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CRITICAL EVENTS: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF AFRICAN AMERICAN (MEN AND WOMEN) IN COLLEGE SPORTS

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CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

- Identify why only a few African American athletes initially were allowed to compete in some formerly all-Caucasian institutions.
- Describe how African American athletes were treated on predominantly Caucasian campuses in each of these time periods (prior to 1900, 1900–1945, 1946–1965, 1966–1979, 1980–1999, and 2000–present) and note specifically how this treatment changed.
- Name a number of the outstanding achievements of African Americans in football, basketball, and track and field despite inequities in how they were treated.

INTRODUCTION

Sports have been praised for accepting African Americans more quickly and equitably than other sectors of society. Many have claimed performance, not ethnicity or skin color, counted most in sports. Any objective assertion of colorblindness, however, failed to hide overt and subtle racism persistently plaguing college sports for over a century.

Prior to the 20th century, a very small number of African American males were permitted to integrate sport teams in predominantly Caucasian institutions in the North and Midwest. When an African American male was permitted to enroll, he inevitably was an

exceptional athlete, academically strong, and nonconfrontational to the racism he regularly experienced. These African American pioneers in intercollegiate athletics were inevitably subjected to bigotry, second-class status, and social isolation. These pioneers were the exceptions, while most African Americans fortunate enough to advance into higher education in the mid- to late-1800s were segregated into Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).

Exploitation of African Americans continued several decades into the 20th century as they were subjected to separate and inequitable treatment. Most African Americans were excluded from sport facilities, such as tennis courts and golf courses at exclusive clubs, and even denied access to publicly funded swimming pools and parks. Segregated schools and colleges admitting African Americans were inadequately funded for academics and athletics. African American athletes who competed in sports did so in obscurity with little notice paid to their achievements. Overcoming numerous socioeconomic barriers and prejudicial treatment in a nation sharply divided by race, a few African Americans excelled to become All-Americans in college sports and Olympians in the first half of the 20th century.

In the post-World War II years, both society and sport slowly began to change. A government drafting African American men to fight and potentially die could no longer ignore blatant segregation and racism. Gradual enforcement of federal laws made overt discrimination and mistreatment illegal, while resistance to civil rights legislation remained strong in the minds and actions of most Southerners and many others throughout the nation. Increased commercialization of college sports in the post-war years motivated some Caucasian coaches to recruit exceptionally talented male African Americans. These athletes often endured indignities and felt exploited when after performing well athletically they were not encouraged to achieve academically or treated as equals socially.

The 1960s and 1970s were especially tumultuous times as many African Americans resented and resisted being exploited. African American athletes began to demand fair and equitable treatment comparable to their Caucasian teammates. Some African Americans risked, and lost, their athletic grants-in-aid for speaking out against discriminatory treatment. Others focused on their sports and succeeded despite having to endure disparate treatment.

An increased number of highly skilled African American athletes chose to attend predominantly Caucasian institutions beginning in the 1980s. Their decisions were influenced by seeking exposure through the media, positioning themselves for potential professional careers, and taking advantage of better facilities and funding. This migration adversely affected athletic teams at many HBCUs that were unable to sustain previously high levels of performances in football, basketball, and track and field.

While teams in these three sports are fully integrated with a high representative percentage of African Americans today, this is not the case in other sports, as African Americans are infrequent members of college athletic teams such as tennis, golf, and wrestling. Whether a result of socioeconomic factors, fewer opportunities, or lack of role models, overall college sports are less fully integrated than many have claimed. Subtle discrimination

persists whenever people act based on beliefs that football, basketball, and track and field are for African Americans, while other sports are not.

This chapter describes numerous critical events occurring in the history of college sports that provided opportunities for African American athletes to excel. This discussion is limited to football, basketball, and track and field because the participation numbers of African American males and females in these sports far exceeded their participation in any other intercollegiate sports. Since college sports, until relatively recently, have been primarily for males, they will be featured, although some accomplishments of African American female athletes are highlighted.

1800S

Some African Americans advanced their status economically and socially following the Civil War, yet most remained oppressed. Despite the elimination of slavery and significant changes occurring during Reconstruction in the South, pervasive prejudice and discrimination continued to characterize the lives of most African Americans. In the South, racist attitudes, discriminatory biases, and bigotry relegated most African Americans to inferior status and segregated lives as Jim Crow laws and practices prevailed. In the North, racism persisted, too, as African Americans struggled to achieve equitable treatment and enjoy opportunities for economic advancement. Throughout the nation, many Caucasians treated African Americans as inferior psychologically, biologically, and socially. The relegation of African Americans to separate schools, segregated places to live, and subservient jobs allowed Caucasians nationally to ignore the plight of African Americans and falsely assume no one was harmed in a society divided by race.

In 1896, the United States Supreme Court *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision affirmed maintenance of the status quo of segregated educational institutions, public accommodations, transportation, and other services. This court decision reinforced the actions of Caucasians who resisted accepting African Americans as equals. Relegated to the fringes of society, the plight of African Americans disappeared from the consciousness of many Caucasians.

A few colleges in the North and Midwest admitted an occasional, and usually exceptional, African American student. Martin (1993) concluded that pioneering African American athletes had to demonstrate exceptional prowess in sports, strong academic abilities, good character, and the mental toughness required to overcome racism and discriminatory treatment. In pushing against a pervasive second-class status inflicted on them within society, African Americans sought to foster racial pride and elevate their race through education, which could unlock access to greater economic benefits.

The few African Americans allowed to enroll at institutions like Harvard University, Amherst College, and Oberlin College were exceptional. (Throughout this chapter, the current name of each institution of higher education, rather than the name at the time, is used so the reader can more easily identify the correct institution.) As beneficiaries of educational opportunities closed to most of their race, Young (1963) argued that many perceived

themselves as pioneers who carried the hopes and dreams of others with them. These young men realized their behaviors and accomplishments could open doors for other African Americans.

Even though a few African American athletes in the late 1800s excelled, they were subjected to biased and stereotypical put-downs, caricatures in the media, and social isolation on almost exclusively Caucasian campuses. African American athletes were cheered for their exploits on the gridiron, according to Davis (1995), while inevitably excluded from public accommodations like hotels and restaurants due to Jim Crow laws in the South and subjected to prejudicial practices in the North. William Lewis provided an exemplary example of one African American student and athlete admitted by two Northern institutions.

Like other African Americans, William Lewis first had to demonstrate his academic abilities to attend a predominantly Caucasian institution, which he did by studying at Virginia State University (an HBCU located in St. Petersburg, Virginia). A classmate there was William Jackson, who joined him as the first known African American teammates to play on a football team at a predominantly Caucasian campus—Amherst College. Lewis was cheered for his athletics prowess, but often excluded or disdained outside of sport. Despite suffering prejudicial treatment, Lewis engaged in extracurricular activities, including participation in the Hitchcock Society of Inquiry, a social and literary organization, and selection as its president as a senior. He delivered the class oration at graduation. Lewis, in 1891, was the first African American elected by teammates to serve as captain of an integrated football team.

After graduation in 1892, Lewis attended Harvard Law School and continued to play football for two years given the lax eligibility rules, which were tightened after the 1893 season. He was the first African American named to Walter Camp's All-American teams at the center-rush position in 1892 and 1893. He also was Harvard University's first All-American football player. Despite his football achievements, Lewis remained isolated at Harvard and endured racial indignities and repeated antagonistic treatment.

