corresponding scales. * Items 15 and 16 loaded onto Career Commitment but were included in the Tendency to Foreclose scale to maintain consistency with original scale items due to similar loadings on both scales. See Blustein et al. (1989).

Table 4.2

Means and Standard Errors for 3 (Recruitment Method) X 2 (Athlete Status) Between Subjects ANOVA for Background Variables

Predictor	Academic Center for Student Athletes		Big XII Conference		Electronic Mailing List	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Age	3.857	.363	4.429	.210	4.810	.155
Academic Year	2.000	.282	2.825	.163	3.043	.120
Mother Education	4.762	.390	5.222	.225	5.259	.166
Father Education	4.952	.513	4.889	.296	5.362	.218
Marital Status	2.905	.252	2.794	.145	2.741	.107
Current GPA	2.830	.098	3.023	.056	3.110	.042
High School GPA	3.237	1.435	3.521	.828	4.316	.610

Note. Marital Status = Parents' Marital Status. Age: 18 yrs.=1, 19 yrs.=2, 20 yrs.=3, 21 yrs.=4, 22 yrs.=5, 23 yrs.=6, 24 yrs.=7, 25 yrs.=8. Academic year: Freshman=1, sophomore=2, junior=3, senior=4, 1st year graduate student= 5, graduate student in 2nd or subsequent year=6. Mother and father education: Less than 9th grade=1, some high school=2, high school diploma=3, some college or technical school=4, associates degree=5, college degree=6, some graduate classes=7, master's degree=8, PhD, JD, or MD=9, I don't know=missing. Parents' marital status: Single; never been married=1, single; living with partner=2, married=3, divorced=4, widowed=5. GPA = Grade point average.

Table 4.3
Means and Standard Deviations for Background Variables by Gender

	Male		Female		Total	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Age	4.780	1.823	4.570	1.700	4.670	1.757
Academic Year	2.930	1.416	2.900	1.293	2.910	1.348
Father Education	5.020	2.035	4.591	1.912	4.795	1.979
Mother Education	5.067	1.825	5.250	1.774	5.164	1.796
Marital Status	2.810	1.093	2.810	1.164	2.810	1.129
Current GPA	3.048	.471	3.065	.460	3.057	.464
High School GPA	3.353	.430	3.586	.399	3.478	.429

Note. Marital Status = Parents' marital status. GPA = Grade point average. †*p < .10 *p< .05 ** p<.01.*

Table 4.4

Means and Standard Deviations for Background Variables by Athlete Status

	Non-Athlete		Athlete		Total	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Age	4.820	1.850	4.440	1.389	4.710	1.744
Academic Year	3.030*	1.396	2.690	1.209	2.930	1.351
Father Education	4.721	1.951	5.143	2.093	4.837	1.995
Mother Education	5.217	1.741	5.082	1.952	5.179	1.799
Marital Status	2.820	1.105	2.750	1.192	2.800	1.128
Current GPA	3.086	.457	2.987	.466	3.059	.460
High School GPA	3.542	.393	3.320	.484	3.479	.432

Note. Marital Status = Parents' marital status. GPA = Grade point average. †*p < .10 *p< .05 ** p<.01.*

Table 4.5

Means and Standard Errors for 2 (Gender) X 2 (Athlete Status) Between-Subjects ANCOVA for Tendency to Foreclose, Vocational Exploration, and Career Commitment

Predictor	Tendency to Foreclose		Vocational Exploration		Career Commitment	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Male Athlete	3.742	.170	5.520	.129	4.633	.193
Male Non-Athlete	3.379	.151	5.586	.086	4.567	.169
Female Athlete	3.480	.290	5.976	.218	4.841	.325
Female Non-Athlete	3.390	.113	5.558	.119	4.730	.127

Note. Control variable is Academic year.

Table 4.6

2 (Gender) X 2 (Athlete Status) Chi-Square Contingency Table Results For Individual Differences in Majors Associated with More Than or Less Than 50% Likelihood of Job Offer By Graduation

Group	Students Enrolled in Majors That Receive Less than 50% Job Offers		Students Enrolled in Majors That Receive At Least 50% Job Offers	
	Count	*%*	Count	*%*
Male Athlete	30	66.7%	15	33.3%
Male Non-Athlete	42	75.0%	14	25.0%
Female Athlete	12	75.0%	4	25.0%
Female Non-Athlete	83	81.4%	19	18.6%

Note. χ^2 (3)= 3.823, *p* = .064.

Table 4.7

2 (Gender) X 2 (Athlete Status) Chi-Square Contingency Table Results For Individual Differences in Pursuit of Professional Sport Career Path

Group	Professional Sport Career Path		Not Pursuing Professional Sport Career Path	
	Count	*%*	Count	*%*
Male Athlete	28	60.9%	18	39.1%
Male Non-Athlete	2	3.6%	54	96.4%
Female Athlete	2	12.5%	14	87.5%
Female Non-Athlete	4	3.9%	99	96.1%

Note. χ^2 (3)= 85.479, $p < .01$

Table 4.8

Means for Total Number of Reported Major-Related Careers by Group Status

Factor	*M*	*SD*
Male Athlete	3.04	1.80
Male Non-Athlete	3.36	1.45
Female Athlete	3.63	1.67
Female Non-Athlete	3.42	1.66

Table 4.9

Multiple Group Analyses Predicting Tendency to Foreclose from Racial-Ethnic Socialization

	Tendency to Foreclose							
	Male Athletes $n=41$		Male Non-Athletes $n=52$		Female Athletes[a] $n=14$		Female Non-Athletes $n=90$	
Predictor	ß	*SE*	ß	*SE*	ß	*SE*	ß	*SE*
Mother Education	.186	.134	.027	.147	.530**	.181	.108	.121
Father Education	-.175	.124	-.195	.139	-.477**	.152	-.001	.122
Academic Year	-.239*	.114	-.137	.132	-.479*	.195	.134	.103
Cope. Racism & Discr.	.093	.198	-.250	.207	-1.663**	.447	.269	.170
Pro. Cross-Race. Relat.	-.363*	.143	.064	.138	1.020**	.346	-.020	.114
Racial Barrier Aware.	-.298†	.167	.250	.158	.148	.168	.179	.149
Cultural Embedded.	-.151	.172	-.382*	.192	.913**	.319	-.069	.148
African Amer. Values	.381*	.198	.572**	.203	-.450**	.181	-.149	.210
African Amer. History	.610**	.231	-.083	.236	.414	.574	-.145	.214
African Amer. Heritage	.460†	.263	-.149	.262	.663	.627	-.107	.210
Ethnic Pride	-.642**	.206	.062	.242	-.616**	.224	.144	.225

Note. Control variables are Mother Education, Father Education, and Academic Year. Cope. Racism & Discr.= Coping with Racism & Discrimination, Pro. Cross-Race. Relat.= Promoting Cross-Racial Relationships, Racial Barrier Aware.= Racial Barrier Awareness, African Amer. Values= African American Cultural Values, African Amer. History= African American History, African Amer. Heritage= African American Heritage. Female group includes both athletes and non-athletes.

[a]Caution is warranted in interpretation of results due to small sample size.
†$p < .10$ *$p < .05$ **$p < .01$.

Table 4.10

Multiple Group Analyses Predicting Vocational Exploration from Racial-Ethnic Socialization

	Vocational Exploration							
	Male Athletes n=41		Male Non-Athletes n=52		Female Athletes[a] n=14		Female Non-Athletes n=90	
Predictor	ß	SE	ß	SE	ß	SE	ß	SE
Mother Education	-.132	.175	.163	.146	2.832**	.715	-.061	.111
Father Education	.070	.162	-.144	.140	-1.866**	.490	-.063	.112
Academic Year	-.102	.149	.176	.132	-2.785**	.723	.021	.095
Cope. Racism & Discr.	.036	.259	-.491*	.201	-1.999**	.529	.552**	.150
Pro. Cross-Race. Relat.	-.385*	.180	.218	.137	3.656**	.957	-.128	.104
Racial Barrier Aware.	.381†	.213	.048	.160	2.803**	.757	-.341*	.135
Cultural Embedded.	-.522**	.218	-.177	.195	2.933**	.762	.061	.136
African Amer. Values	.231	.256	-.018	.211	-2.086**	.503	.010	.194
African Amer. History	.095	.302	.418†	.233	12.381**	3.192	.249	.196
African Amer. Heritage	.121	.345	-.145	.261	-12.982**	3.416	.006	.194
Ethnic Pride	-.006	.264	.019	.242	-2.284**	.579	-.091	.207

Note. Control variables are Mother Education, Father Education, and Academic Year. Cope. Racism & Discr.= Coping with Racism & Discrimination, Pro. Cross-Race. Relat.= Promoting Cross-Racial Relationships, Racial Barrier Aware.= Racial Barrier Awareness, African Amer. Values= African American Cultural Values, African Amer. History= African American History, African Amer. Heritage= African American Heritage. Female group includes both athletes and non-athletes.