As a tribute to his outstanding knowledge of football and its strategies, Lewis served as an assistant coach at Harvard from 1894 through 1906. To reward him for his services and loyalty (he declined accepting a coaching position at Cornell University), Lewis was given an annual salary, thus making him the first African American paid coach at a predominately Caucasian institution. In 1893, Lewis helped coach the Amherst College football team, as he did in 1894 and occasionally thereafter through 1900 (Bond, 2006; Wiggins, 1991).

Some African Americans believed sports provided platforms for advancing racial equality. Through athletic accomplishments, they believed racial pride could be enhanced. Journalists, especially in the African American press, applauded exploits of African American athletes who played on predominantly Caucasian teams in colleges in the North and Midwest. It was hoped, stated the African American press, that African American athletes' achievements might soften racial prejudices and serve as vehicles for social change (Miller, 1995).

Moses Walker, who played baseball for Oberlin College and the University of Michigan from 1881–1883, may have been the first African American to compete in athletics at a predominantly Caucasian institution at Oberlin. In the 1890s, Francis Gregory at Amherst College and Yale Divinity School, Frank Armstrong at Cornell College in Iowa, and Eugene

Gregory at Harvard University played on their colleges' baseball teams. Track and field athletes at predominantly Caucasian institutions in the 1890s included Napoleon Marshall at Harvard University, Spencer Dickerson at the University of Chicago, and G. C. H. Burleigh at the University of Illinois. The popularity of football in the 1890s probably enabled a few exceptional African Americans to have opportunities to play this sport on predominantly Caucasian campuses—Howard Lee at Harvard University, William Arthur at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Alton Washington at Northwestern University, William Washington at Oberlin College, Edward Harvey at the University of Kansas, George Jewett at the University of Michigan, George Flippin at the University of Nebraska, and George Caldwell at Williams College (Ashe, 1988; Kish, 1998; Young, 1963). An interesting and persistent trend, later called stacking, emerged with about half of these African Americans playing the halfback position.

HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCUS)

In HBCUs, mostly located in the South, African Americans engaged in segregated athletic competitions despite limited resources. According to Captain (1991), Tuskegee University (Tuskegee, Alabama), Talladega College (Talladega, Alabama), Wilberforce University (Wilberforce, Ohio), Morehouse College (Atlanta, Georgia), and Hampton University (Hampton, Virginia) emphasized athletics soon after their establishment. Morehouse College first played Atlanta University (now Clark Atlanta in Atlanta, Georgia) in baseball in 1890. In 1896, these two teams, Morris Brown College (Atlanta, Georgia), and Clark University (now Clark Atlanta in Atlanta, Georgia) formed a baseball league. In 1893, Tuskegee University held the first African American college track meet (Ashe, 1988).

In 1892, Johnson C. Smith University (Charlotte, North Carolina) played Livingstone College (in Salisbury, North Carolina) in the first recorded African American college football game (Miller, 1995). In 1894, Howard University (Washington, D.C.) and Lincoln University (Chester County, Pennsylvania) began their football rivalry, while Tuskegee University and Morehouse College established football teams in 1897. Teams representing Morgan State University (in Baltimore, Maryland), Virginia Union University (in Richmond, Virginia), Wiley College (in Marshall, Texas), Wilberforce University, Talladega College, South Carolina State University (in Orangeburg, South Carolina), and Chaffin University (Orangeburg, South Carolina) began competing in football, too. Miller (1995) reported how most of the teams struggled because their institutions and athletics were poorly funded. Ashe (1988) noted these teams were coached by men such as Howard University's Charles Cook, who had played football at Cornell University, and Tuskegee University's Charles Winterwood, who had played football at Beloit College.

Athletics gave African American males opportunities to demonstrate their manhood, often denied them in a discriminatory society. African American male athletes could be aggressive and strong, rather than having to be passive and deferential toward Caucasians,

according to Miller (1995). On many campuses, sports, and particularly football, became popular and helped generate campus spirit and racial pride.

1900–1945

Throughout the early decades of the 20th century, the United States remained a segregated society. With few notable exceptions, African Americans formed teams and competed against themselves. In 1912, the Colored College Athletic Association (today the Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association) was formed, followed by the Southern College Athletic Association, South-Atlantic College Athletic Association, and Southwestern Athletic Conference during the next two decades (Miller, 1995). These segregated athletic organizations sought to standardize rules and facilitate fair competitions since few, if any, eligibility rules governed competitions. For example, some players competed for several institutions and while enrolled in preparatory, college, and professional school courses (Ashe, 1988).

Coaches and players in football, basketball, and track and field at HBCUs violated rules governing intercollegiate athletics in similar ways to what was happening in predominantly Caucasian institutions in the 1920s and 1930s. They engaged in rule-breaking recruiting practices, violated eligibility standards, and subsidized the best athletes. Sportsmanship of many athletes and teams was questioned. Miller (1995) suggested winning in HBCUs had become more important than protecting the welfare of athletes or ensuring athletes' education. Some administrators in HBCUs and national leaders like W. E. B. Du Bois sought to deemphasize athletics and promote stronger academic programs. For example, in 1927, Mordecai Johnson, who was the first African American president of Howard University, eliminated athletic grants-in-aid, the training table for athletes, and other types of compensation for athletes (Miller 1995). Mostly any reduced financial support for athletics was resisted by those who thought sport would cultivate racial pride.

Track and field became a popular sport for African Americans, possibly because it was relatively inexpensive. Henry (Binga) Dismond was a successful quarter-miler at Howard University before competing for the University of Chicago in the early 1900s (Ashe, 1988). Matthew Bullock organized the first African American track meet in the Southeast in 1907 while employed at Morehouse College (Ashe, 1988). Because of their prowess, African Americans were allowed to compete against Caucasian athletes in the Penn Relays, sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania, beginning in the 1920s (Miller 1995). Cleveland Abbott organized the first Tuskegee Relays in 1927.

Competitions between athletes attending HBCUs were conducted in relative obscurity except for limited publicity in the African American press. Few Caucasians realized the wealth of talent exhibited by African American athletes in football, track and field, and basketball. Another reality was most HBCUs lacked the financial resources for elaborate facilities, large coaching staffs, and the best equipment and uniforms (Martin, 1993). By the end of World War II, most African American athletes remained marginally visible in HBCUs, with only a few allowed to play sports on teams with Caucasians.

Withholding African American Players from Games

Even though a few African Americans were permitted to compete in athletics on predominantly Caucasian campuses, this did not mean they were treated fairly. Coaches in institutions in the South maintained exclusionary practices by allowing their teams to play against segregated teams only from and in the South. Before World War II, according to Davis (1995), whenever teams representing institutions from the North or Midwest played teams from the South (which occurred infrequently), Southern coaches demanded teams from the North or Midwest leave their African American players at home or not play them in deference to prejudicial attitudes and bigoted practices. Spivey (1988) argued racism was egregious when a team representing a Northern college withheld its star player, who was African American, to placate the opposing team's racism. Paul Robeson's experiences illustrated how his outstanding talents and achievements were discounted because as an African American he was perceived by many as inferior.