[a]Caution is warranted in interpretation of results due to small sample size.
†*p < .10 *p< .05 ** p≤.01.*

Table 4.11

Multiple Group Analyses Predicting Career Commitment from Racial-Ethnic Socialization

| | Career Commitment | | | | | | | |
| | Male Athletes n=41 | | Male Non-Athletes n=52 | | Female Athletes[a] n=14 | | Female Non-Athletes n=90 | |
Predictor	ß	SE	ß	SE	ß	SE	ß	SE
Mother Education	-.242	.159	.043	.155	-.177†	.095	.208*	.106
Father Education	-.124	.147	-.070	.148	-.066	.062	-.401**	.104
Academic Year	.099	.136	.256†	.137	-.1688	.114	.122	.091
Cope. Racism & Discr.	.495*	.233	-.050	.219	1.11**	.277	.498**	.148
Pro. Cross-Race. Relat.	.077	.168	.216	.144	-.118	.156	-.166†	.100
Racial Barrier Aware.	.156	.197	-.159	.167	.704**	.219	-.245†	.131
Cultural Embedded.	-.460*	.202	-.031	.206	-.579**	.202	.344**	.129
African Amer. Values	-.543*	.231	-.116	.222	.260*	.119	-.300	.185
African Amer. History	-.331	.274	.403	.245	4.259**	1.167	.099	.190
African Amer. Heritage	-.090	.314	-.167	.275	-4.284**	1.208	-.123	.186
Ethnic Pride	.642**	.235	-.090	.255	-.602**	.195	-.022	.200

Note. Control variables are Mother Education, Father Education, and Academic Year. Cope. Racism & Discr.= Coping with Racism & Discrimination, Pro. Cross-Race. Relat.= Promoting Cross-Racial Relationships, Racial Barrier Aware.= Racial Barrier Awareness, African Amer. Values= African American Cultural Values, African Amer. History= African American History, African Amer. Heritage= African American Heritage. Female group includes both athletes and non-athletes.

[a]Caution is warranted in interpretation of results due to small sample size.
†$p < .10$ *$p \leq .05$ ** $p<.01$.

Table 4.12

Means and Standard Deviations of Male and Female Athlete and Non-Athletes on Parental Responsiveness, Verbal Encouragement, Emotional Support, and Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Scale	Male Non-Athlete n=55	Male Athlete n =46	Female Non-Athlete n =95	Female Athlete n =16
	M(SD)			
Responsiveness	4.241(.913)	4.183(.740)	4.063(.937)	4.844(.221)
Encouragement	4.301(.728)	4.18(.651)	4.47(.637)	4.548(.466)
Support	3.54(1.001)	3.681(.895)	3.808(.889)	3.982(.601)
Cope. Racism & Discr.	3.494(.453)	3.565(.405)	3.54(.478)	3.713(.242)
Pro. Cross-Racial Relat.	2.691(.853)	2.674(.768)	2.678(.886)	2.640(.835)
Racial Barrier Aware.	2.826(.722)	2.971(.740)	2.758(.815)	2.784(.885)
Cultural Embedded.	2.823(.825)	2.663(.795)	2.832(.841)	3.094(.957)
African Amer. Values	3.214(.701)	3.321(.502)	3.284(.692)	3.500(.492)
African Amer. History	2.896(.883)	2.837(.890)	2.959(.904)	3.141(.913)
African Amer. Heritage	2.513(.931)	2.549(.757)	2.764(.882)	2.850(.925)
Ethnic Pride	3.429(.724)	3.361(.690)	3.486(.672)	3.638(.552)

Note. Responsiveness= Parental Responsiveness, Encouragement= Career-Related Parental Verbal Encouragement, Support= Career-Related parental Emotional Support, , Cope. Racism & Discr.= Coping with Racism & Discrimination, Pro. Cross-Racial Relat.= Promoting Cross-Racial Relationships, Racial Barrier Aware.= Racial Barrier Awareness, African Amer. Values= African American Cultural Values, African Amer. History= African American History, African Amer. Heritage= African American Heritage.

Table 4.13

2 (Gender) X 2 (Athlete Status) MANOVA Results for Effect of Gender and Athlete Status on Parental Responsiveness, Career-Related Verbal Encouragement and Emotional Support, and Racial-Ethnic Socialization

	Grouping Factor								
	Gender			Athlete Status			Gender X Athlete Status		
Indicator	*MS*	*df*	*F*	*MS*	*df*	*F*	*MS*	*df*	*F*
Responsiveness	2.066	1	2.811†	4.624	1	6.292*	6.225	1	8.471*
Encouragement	2.434	1	5.684*	.019	1	.045	.393	1	.917
Support	2.919	1	3.560†	.906	1	1.105	.007	1	.009
Cope. Racism & Discr.	.343	1	1.747	.514	1	2.618†	.085	1	.431
Pro. Cross-Racial Relat.	.207	1	.271	.187	1	.245	.110	1	.144
Racial Barrier Aware.	.572	1	.938	.257	1	.421	.124	1	.203
Cultural Embedded.	1.711	1	2.449	.093	1	.133	1.576	1	2.256
African Amer. Values	.553	1	1.330	.923	1	2.219	.105	1	.252
African Amer. History	1.192	1	1.484	.135	1	.168	.511	1	.637
African Amer. Heritage	2.703	1	3.546†	.132	1	.173	.022	1	.029
Ethnic Pride	.984	1	2.116	.062	1	.133	.428	1	.921