Paul Robeson exemplified academic and athletic excellence. He earned 12 varsity letters in four sports at Rutgers University, was valedictorian of his graduating class, earned Phi Beta Kappa honors, and distinguished himself in drama and other cultural activities. As an outstanding end on the football team from 1915–1918, he was named an All-American in football in 1918. Robeson was withheld from a 1916 game against Washington and Lee University because the team from that southern institution refused to play against an African American. This served as just one examples of how Robeson, despite his outstanding play and earning teammates' respect, had to endure racial humiliations and discriminatory treatment on and off campus (Davis, 1995; Wiggins, 1991).

Following are other examples of African American players withheld from interregional football games as their coaches acquiesced to demands of Southern segregationists and denied African American players' rights to compete. In 1935, University of Minnesota end Dwight Reed was kept out of the homecoming game because Tulane University refused to play against an African American athlete (Ashe, 1988). In 1929, coach Chuck Meehan of New York University held out star halfback Dave Myers against the University of Georgia and West Virginia Wesleyan College. In 1930, Ohio State University withheld William Bell when the football team traveled to Annapolis to play the United States Naval Academy and again in 1931 in a home game against Vanderbilt University in deference to Southern prejudices. In 1934, the University of Michigan and Georgia Institute of Technology agreed to withhold one player each in their football game so Michigan's star end, Willis Ward, would not play (Martin, 1993; Wiggins, 1991). In 1937, Wilmeth Sidat-Singh of Syracuse University was withheld from a game against the University of Maryland. In 1939, running back Lou Montgomery was withheld by Boston College from games against the University of Florida and Auburn University. That year, the Cotton Bowl Committee refused to allow Lou Montgomery to play against Clemson University in its post-season bowl game. In 1940, New York University acquiesced to demands from the University of Missouri that Leonard Bates not be allowed to play despite protests by New York University students against this discriminatory treatment (Spivey, 1983).

Withholding African Americans from competitions also occurred in track and field and basketball. For example, in 1941, New York University withheld three African American athletes from a track meet against Catholic University. In 1945, coach Clair Bee withheld two African American basketball players on his Long Island University team when it played the University of Tennessee (Martin, 1993). Journalists in Caucasian newspapers seldom mentioned these racist slights in deference to Southern segregationist attitudes. African American journalists gave this practice of withholding African American players from competitions extensive coverage as they lashed out against denial of African American athletes' rights.

In retrospect, it is deplorable that Southern bigotry and prejudice were so deep-seated that institutions and their coaches refused to allow competitions against African American athletes. It is equally unthinkable that opposing institutions and coaches acquiesced to demands thereby denying competitive opportunities to African American athletes. In sport, where fairness and other values are purported to be taught and practiced, the withholding of African Americans from games during this era of time remains a woeful blemish on those who allowed deleterious traditions to persist.

Other Discriminatory Practices

Besides being denied opportunities to play, African American athletes dealt with other discriminatory treatment. Spivey (1983) argued persuasively that Grantland Rice, who began making All-American football selections after Walter Camp's death, discriminated against African Americans. Rice's selections over the next two decades included only six African Americans: Brice Taylor, University of Southern California offensive guard in 1925; Dwight Reed, University of Minnesota end in 1935–1937; Jerome Holland, Cornell University end in 1937–1938; Julius Franks, University of Michigan guard in 1942; Bill Willis, Ohio State University tackle in 1944, and Buddy Young, University of Illinois halfback in 1944. Kenny Washington of the University of California, Los Angeles, who was the leading rusher in the nation in 1939, was not selected as an All-American by Rice. (Washington was selected as an All-American by another entity.)

Another illustration of discrimination was the "gentleman's agreement" among coaches in several conferences, such as the Missouri Valley Conference. Because of this unwritten policy, the University of Nebraska withdrew from this conference, refusing to withhold an African American player on its team from a football game against the University of Kansas (Wiggins, 1991). Princeton University, possibly due to that institution's strong tradition of attracting sons of Southern elite families, excluded African American students long after other institutions broke the color barrier. Not until 1944 did Arthur Wilson become the first African American to play basketball at Princeton University (Wiggins, 1991).

African American players, despite their athletic prowess, endured racist indignities on their campuses, including receiving harsh and bigoted treatment from coaches and teammates. While playing games at home and away, African American players often were subjected to verbal and physical abuse. Even though regularly admitted students, seldom were African Americans permitted to live on campus. They almost always were excluded from

social activities, such as dances. African American athletes, sometimes the only minorities on campus, were subjected to racial slurs from other students and lived an isolated existence. Some African American athletes in the 1920s and 1930s, who were recruited for outstanding athletic skills, according to Davis (1995), lacked college-preparatory schooling. As victims of academic neglect, many were kept eligible to compete, rather than helped to earn degrees.

Some African Americans were victims of brutality from racist opponents. For example, in 1923, Jack Trice, playing in his first game for Iowa State University, suffered a broken collarbone after being ferociously hit again and again by University of Minnesota players. Trice, who continued to play despite vicious hits, eventually was carried off the field on a stretcher and died soon thereafter from internal bleeding. In 1936, the University of North Carolina played New York University, a team including an African American, Ed Williams. North Carolina players mercilessly beat up Williams, who was carried off the field unconscious and never played football again (Spivey, 1988).

Male Athletes in Track and Field

The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) controlled track and field in the early decades of the 20th century, including the Olympic Trials at which athletes qualified for the Olympic Games. While some AAU-sanctioned meets excluded African Americans, the Olympic Trials were open to all athletes. Seldom, however, did African Americans who attended HBCUs earn Olympic berths.

George Poage starred in hurdles and running events at the University of Wisconsin in 1903 (Ashe, 1988). Poage competed in the 60-meter dash and won bronze medals in 200-meter hurdles and 400-meter hurdles in the 1904 Olympic Games, thus becoming the first African American representing the United States to win a medal in the Olympic Games. John Taylor attended the University of Pennsylvania in 1904, 1907, and 1908 and excelled in the 440-yard dash, winning the Intercollegiate Amateur Athletic Association of America's titles in this event all three years (Wiggins, 2004). John Taylor won the first gold medal by an African American at the 1908 Olympic Games with the 4x400-meter relay team. Sol Butler excelled in track and field, football, and basketball from 1915 to 1918 at Duquesne University and competed in the 1920 Olympic Games in the broad jump, one of three African Americans on the United States' team. Although favored to win, he pulled a tendon and finished seventh (Wiggins, 2004).

African American track and field athletes achieved high levels of performance in intercollegiate competitions and the Olympic Games. Ted Cable, representing Harvard University, was the intercollegiate champion in the hammer throw in 1912 and 1913. Ned Gourdin, also a Harvard University student, won a silver medal in the long jump in the 1924 Olympic Games. The University of Michigan featured two stars in track and field, William Hubbard and Eddie Tolan. William Hubbard captured National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) long jump titles in 1923 and 1925, plus the 100-meter title in 1925. He won a gold medal in the long jump in the 1924 Olympic Games. Eddie Tolan won the NCAA

220-yard title in 1931. He captured gold medals in the 100-meters and 200-meters in the 1932 Olympic Games (USA Track & Field, 2009).

While attending the University of Iowa, Ed Gordon Jr. won three NCAA titles in the long jump; he also won a long jump gold medal in the 1932 Olympic Games. Ralph Metcalfe of Marquette University won three consecutive NCAA 100-meter titles and 200-meter titles in 1932–1934. He also won a silver medal in the 100-meters and bronze medal in the 200-meters in the 1932 Olympic Games and a gold medal in the 4x100-meter relay and silver medal in the 100-meters in the 1936 Olympic Games. Archie Williams won the NCAA 400-meters title in 1936 representing the University of California, Berkeley and won the same event in the 1936 Olympic Games. Fritz Pollard Jr., who attended the University of North Dakota, won a bronze medal in the 110-meter hurdles in the 1936 Olympic Games. David Albritton won an Olympic high jump silver medal in 1936 and also won three NCAA high jump titles in 1936–1938 while a student at Ohio State University (USA Track & Field, 2009). Norwood Ewell won consecutive NCAA 100-meter and 200-meter titles in 1940 and 1941 competing for Pennsylvania State University. The star of the 1936 Olympic Games, however, was Jesse Owens.

Jesse Owens attended segregated East Technical High School in Cleveland, obtaining a trades-based vocational education. Ill-prepared to succeed academically at Ohio State University in the 1930s, he was kept eligible for competing on the track and field team by taking courses not leading to a degree. Because of achievements as a track and field athlete while in high school, an Ohio State booster arranged for Owens to get a job as a freight elevator operator in a state government office complex. He was barred from living on campus, one of many racial slights he experienced while in Columbus. Because of outstanding abilities, he ran special exhibitions as a freshman when he could not compete on the varsity team. He starred as a sophomore in May of 1935 at the Big Ten Conference Championships by setting three world records and tying another one, an accomplishment many track experts consider the greatest performance in collegiate track and field history. Not wanting to lose the top draw in its meets when the AAU learned that Owens had been paid for working while he was competing, he received minor sanctions. The AAU removed his name from consideration for the 1935 Sullivan Award, which annually honors the outstanding amateur athlete in the United States (Dyreson, 2006).

Owens, along with nine other African American males and two African American females, competed on the track and field team in the 1936 Olympic Games. Owens won gold medals in the 100-meters, 200-meters, 4x100-meter relay, and long jump. While Owens returned home a national hero for thwarting Adolf Hitler's boast of Aryan supremacy, he never capitalized financially from his celebrity status. One reason was that he was not permitted by the AAU to receive payments for running and maintain his amateur status. Another reason was as an African American, many economic opportunities excluded him due to his race. Despite experiencing discriminatory treatment throughout his life, Owens refused to allow this to defeat him. Dyreson (2006) concluded Owens conformed to societal expectations in a segregated society and persisted to serve as an exemplar of how an African American could overcome bigotry and prejudicial treatment to live successfully.

Female Athletes in Track and Field

Some female students attending some HBCUs beginning in the 1920s participated on basketball and track teams. For example, Cleveland Abbott added female events to the Tuskegee Relays in 1929 and established a women's track and field team at Tuskegee University. Between 1936 and 1955, the women's track and field teams he coached won 14 AAU national outdoor titles, including eight consecutively. There were no national intercollegiate championships available to female athletes at this time.

In 1943, Tennessee State University (located in Nashville, Tennessee) hired Jessie Abbott, Cleveland Abbott's daughter and a recent Tuskegee University graduate, to coach its new women's track and field team. When Ed Temple began coaching Tennessee State's women's track and field team in 1950, he began year-round training, offered summer institutes for Tennessee State and high school students, recruited promising athletes, secured funds for traveling to AAU meets, and got work-study jobs for team members since there were no athletic grants-in-aid. Temple insisted female track and field athletes at Tennessee State behave in acceptable ways relative to dress, manners, relationships, and public behaviors (i.e., they had to act feminine). These were quite different expectations from the experiences of many African American women from rural, urban, or working-class backgrounds. Female track and field athletes, however, had to follow these paternalistic rules if they wanted to compete (Gissendanner, 1996).

Analysis of this Time Period

Football was the most popular sport on college campuses prior to the beginning of the 20th century and through the years of World War II, although most institutions also sponsored track and field and basketball teams. These three sports attracted the few African American students permitted to join teams on predominantly Caucasian campuses. Based on an analysis of information available in writings of Ashe (1988), Wiggins (2004), and Young (1963), no institution had more than seven African Americans on any athletic team during these 46 years. Only twice did an institution have three African Americans on the same team. This occurred at the University of Pennsylvania in track and field during 1919–1921 with Lloyd Granger, Ed Jones, and Dewey Rogers and University of California, Los Angeles in football in 1938 and 1939 when Ray Bartlett, Kenny Washington, and Woody Strode starred. The norm was a single African American on any team. This athlete was inevitably a star player, as seldom did an African American sit on the bench. In reviewing the institutions, sports, and decades of African American athletes who competed for predominantly Caucasian institutions during these years, a few other noteworthy trends emerged.

Private and public institutions were equally likely to allow an outstanding African American athlete to integrate one of its teams, although private institutions led the way in the first two decades. For example, Fritz Pollard excelled athletically as a halfback at Brown University and earned All-American recognition in 1916. Public institutions were more likely to accept an African American athlete in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s than earlier. For example, the large, public institutions in the Big Ten Conference lagged behind in

integrating teams. While the University of Minnesota allowed Bob Marshall to play end on its football team in 1903–1906, it was more likely because of his outstanding athletic prowess than an enlightened acceptance of African Americans as equals. Marshall was named an All-American in 1905 and 1906; he also competed on the baseball, track and field, boxing, and ice hockey teams. The University of Minnesota did not have another African American on its football team until the 1930s, when it boasted three-time All-American end Dwight Reed in 1935–1937. Fred (Duke) Slater at the University of Iowa became the second African American in the Big Ten Conference to earn All-American recognition in 1921. Slater was only the second African American football player to play at Iowa. Although Ohio State University did not have its first African American football player until 1940, it had its first All-American in football in 1944 when tackle Bill Willis earned this recognition. At the University of Michigan, Julius Franks was named an All-American guard in 1942, while Willis Ward was a star at end. Halfback Buddy Young of the University of Illinois was the other All-American in the Big Ten Conference during this time, an honor he received in 1944 and 1947.

From 1900 through 1945, most African American athletes in predominantly Caucasian institutions played football, at a rate approximately the same as track and field, basketball, and baseball combined. More African Americans played on athletic teams in predominantly Caucasian institutions in the 1920s, as might have been predicted given the increased popularity of football. About as many African Americans played in this decade as the two decades preceding it. This number dropped somewhat in the 1930s, possibly due to the economic issues in the United States, and then began to increase.

1946–1965

Persistent Discrimination

Even though African Americans were relegated to second-class status and discriminated against economically and socially, over one million were drafted into the military during World War II to fight for freedoms most did not enjoy at home. At the same time, the United States continued to segregate African Americans into institutions of higher education or exclude socially the few admitted into predominantly Caucasian institutions. For example, while no Jim Crow laws existed in Kansas, the University of Kansas minimized interactions between Caucasians and African Americans by relegating African American students to the back of classrooms and excluding them from most extracurricular activities. Although John McLendon learned the game of basketball from the inventor, James Naismith, he was not allowed to play basketball at the University of Kansas. Later, McLendon excelled as a coach.

John McLendon coached North Carolina Central University (located in Durham, North Carolina) to eight Colored College Athletic Association titles between 1940 and 1952. During a time when interracial athletic competition was illegal in many Southern states, in a clandestine game in 1944 his team defeated an all-Caucasian Duke University Medical School team. McLendon was the first coach to win three consecutive National Association of Intercollegiate

Athletics (NAIA) titles at Tennessee State University in 1957–1959. While his teams competed in these annual national tournaments, they helped integrate hotels and restaurants in Kansas City, Missouri.