Note. Responsiveness= Parental Responsiveness, Encouragement= Career-Related Parental Verbal Encouragement, Support= Career-Related parental Emotional Support, , Cope. Racism & Discr.= Coping with Racism & Discrimination, Pro. Cross-Racial Relat.= Promoting Cross-Racial Relationships, Racial Barrier Aware.= Racial Barrier Awareness, African Amer. Values= African American Cultural Values, African Amer. History= African American History, African Amer. Heritage= African American Heritage.
†*p < .10 *p< .05 ** p<.01.*

Table 4.14

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Tendency to Foreclose, Vocational Exploration, and Career Commitment from Racial-Ethnic Socialization

| | Career Development Indicators | | | | | |
| | Tendency to Foreclose $n=228$ | | Vocational Exploration $n=228$ | | Career Commitment $n=228$ | |
Predictor	ΔR^2	ß	ΔR^2	ß	ΔR^2	ß
Block 1 – Step 1	.062		.021		.052	
Mother Education		.126		.024		-.049
Father Education		-.110		-.123		-.178*
Academic Year		-.191**		.132†		.143
Block 2– Step 2	.045		.071		.049	
Responsiveness		-.075		.028		-.006
Emotional Support		.303**		.046		-.035
Verbal Encouragement		-.282**		.185†		.215*
Block 3– Step 3	.047		.020		.056	
Cope. Racism & Discr.		.189		.020		.180
Pro. Cross-Racial Relat.		-.034		.000		-.051
Racial Barrier Aware.		.123		-.093		-.168†
Cultural Embedded.		-.195†		.060		.126
African Amer. Values		.169		.106		-.165
African Amer. History		.125		.214		.110
African Amer. Heritage		-.090		-.223		-.159
Ethnic Pride		-.212		-.028		.112

Note. All regression coefficients are from the final model after Step 3 has been entered for that Career Development indicator. Responsiveness= Parental Responsiveness, Encouragement= Career-Related Parental Verbal Encouragement, Support= Career-Related parental Emotional Support, , Cope. Racism & Discr.= Coping with Racism & Discrimination, Pro. Cross-Racial Relat.= Promoting Cross-Racial Relationships, Racial Barrier Aware.= Racial Barrier Awareness, African Amer. Values= African American Cultural Values, African Amer. History= African American History, African Amer. Heritage= African American Heritage.
$^†p < .10$ $*p< .05$ $** p<.01.$

Table 4.15

Bivariate Correlations of Key Variables.

	Year	M. Ed	F. Ed.	PR	ES	VE	CRD	PCR	RBA	CE	AAC	AAH	AAHE	EP	TTF	Explor	Commit
Year		0.007	-0.061	-0.077	-0.046	-0.045	-0.115	-0.091	0.059	0.077	0.058	0.016	-0.004	-0.055	-.178**	.141*	0.122
M. Ed.			.495**	.150*	.217**	0.119	0.111	0.022	0.06	-0.002	0.096	0.044	0.125	0.024	0.12	-0.009	-.146*
F. Ed.				0.122	.143*	.166*	0.072	0.074	0.005	-0.068	0.047	0.02	0.016	-0.03	-0.01	-0.065	-.185**
PR					.594**	.596**	.623**	.256**	.188**	.132*	.465**	.370**	.348**	.431**	0.103	.180**	0.079
ES						.674**	.514**	.262**	.158*	0.123	.347**	.359**	.384**	.380**	.199**	.181**	0.052
VE							.460**	.181**	0.125	0.038	.301**	.241**	.254**	.298**	-0.013	.231**	.153*
CRD								.376**	.399**	.301**	.651**	.596**	.552**	.752**	.204**	0.127	0.088
PCR									.327**	.285**	.388**	.389**	.422**	.455**	0.05	0.056	-0.103
RBA										.543**	.526**	.662**	.631**	.513**	.146*	0.031	-0.098
CE											.522**	.666**	.688**	.481**	-0.055	0.034	0.006
AAC												.657**	.746**	.733**	.140*	0.129	-0.024
AAH													.828**	.733**	0.129	0.11	-0.005
AAHE														.676**	0.114	0.067	-0.08
EP															0.127	0.097	0.057
TTF																0.059	-.186**
Explor																	.453**
Commit																	

Note. Year= Academic year; M. Ed.= Mother Education; F. Ed.= Father Education; PR= Parental Responsiveness; ES= Career –Related Emotional Support; VE= Career-Related Verbal Encouragement; CRD= Coping with Racism and Discrimination; PCR= Promoting Cross Racial Relationships; CE= Cultural Embeddedness; AAC= African American Cultural Values; AAH= African American History; AAHE= African American Heritage; EP= Ethnic Pride; TTF= Tendency to Foreclose; Explor= Vocational Exploration; Commit= Career Commitment. *p < .05, ** p < .01.