McClendon helped popularize basketball and opened doors for African Americans as a trailblazing coach. As an African American basketball coach, he achieved numerous noteworthy firsts: of a professional team with the Cleveland Pipers in the American Basketball League in 1961; of a United States All-Star team overseas in 1961; at a predominately White institution, Cleveland State University, beginning in 1966; on the staff of the men's basketball team in the 1968 Olympic Games; and of the Denver Rockets in the American Basketball Association in 1969. Even though the teams he coached at all competitive levels won 744 games, when he was inducted into the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame in 1979, it was as a contributor, not as coach (Katz, 2007). His coaching achievements were honored by induction into the National Collegiate Basketball Hall of Fame with the inaugural class in 2006.

Segregation continued years after the United States Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 required equal educational opportunity. Almost all higher education institutions in the South refused to immediately comply with this federal mandate and persisted in refusing to allow Caucasian athletes to play against African Americans. For example, in 1946, the University of Tennessee's men's basketball team refused to play Duquesne University because Chuck Cooper, who was the team's leading scorer, was an African American. Instead, Tennessee forfeited the game (Martin, 1993). In 1956, Mississippi State University withdrew from the championship game of a basketball tournament in Indiana rather than play against the University of Denver's integrated team. In 1957, Jackson State University (an HBCU in Jackson, Mississippi) was forced to withdraw from the NCAA small college basketball tournament because it might have competed against all-White or mixed teams. The University of Alabama in 1956, Mississippi State University in 1959 and 1961, and Auburn University in 1960 refused to compete in the NCAA men's basketball tournament even though they qualified by winning the Southeastern Conference championship those years (Martin, 1993). In 1961, the University of Mississippi, which was ranked #2, would not allow its team to play Michigan State University, which was ranked #1, in a post-season football bowl game because the Michigan State team included African American athletes (Paul, McGhee, & Fant, 1984).

In 1946, the Big Six (today's Big XII) Conference authorized its member institutions to allow opposing teams to ban African American players, even though an unwritten "gentleman's agreement" allowing this existed previously. In 1947, university student leaders at the University of Colorado, Iowa State University, University of Kansas, Kansas State University, and University of Nebraska actively worked to change the Big Six Conference's policy permitting the home team to determine if an African American on the visiting team could play. The conference dropped this policy in 1950 (Martin, 1993).

Integrated teams did not prevent racial stereotyping and discrimination. Some integration of football, basketball, and track and field teams, given their visibility, may have obscured or masked continued racism in intercollegiate athletics. Davis (1995) posited that racism was overt prior to World War II and more covert thereafter. While often ignoring

achievements of African American athletes, violence toward them persisted. For example, Johnny Bright playing for Drake University as a single-wing halfback led the nation in total offense in 1949 and 1950 but was not named an All-American either year. Already leading the nation in offense for the third consecutive year in 1951, he was victimized by the most egregious example of unsportsmanlike racism in a game against Oklahoma State University. Wilbanks Smith viciously hit Bright in the face with his fist (helmets included no face masks) breaking Bright's jaw, even though neither player was directly involved with a play. The photo sequence of the attack captured on film shocked viewers by its brutality and left little doubt racial hatred triggered the attack. Since Bright, who was drafted by the Philadelphia Eagles, held serious reservations about competing with and against players from the segregated South, he opted for the Canadian Football League and retired as the league's all-time leading rusher.

By the mid-1950s, many institutions in the North included a token level of integration, which caused problems for rigidly segregated institutions in the South because there was less acquiescence to their refusals to allow competitions against African Americans. In a change from the past, now most institutions outside the South refused to withhold African Americans when playing home games and were reluctant to withhold them when playing games in the South. Still, some African American and Caucasian athletes suffered when denied opportunities to play. For example, in 1955 Georgia's governor banned Georgia Institute of Technology from playing in the Sugar Bowl against the University of Pittsburgh because of Bobby Grier, an African American player. In 1969, the University of Washington withheld all of its 13 African American players in a game against the University of California, Los Angeles (Martin, 1993).

Jim Crow practices in segregated southern institutions, incompatible with moral principles and federal laws, remained glaring and flagrant. In sport, where values like hard work, self-sacrifice, and teamwork were claimed to be taught and respected, coaches and institutions failed the test for justice and fairness because of racial prejudice and closing the field of play to African Americans (Spivey, 1988).

Even when many teams were integrated, African American athletes were subjected to stacking and quotas. Stacking describes the practice of assigning African Americans to certain positions, such as running back or defensive back in football or center in basketball, so they competed against each other for only a limited number, or quota, of starting or playing positions. African Americans were seldom allowed to play the so-called thinking positions of quarterback or linebacker in football or guard in basketball because prejudicial attitudes judged them incapable of performing well in these cerebral and leadership positions.

African Americans almost never were hired as head coaches, and, for many years, they also were not hired as assistant coaches in football, basketball, and track and field, yet other examples of discriminatory treatment. While John McClendon in basketball and Ed Temple in track and field excelled as coaches, inevitably most African Americans were restricted to coaching at HBCUs. Similarly, when public schools were eventually integrated, there was a

concomitant loss of jobs by African American coaches and a resultant loss of coaching role models for African American athletes.

Two effects of World War II on college sports were free substitution in football due to the shortage of players and increased recruiting of African American athletes, which Spivey (1983) described as an untapped talent pool. As intercollegiate athletics became more commercialized after World War II, Caucasian coaches crossed the color line in sports to recruit African Americans. While the 1950s did not become a decade when racism was overcome nationally, some coaches began tapping the talent pool of African American athletes to help their teams win games. That is one reason why segregation in college sports gradually began to end in the post-World War II years, as institutions wanted highly skilled African American athletes to help them win games (Davis, 1995). Martin (1993) suggested the recruitment of African Americans marked a turning point in race relations in the South.

Breakthroughs in Basketball

Change was coming as illustrated by several firsts or critical events leading to more equitable treatment of African Americans. For example, in 1946 when Chuck Cooper played for Duquesne University against Morehead State University in Louisville, Kentucky, this was the first time an African American basketball player played against an all-Caucasian team from the South. In 1948, the National Association of College Basketball (precursor to the NAIA) eliminated its ban on African American players in its post-season basketball tournament in Kansas City. In 1951, the University of Kentucky basketball team played a home game in Lexington against a St. John's University team with an African American player (Martin, 1993).

Still, basketball coaches in the Big Ten Conference adhered staunchly to a "gentleman's agreement" to not recruit African Americans, even though African Americans had occasionally played football on teams in this conference as early as the first decade of the 20th century. Even though Dick Culberson played basketball sparingly at the University of Iowa during the 1944–1945 season, this was an exception and more related to the lack of availability of other players. Bill Garrett was the pioneer who broke through this prejudice and forever opened the door for African American basketball players in the Big Ten and other conferences.

Bill Garrett, who had attended a segregated elementary school, starred for his integrated high school team, leading it to the Indiana State High School Championship in 1947. He was named "Mr. Basketball," recognizing him as the best high school player in the state of Indiana. Garrett, like Johnny Wilson who preceded him in earning this honor, was not recruited by coach Branch McCracken to Indiana University. Through the efforts of several individuals, Garrett was allowed to walk-on with the freshman team. His outstanding play earned him a varsity starting position the next three years.

Throughout his collegiate career, as he had experienced in high school, Garrett was subjected to racial taunts, refused service in restaurants and hotels, and relegated to second-class status on and off campus. As a consummate sportsman and gentleman, Garrett let his outstanding performances on the court prove his worth as he earned the

respect of his coach, teammates, opponents, and fans. The leading scorer and rebounder for Indiana as a senior in 1950–1951, Garrett was named an All-American (Graham & Cody, 2006).

While other institutions in the Big Ten Conference and nationally began to give African American athletes opportunities, in the former Confederate states in the South, laws and segregationist attitudes continued to prevail. To prevent racial mixing, men's basketball players in the South often were denied the right to compete in the NCAA men's basketball championship to prevent them from being matched against a team with African American players. In 1963, Mississippi State University's men's basketball team won the Southeastern Conference title to earn a berth in the NCAA tournament. Despite the governor's efforts and a judge's ruling barring them from leaving the state, the team played in the tournament after the state supreme court dissolved the judge's ruling (Martin, 1993).

While public institutions in the South continued to maintain segregated teams in the 1950s and 1960s, coaches at independent and small colleges opportunistically integrated their teams to help win games and advance institutional reputations. In 1956, Charles Brown and Cecil Brown became the first African Americans to play basketball for the University of Texas at El Paso. In 1957, St. Mary's University in San Antonio recruited African American basketball player Maurice Harris. At the University of North Texas, football was integrated in 1958 and basketball in 1960. The University of Texas-Pan American began recruiting African Americans in 1959. In 1963, the University of Texas-Pan American men's basketball team won the NAIA championship led by African American Lucius Jackson (Martin, 1993).

The point-shaving scandals of the 1950s and 1960s involved several African Americans, even though most teams only included few per team. On the teams implicated in the scandals, Fitzpatrick (1999) reported that 74% of the African American athletes were involved, while only 11% of the Caucasians were. Two factors may have contributed to these skewed numbers. First, most of these African Americans were the leading players on their teams, and potentially the most likely targets for the gamblers when seeking players to shave points. Second, if the African American athletes were from low socioeconomic backgrounds, they may have been lured by the attraction of payments from the gamblers. An innocent victim of the point shaving scandals and persistent racism was Connie Hawkins, a high school and playground basketball legend in New York City.

Connie Hawkins was recruited to the University of Iowa in 1960 by coaches promising him money, an active social life, preferential treatment, and an education. Hawkins was promised he would be taken care of if he would help the basketball team win games. Ill-prepared for college-level work, Hawkins was placed on academic probation at the end of his first semester. Since Iowa had few African American students, he lacked individuals to date or others like him with whom to socialize. In May of 1961, he was falsely accused of acting as an intermediary for New York City gamblers in fixing college basketball games. Hawkins was pressured by individuals in the University of Iowa athletic department to not return and recant statements about being paid to play basketball at Iowa. Wiggins (1991) concluded Hawkins was coerced into lying to the NCAA so the University of Iowa could escape being sanctioned.

Although he was falsely accused of being an intermediary for gamblers in the point shaving scandals, Hawkins lost his collegiate eligibility.

Female Athletes in Track and Field

Since most competitive opportunities were closed to them, African American females enjoyed few opportunities to challenge themselves and excel in sports. African Americans were allowed to compete in the AAU National Championships. In the 1948 Olympic Games, four female athletes from Tuskegee University and two from Tennessee State University represented the United States in track and field. The four included Alice Coachman in the high jump, Mabel Walker in the 100-meters, Nell Jackson in the 200-meters, and Theresa Manuel in the hurdles and javelin. The two were Audrey Patterson, who won a bronze medal in the 200-meters, and Emma Reed, who competed in the long jump and high jump.

Two outstanding female athletes overcame economic barriers and racial discrimination to achieve at the highest levels athletically. Alice Coachman and Wilma Rudolph provided remarkable examples of how, if given opportunities and treated more equitably, African American female athletes could excel.

Despite growing up in the segregated South, Alice Coachman took advantage of attending Tuskegee University, where she ran on the national champion 4x100-meter relay teams in 1941 and 1942, won the 50-yard dash in 1943, and played basketball. She won 10 consecutive Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) high jump titles in 1939–1948. In 1945 and 1946, she also captured AAU national titles in the 50-meter dash, 100-meter dash, and high jump. Overall, she won 26 individual national championships and 10 team titles. Of the twelve-member United States women's track and field team in the 1948 Olympic Games, nine were African Americans. She qualified for the 50-meter dash in London but chose to focus on winning the high jump. Coachman was the first African American woman and only American woman to win an Olympic gold medal in the 1948 Olympic Games. Coachman became one of the first African American sport celebrities to endorse Coca-Cola (Gissendanner, 1996; Lansbury, 2006).

In the 1960 Olympic Games, Wilma Rudolph won gold medals in the 100-meters, 200-meters, and 4x100-meter relay. She was a highly publicized star not only because she won three gold medals, but also because of her physically striking beauty and life story of overcoming childhood scarlet fever, double pneumonia, and polio. After attending a summer camp run by Ed Temple at Tennessee State University, at the age of 16 Rudolph qualified for the 200-meters and as a member of the 4x100-meter relay in the 1956 Olympic Games. Wilma Rudolph, Mae Faggs, Margaret Mathews, and Isabelle Daniels, all Tennessee State athletes, won a bronze medal in the 4x100-meter relay. In 1959 while a freshman at Tennessee State, Rudolph won three national sprint titles (Wilson, 2006).

Analysis of this Time Period

African American athletes who earned All-American recognition in NCAA football or basketball, or who won track and field championships and gold medals in the Olympic Games between 1946 and 1965, were analyzed to determine trends or significant changes from earlier decades. Of the All-American football players, slightly over half played in the

backfield as halfback or fullback; none played quarterback. In 1946–1950, there were no African Americans named to All-American teams. In 1951–1959, there were no more than two African Americans named All-Americans in any year and in two years there were none. Beginning in 1960 through 1965, there were three or four African Americans honored as All-Americans. Between 1935 and 1960, no African American won the Heisman Trophy, annually awarded to the outstanding college football player. The first African American to win the Heisman Trophy was Syracuse University's Ernie Davis in 1961; Mike Garrett, who played for the University of California, Los Angeles, won this award in 1965. Both were running backs. A critical event occurred in 1958, when University of Oklahoma football coach Bud Wilkinson signed Prentiss Gault, the first African American football player at a major predominantly Caucasian institution in the South (Martin, 1993).

The first African American basketball player to be named an All-American was Don Barksdale of the University of California, Los Angeles in 1947. With the exceptions of 1946, 1952, and 1962, at least one African American basketball player was named an All-American between 1946 and 1965. In 1958 for the first time, the Associated Press named five African Americans to its All-American basketball team: Don Hennon of the University of Pittsburgh, Oscar Robertson of the University of Cincinnati, Guy Rodgers of Temple University, Elgin Baylor of Seattle University, and Wilt Chamberlain of the University of Kansas. In 1960 and 1964, four African American players were selected as All-Americans. Bill Russell of the University of San Francisco in 1956, Oscar Robertson of the University of Cincinnati in 1958–1960, and Walt Hazzard of the University of California, Los Angeles in 1964 also were recognized as Players of the Year.