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

Figure 4.1

Scree Plot of 3-Factor Solution of Career Choices and Commitment Scale
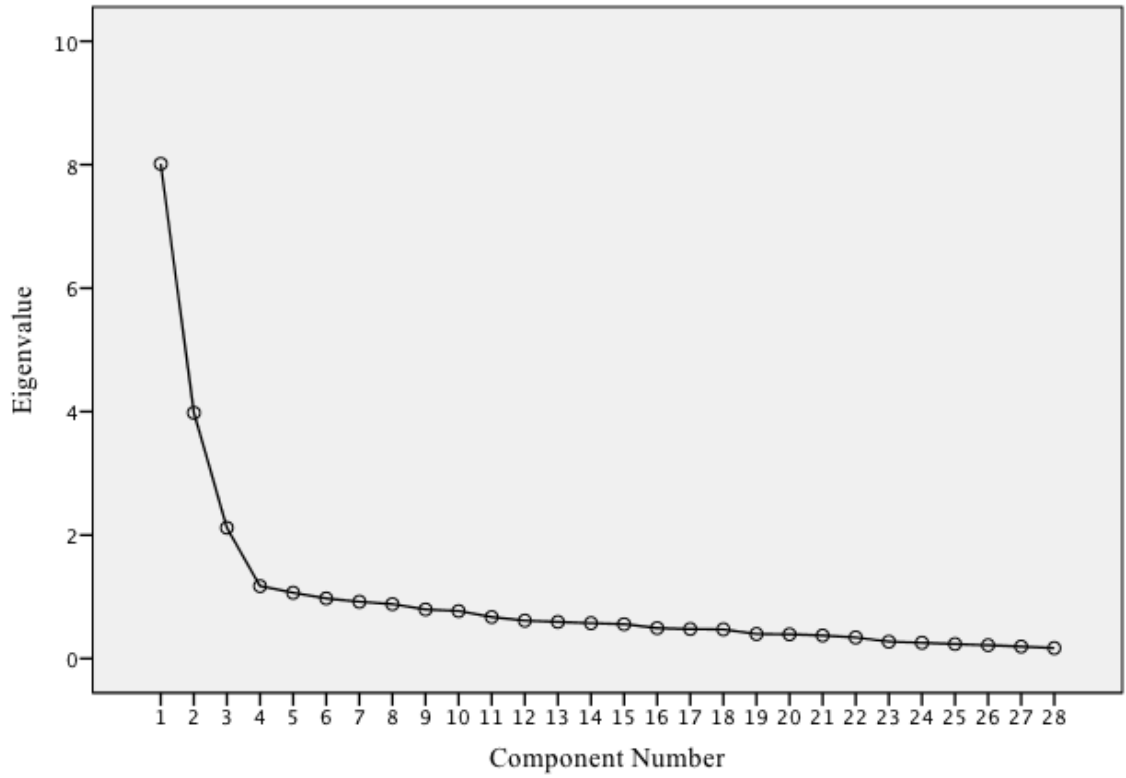
APPENDIX C

IRB APPROVAL FORM

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Thursday, January 29, 2015

IRB Application No   HE154

Proposal Title: Career Development of African American Athletes and Non-Athletes

Reviewed and   Exempt
Processed as:

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved   Protocol Expires: 1/28/2018

Principal
Investigator(s):

Jamie Dowdy Alexander   Laura Hubbs-Tait
517 Sunnyside Pl   341 HS
Edmond, OK 73003   Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

☐ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval. Protocol modifications requiring approval may include changes to the title, PI advisor, funding status or sponsor, subject population composition or size, recruitment, inclusion/exclusion criteria, research site, research procedures and consent/assent process or forms
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of the research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Dawnett Watkins 219 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-5700, dawnett.watkins@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Hugh Crethar, Chair
Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM

Career Development of African American Emerging Adult Males and Females Informed Consent Form

Dear Student,

Did you know that only 18% of African Americans aged 25 and older have a bachelor degree and that far more African American females attend and graduate from college than African American males? The purpose of this research study is to gather information on the career development and racial/ethnic socialization of African American individuals between the ages of 18 and 25. You have been invited to participate because you have identified your race/ethnicity as African American and because you are a student at Oklahoma State University or have attended the Big 12 Conference hosted by Oklahoma State University.