An African American first played on a United States Olympic basketball team when Don Barksdale helped the 1948 team win a gold medal. None played for the United States' team in 1952. Bill Russell and K.C. Jones, teammates at the University of San Francisco, played on the gold-medal-winning team in 1956. In 1960, Walt Bellamy (Indiana University), Bob Boozer (Kansas State University), and Oscar Robertson (University of Cincinnati) helped the United States win the gold medal in basketball. In 1964, Walt Hazzard (University of California, Los Angeles) was joined by African Americans Jim Barnes (University of Texas at El Paso), Joe Caldwell (Arizona State University), Lucius Jackson (University of Texas-Pan American), and George Wilson (University of Cincinnati) on the gold-medal-winning team in 1964. The increasing recognition of the outstanding performances of African American players reflected a dramatic transition in Olympians in men's basketball.

Fifteen African American track and field athletes won Olympic medals between 1948 and 1964, excelling in the sprints, hurdles, high and long jumps, and decathlon. Gold medalists in 1948 included Harrison Dillard of Baldwin-Wallace University in the 100-meters, Norwell Ewell of Pennsylvania State University and Harrison Dillard in the 4x100-meter relay, and Mal Whitfield of Ohio State University in the 800-meters and 4x400-meter relay. In 1952, African American gold medalists included Harrison Dillard in the 110-meter hurdles and 4x100-meter relay, a repeat for Mal Whitfield in the 800-meters, and Andy Stanfield of Seton Hall University in the 200-meters and 4x100-meter relay. Gold medalists in

1956 included Milt Campbell of Indiana University in the decathlon, Charles Dumas of the University of Southern California in the high jump, Charlie Jenkins of Villanova University in the 400-meters and 4x400-meter relay, Greg Bell of Indiana University in the long jump, and Lee Calhoun of North Carolina Central University in the 110-meter hurdles. In 1960, African American gold medalists included Lee Calhoun again in the 110-meter hurdles, Ralph Boston of Tennessee State University in the long jump, Otis Davis of the University of Oregon in the 400-meters and 4x400-meter relay, and Rafer Johnson of the University of California, Los Angeles in the decathlon. In 1960, Rafer Johnson became the first African American athlete selected to carry the flag of the United States as athletes entered the stadium in the Olympic Games opening ceremonies. Gold medalists in 1964 included Hayes Jones of Eastern Michigan University in the 110-meter hurdles, Henry Carr of Arizona State University in the 200-meters and 4x400-meter relay, and Bob Hayes in the 100-meters and 4x100-meter relay. These African American track and field stars also won numerous NCAA and AAU titles between 1946 and 1965.

1966–1979

And the Walls Came Tumbling Down

Fitzpatrick (1999) used these words in the title of his book telling the story of the watershed event in this time period. In the NCAA men's basketball championship in 1966, the unimaginable occurred when the University of Texas at El Paso defeated the University of Kentucky by a score of 72–65. The winning team in this game, which had five African American starters (and the only substitutes who played were African Americans) defeated an all-Caucasian team. This monumental event influenced numerous African American athletes to believe they could compete equally with Caucasians in basketball, including at traditional all-Caucasian institutions.

This game drew attention to the resistance of most Caucasian coaches to giving African American basketball players a chance to play on their teams. While in the late 1940s coach Adolph Rupp and his University of Kentucky team played integrated teams, he had never recruited an African American to play on his teams. The discriminatory actions of Rupp and others to discount African Americans' athletic prowess forever were exposed when his Caucasian players were defeated. By way of contrast, when coach Don Haskins went to the University of Texas at El Paso in 1961, he knew he had to recruit African Americans to have a chance to be competitive nationally.

Former NCAA championship teams at the University of Cincinnati in 1961–1962, Loyola University of Chicago in 1963, and the University of California, Los Angeles in 1964–1965 started two to four African Americans, but no major college team had broken through the invisible barrier of starting an All-African American line-up until the 1966 NCAA championship game (Fitzpatrick, 1999). The University of San Francisco, which won NCAA championships in 1955 and 1956 led by African Americans' Bill Russell and K.C. Jones, once played five African Americans in an NCAA tournament game. But, according

to Fitzpatrick (1999), pressure from alumni prevented this from reoccurring. The quota system of limiting the number of African American basketball players on the court simultaneously persisted for another decade.

Some Caucasians disparaged African American athletes by claiming they were incapable of leading a team, such as by playing point guard. Many Caucasians adhered to a racist view that African Americans could only play a run-and-gun offense, were incapable of playing disciplined games, and were unwilling to play defense. The victory by the University of Texas at El Paso team disproved these myths. African Americans on this team walked the ball up the court and played a controlled, poised offense. Their ball-hawking defense held opponents to fewer points per game than did the Kentucky team (Fitzpatrick, 1999).

Other illustrations of persistent racism were the myths perpetuated about African Americans on the University of Texas at El Paso's team. Some sportswriters claimed that, unlike the players from Kentucky, African American players had been recruited just to play basketball, did not have the academic credentials to succeed, and never graduated. Many people wanted to believe these myths because it soothed their distressed feelings that an unknown group of African Americans won a national championship against an all-Caucasian team representing an institution with a winning tradition in basketball.

The upset of favored Kentucky in 1966 foreshadowed a dramatic change in college basketball as more African American athletes were recruited to play at predominantly Caucasian institutions. Gradually, institutions moved away from the quota system as coaches sought out African American high school stars, instead of pretending they were invisible. Even in the South, this game signaled the beginning of the end of segregation. By the following season, there were African American first-year students on teams in the Southeastern, Southwest, and Atlantic Coast Conferences, even though Kentucky's Adolph Rupp maintained his all-Caucasian team (Fitzpatrick, 1999). By 1983, Fitzpatrick reported, 42 of the 50 starters on teams in the Southeastern Conference were African Americans, and all the starters on the 1983 Final Four teams, the Universities of Houston, Louisville, Georgia, and North Carolina, were African Americans. The "gentleman's agreement" of excluding African Americans and perpetuating a quota system were ending.

A possible example of keeping African Americans from dominating basketball occurred when dunking was made illegal in the college game after the 1966–1967 season, maybe in response to the University of Texas at El Paso's championship in 1966. Or, maybe it was because of the dominating play of Lew Alcindor (Kareem Abdul-Jabbar), University of California, Los Angeles center for the 1967 NCAA champion. Hoose (1989) argued this rule change occurred because of the association of dunking with African Americans and what was labeled as their street-ball approach to the game. He stressed this rule was enacted because African American athletes were embarrassing Caucasian players by dunking over them.

Residual racism in the 1960s discouraged the media from reporting on societal implications of the University of Texas at El Paso's championship on behalf of equal opportunity for African Americans. During a decade when African Americans throughout the nation protested, were imprisoned, and died, African Americans on that team demonstrated they

were intelligent, skillful, and capable of successfully competing with the best basketball players, regardless of race.

Athletes Fighting for Their Rights

The decade of the 1960s in the United States was a time of turmoil in the fight for civil rights. In the midst of conflict and resistance associated with overt and subtle discrimination in accommodations, restaurants, transportation, education, and job opportunities, Harry Edwards initiated the Olympic Project for Human Rights and tried to foment a boycott of the 1968 Olympic Games. He encouraged African American male athletes to boycott in protest of residual prejudice and discriminatory treatment experienced on predominantly Caucasian campuses where they competed. Maybe because colleges provided few competitive sport opportunities for female athletes at the time, Gissendanner (1996) claimed Edwards ignored female athletes in his organizing efforts.