Your participation in this study will include completing a 15-20 minute survey. You will be asked questions regarding your career interests, decisions about careers and your current career development, and ways in which your caregivers sent messages regarding your race and ethnicity such as racial pride and African American heritage.

Compensation
Participants who return the completed or attempted survey or survey receipt (if taken online) will be offered an item of small value, such as a Pistol Pete thumb drive, for compensation for their time.

Possible Risks and Benefits
There are no known risks associated with this project that are greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

By participating in this study you may become more aware of career options as well as the behaviors and thoughts that you engage in as you navigate the career development process. You may also become more aware of the messages regarding race and ethnicity communicated by your parents or other caregivers and their influence on your own career decisions.

Confidentiality
The survey is anonymous meaning that your identity will not be linked to your survey in any way. The records of this study will be kept private. Any written results will discuss group findings and will not include information that will identify you. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers and individuals responsible for research oversight will have access to the records. It is possible that the consent process and data collection will be observed by research oversight staff responsible for safeguarding the rights and wellbeing of people who participate in research.

Your Rights
If you have questions about the research, you may contact Jamie D. Alexander at jldowdy@okstate.edu or 405-293-8418, Laura Hubbs-Tait at laura.hubbs@okstate.edu or 405-744-8360, or Robert Larzelere at robert.larzelere@okstate.edu or 405-744-2053.

If you have questions about your rights as a research volunteer, you may contact the IRB Office at 219 Cordell North, Stillwater, OK 74078, 405-744-3377 or irb@okstate.edu.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may, at any time withdraw from the study. Your decision to end your participation will not result in any penalty or disqualification of compensation.

By taking this survey, I consent that I have read and fully understand this consent form. I take this survey freely and voluntarily. A copy of this form has been provided to me.

APPENDIX E

HANDBILL FOR BIG XII CONFERENCE

HEY! CHECK THIS OUT...

Did you know that only 18% of African Americans aged 25 or older have a bachelor degree and that far more African American females attend and graduate from college than African American males? And did you know that the ways in which African American families communicate messages about race, such as racial pride, have been linked with positive educational outcomes? I want to know how these two facts are related and I need your help in order to do so!

As a participant at the 38th Annual Big XII Conference on Black Student Government, I invite you to participate in my dissertation research study. This study intends to gather information on the career development of African American males and females and the effect of messages about race and ethnicity communicated by caregivers on career development.

If you are interested in taking the anonymous survey, simply pick up a questionnaire from our table marked by a **bright pink** sign entitled "Career Development of African American College Students," and return the completed survey to Jamie Alexander at that same table, during any time before the end of the conference. A small conference-related gift will be provided to you upon your submission of a completed survey to thank you for your time.

Thank you!

SURVEY

Have Career Development of African American College Students Survey

What is your age? _____

What is your race/ethnicity? (Mark all that apply.)
- Black
- White
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Hispanic
- Asian
- Other _____

You selected "Black" as your race/ethnicity. Which of the following best describes you? (Mark all that apply.)
- African (1st or 2nd generation)
- African American
- Caribbean
- South American
- Other _____

What is your gender?
- Male
- Female

What is the highest level of education your mother or female caregiver has attained?
- Less than 9th grade
- Some high school
- High school diploma
- Some college or technical school
- Associates degree
- College degree
- Some graduate classes
- Master's degree
- PhD, JD, or MD
- I don't know

What is the highest level of education your father or male caregiver has attained?
- Less than 9th grade
- Some high school
- High school diploma
- Some college or technical school
- Associates degree
- College degree
- Some graduate classes
- Master's degree
- PhD, JD, or MD
- I don't know

What is your parents or caregivers' current marital status?
- Single; never been married
- Single; living with partner
- Married
- Divorced
- Widowed

What is your mother's or female caregiver's occupation and what are her primary tasks on that job? If you do not know what her primary tasks are, write, "I do not know."
Occupation:
_____

Primary tasks:
_____

What is your father's or male caregiver's occupation and what are his primary tasks on that job? If you do not know what his primary tasks are, write, "I do not know."
Occupation:
_____

Primary tasks:
_____

What is your undergraduate or graduate standing?
- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- 1st year graduate student
- Graduate student in 2nd or subsequent year

What is your current GPA? _____

What was your high school GPA? _____

What is your current intercollegiate athlete status?
- I have never been an intercollegiate athlete
- Have an athletic scholarship
- Walk-on athlete for a university sport
- Was an intercollegiate athlete previously but not anymore

What sport did you play, if you have been an intercollegiate athlete?
- I am not an intercollegiate athlete
- Football
- Basketball
- Baseball
- Swimming
- Golf
- Tennis
- Other _____

How do your parents/caregivers and other family members primarily view your participation in college sports? (Mark all that apply)
- I'm not an intercollegiate athlete
- An easy way to get admitted to college
- A way to get a scholarship that will pay for school
- A way to become a professional athlete
- An opportunity for future success
- A way to have fun
- They ignored my interest in sports
- I do not know

How supportive are your parents/caregivers of your athletic and academic achievements?
- Support for athletic achievement outweighs support for academic achievement
- Support for athletic achievement is equal to support for academic achievement
- Support for academic achievement outweighs support for athletic achievement

When you were younger than 14 years old (before 9th grade), how much education did your parents want you to complete?
- Some high school
- High school diploma
- Some college or technical school
- Associate's degree
- College degree
- Master's degree
- PhD, JD, or MD

Outside of professional athletics, do your parents have the same career aspirations or goals for you as you do for yourself?
- Yes
- No, I am aiming higher than what they wanted for me
- No, I am not aiming as high as they wanted for me

List your top 1 to 3 career choices and the age when you first knew you wanted to have this as your career.

Career Choice 1:

_____
Age: _____
Career Choice 2:

_____
Age: _____
Career Choice 3:

_____
Age: _____

How likely are you to succeed and still be in your top (#1) career choice 5-10 years after college graduation?

✂ Very Unlikely
✂ Unlikely
✂ Likely
✂ Very Likely

What is your college major?

_____
_____

List up to 5 careers for which your major is preparing you and which you are willing to pursue.

Career Choice 1:
_____
Career Choice 2:
_____
Career Choice 3:
_____
Career Choice 4:
_____
Career Choice 5:
_____

In addition to any major-related career goals that you may have, are you currently pursuing a professional sport career path?

✂ No, I am not pursuing a career in a professional sport
✂ Yes, football
✂ Yes, basketball
✂ Yes, baseball
✂ Yes, hockey
✂ Yes, tennis
✂ Yes, golf
✂ Yes; Other _____

Did your parents/caregivers push you to participate in extracurricular activities? Mark all that apply and specify which extracurricular activities your parents pushed you to participate in by filling in the blank line(s).

✎ No; My parents/caregivers did not push me to participate in extracurricular activities.

✎ Yes; Sports (e.g., football, basketball)

_____—_____
_____
_____
_____—_____

✎ Yes; Fine-arts (e.g., art, music, acting)

_____
_____
_____
_____

✎ Yes; School-based or academic activities (e.g., science or book club, student government)

_____
_____
_____
_____

✎ Yes; Community-oriented activities (e.g., 4-H club, Boy Scouts, faith-based youth group)

_____
_____
_____
_____

The next statements are about behaviors and messages your parents or caregivers have communicated to you. Please, indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Never	A few times	Lots of times	Always
My parents/caregivers taught me that if I work hard I can overcome barriers in life	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to have White friends	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me that racism is present in America	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers had Black magazines like Essence, Ebony, Jet in the home	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me about slavery in this country	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me to never forget my heritage	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me the importance of family loyalty	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me to never be ashamed of my skin color	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me that a belief in God helps with life struggles	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to get along with Whites	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers shared with me their experiences of racism and discrimination	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers watched Black television shows	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me that knowing about African history is important	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to go to Black museums	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me to respect authority figures like teachers, elders, and police	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me to have pride in my Black culture	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me the importance of getting a good education	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to have Black friends	✂	✂	✂	✂

	Never	A few times	Lots of times	Always
My parents/caregivers had Black art, sculptures, and pictures	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me that Blacks don't always have the same opportunities as Whites	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me that Black slavery is important to never forget	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to go to Black cultural events (e.g., parades, festivals, plays, etc.)	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me that Blacks should give back to the Black community	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to be proud of my background	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me what to do if I'm called a racist name	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me to be cautious when dealing with White people	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers read books written by Black writers	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to learn about the history of Blacks	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to watch documentaries or movies on Black history	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me the importance of Black people helping one another	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me that my skin color is beautiful	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me to stand up for myself	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers taught me that a Black person will be harassed because he or she is Black	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers did things to celebrate Black history month	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to be proud of the accomplishments of Blacks	✂	✂	✂	✂

The next statements are career-related. In the items that follow, please indicate the appropriate number using the scale below that most accurately reflects the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement.

	Never true about me 1	Almost never true about me 2	Usually not true about me 3	No opinion/ Not sure 4	Usually true about me 5	Almost always true about me 6	Always true about me 7
I believe that a sign of maturity is deciding on a single career goal and sticking to it.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
Based on what I know about my interests, I believe that I am suited for only one specific occupation.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
The chances are excellent that I will actually end up doing the kind of work that I most want to do.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I may need to learn more about myself (i.e., my interests, abilities, values, etc.) before making a commitment to a specific occupation.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
It is hard for me to decide on a career goal because it seems that there are too many possibilities.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I have a good deal of information about the occupational fields that are most interesting to me.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I have thought about how to get around the obstacles that may exist in the occupational field that I am considering.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I think that a wavering or indecisive approach to educational and career choices is a sign of weakness; one should take a stand and follow through with it no matter what.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂

	Never true about me 1	Almost never true about me 2	Usually not true about me 3	No opinion/ Not sure 4	Usually true about me 5	Almost always true about me 6	Always true about me 7
I believe that no matter what others might think, my educational and career decisions will either be right or wrong.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
Based on what I know about my abilities and talents, I believe that only one specific occupation is right for me.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
While I am aware of my educational and career options, I do not feel comfortable committing myself to a specific occupation.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I feel uneasy about committing myself to a specific occupation because I am not aware of alternative options in related fields.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I find myself changing academic majors often because I cannot focus on one specific career goal.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I do not know enough about myself (i.e., my interests, abilities, and values) to make a commitment to a specific occupation.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I like the openness of considering various possibilities before committing myself to a specific occupation.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂

	Never true about me 1	Almost never true about me 2	Usually not true about me 3	No opinion/ Not sure 4	Usually true about me 5	Almost always true about me 6	Always true about me 7
Based on what I know about the world of work (i.e., the nature of various occupations), I do not believe that I should seriously consider more than a single career goal at a time.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
It is hard to commit myself to a specific career goal because I am unsure about what the future holds for me.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I find it difficult to commit myself to important life decisions.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I feel uneasy in committing myself to a career goal because I do not have as much information about the fields that I am considering as I probably should.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I have difficulty making decisions when faced with a variety of options.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I feel confident in my ability to achieve my career goals.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
Based on what I know about my values (e.g., the importance of money, job security, etc.), I believe that only one single occupation is right for me.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I feel uneasy in committing myself to a specific career plan.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I think that I know enough about the occupations that I am considering to be able to commit myself firmly to a specific career goal.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I worry about my ability to make effective educational and career decisions.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂

	Never true about me 1	Almost never true about me 2	Usually not true about me 3	No opinion/ Not sure 4	Usually true about me 5	Almost always true about me 6	Always true about me 7
I am not very certain about the kind of work I would like to do.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I would change my career plans if the field I am considering became more competitive and less accessible due to a decline in available openings.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
I believe that there is only one specific career goal that is right for me.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂

How much do you agree with the following statement, "I have a back-up career plan just in case my top career choice doesn't work out for me."
✂ A lot
✂ Some
✂ Little
✂ Not at all

The following questions are about your relationship with your parents/caregivers, in general, when you were in high school. Using the scale below, indicate the number which best describes your parents/caregivers for each item.

	Very Unlike 1	More Unlike than Like 2	Neither Like nor Unlike 3	More Like than Unlike 4	Very Like 5
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to talk with them about things.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers usually told me the reasons for rules.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers seldom praised me for doing well.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to talk with them honestly.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers took an interest in my activities.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂

The following questions are about your relationship with your parents/caregivers <u>on educational and career-related issues,</u> when you were in <u>high school</u>. Using the scale below, indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	Strongly Agree 5
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to learn as much as I could in high school.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers talked to me about what fun my future job could be.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to make good grades.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers said things that made me happy when I learned something I might use in a job sometime.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers encouraged me to go to a technical school or college or get a job after I graduated from high school.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
Sometimes my parents/caregivers and I got excited when we talked about what a great job I might have someday.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers told me they were proud of me when I did well in school.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers talked to me when I was worried about my future career.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers told me they expected me to finish school.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers knew I was sometimes scared about my future.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers rewarded me for doing my schoolwork well.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers talked to me about what kind of job they would like me to have.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂
My parents/caregivers praised me when I learned job-related skills.	✂	✂	✂	✂	✂

Has the recent racist chant by some fraternity members at the University of Oklahoma changed your answers to these questions, compared to how you would have answered before then?
✂ Yes
✂ No

If Yes: How has that incident changed your answers?

_____

_____

Note: The fraternity was closed by the University of Oklahoma and at least two leaders of the racist chant were expelled.

THANK YOU!!!

VITA

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Doctor of Philosophy

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