Edwards' initiative demanded the United States Olympic Committee ban South Africa due to apartheid, asked for the resignation of Avery Brundage, President of the International Olympic Committee, and threatened an Olympic boycott if their demands were not met. Avery Brundage sent a letter to African American athletes who were Olympians threatening them with being sent home if they did not perform honorably (Moore, 1991). Another illustration of disparate treatment toward African Americans occurred when Elvin Hayes (University of Houston), Bob Lanier (St. Bonaventure University), Wes Unseld (University of Louisville), and Lucius Allen, Lew Alcindor, and Mike Warren (University of California, Los Angeles) were labeled by coach Hank Iba as bad citizens by being unavailable for playing on the men's basketball team in the 1968 Olympic Games (Ashe, 1988).

Since many African American athletes did not support the proposed 1968 Olympic boycott, it was abandoned. Tommie Smith and John Carlos chose to protest on the victory stand during the medal ceremony for the 200-meters. Smith wore a right-handed glove and Carlos wore a left-handed glove when facing the flags for the United States' national anthem. Both bowed their heads and lifted their fists to represent African American unity and power. Their stocking (unshod) feet represented poverty; Smith's black scarf and Carlos' beads represented the lynching of African Americans. Because of their visible protest against racism, Smith and Carlos were suspended from the United States' Olympic team and expelled from the Olympic village by Avery Brundage (Moore, 1991).

African American male athletes on college campuses began an athletic revolution as they directly confronted racial discrimination. For example, protests and associated racial tensions led to the cancellation of the San Jose State University football game against the University of Texas at El Paso in 1967 (Wiggins, 1991). An increase in African American athletes' social consciousness occurred at San Francisco State University, University of California, Berkeley, University of Iowa, University of Kansas, and University of Wisconsin, as they identified problems like stacking, racial stereotyping, restrictions against interracial dating, and quotas in recruiting and playing. They demanded changes (Spivey, 1983). In 1968, African American athletes accused the University of Washington football coach Jim Owens of

discriminating against them. They demanded hiring an African American assistant coach. In 1970, African American athletes at the University of Pittsburgh accused the athletic department of discriminatory treatment. In 1972, the only African American basketball player at Oregon State University accused his coach of racial discrimination (Wiggins, 1988).

Boycotts of sporting events occurred at Michigan State University, Oklahoma City University, Oregon State University, San Francisco State University, Syracuse University, and the Universities of Arizona, California, Kansas, Texas at El Paso, Washington, and Wyoming. African American male athletes protested unfairness in job opportunities for their wives and themselves, housing restrictions, prohibitions against interracial dating, disparate treatment by coaches, limited social opportunities due to the dearth of other African Americans on campus, and lack of African American assistant coaches. Many African American athletes stated they were set up to fail academically because they were recruited to perform, not to take advantage of educational opportunities to prepare themselves for better lives after sports (Spivey, 1983).

In 1967, African American athletes on the University of Texas at El Paso football team staged a sit-in in the athletic dormitory to protest the lack of African American females on campus, jobs for their wives, and racist comments to which they were subjected. Coach Bobby Dobbs kept this incident quiet by promising to address these issues, although nothing was actually done to address their complaints (Olsen, 1968). These athletes had no recourse but to follow their coach's directives or lose their athletic grants-in-aid, leave the team, and drop out of college.

Even though African American militants tried to get African American track and field athletes to boycott a competition at the New York Athletic Club in 1968 because it refused membership to African Americans, University of Texas at El Paso long-jumper Bob Beamon and quarter-miler Dave Morgan competed (Olsen, 1968). Shortly afterwards, though, eight African American track athletes from the University of Texas at El Paso, including Bob Beamon and Dave Morgan, boycotted a meet against Brigham Young University, because of that institution's affiliation with the Mormon religion, which viewed African Americans as an inferior race. Coach Wayne Vandenburg suspended these African Americans from the track and field team, and they lost their athletic grants-in-aid (Olsen, 1968). In 1969, University of Wyoming football coach Lloyd Eaton dropped 14 players when they appealed to the coach not to play against Brigham Young University to draw attention to the Mormon Church's racist policies (Wiggins, 1988).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Caucasian coaches in the North and gradually in the South viewed African American athletes as necessary for achieving national prominence and winning games. Some coaches claimed they were supportive of improving race relations through sport, while simultaneously imposing quota systems and stacking African Americans into more reactive and peripheral positions.

African Americans who were potential All-Americans were much more likely to be recruited and supported financially than were those less talented. Most Caucasian coaches

used the NCAA's term of student-athlete freely, while they demanded a unilateral dedication to practices and competitions to the detriment of learning and earning degrees. Caucasian coaches may have failed to understand the social isolation felt by most African American athletes on their teams. Also, when African American athletes completed their eligibility, seldom were they offered coaching positions (Wiggins, 1991).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

In the middle of the 20th century on HBCU campuses, athletics and social opportunities for African American athletes thrived. The national championships among African American colleges won by several football teams confirmed their excellence, as coaches built successful programs through which African American athletes displayed their talents. For example, Jake Gaither won six titles at Florida A&M University (located in Tallahassee, Florida) between 1945 and 1969; John Merritt at Jackson State University and Tennessee State University won seven titles between 1953 and 1983; and Eddie Robinson at Grambling State University (located in Grambling, Louisiana) won nine titles between 1941 and 1997. Clarence Gaines' teams at Winston-Salem State University (located in Winston-Salem, North Carolina) won 828 basketball games between 1946 and 1993. Leroy Walker in men's track and field and Ed Temple in women's track and field coached numerous collegiate and Olympic champions.

As more African American athletes, especially in basketball, football, and track and field, attended predominantly Caucasian institutions, there was a concomitant negative effect on the HBCUs' teams' ability to excel. Ashe (1988) reported these HBCUs tried to retain the status of their athletic programs by realigning conferences and weeding out weaker teams. These institutions began to specialize in a limited number of sports, enhanced their recruiting strategies, increased their coaching staffs, improved athletic facilities, and tried to maximize public relations efforts. Coaches at the HBCUs realized, however, African American football and basketball players were lured to predominately Caucasian colleges because they believed it improved chances of media exposure and playing professionally.

Breaking through Barriers

The 1960s and 1970s included a number of breakthroughs for African American athletes. In 1963, Darryl Hill became the first African American athlete to compete in football in the Atlantic Coast Conference playing for the University of Maryland. In 1964, the first basketball player (Billy Jones) was recruited to the University of Maryland, and the University of Louisville played Wade Houston, Stan Smith, and Eddie Whitehead on its basketball team. In 1964, coach Guy Lewis at the University of Houston recruited basketball players Elvin Hayes and Don Chaney (they played 1965–1968) and put the Cougars on the national map in basketball.

Two private institutions led integration of the Southwest Conference in 1965. Texas Christian University signed basketball player James Cash, and Southern Methodist University signed Jerry LeVias to a football grant-in-aid (both played in 1966). Other integrated teams in the South in 1966 included Loyola University of New Orleans, Florida State

University, and the University of Memphis; Baylor University and Miami University had integrated teams in 1967 as did Tulane University and the University of Southern Mississippi in 1969. As these examples illustrate, the recruitment of African American athletes was slow in occurring and with recruitment practices changing gradually (Martin, 1993).

The Southeastern Conference, established in 1932, was the last major college athletic conference to integrate its teams as vestiges of Southern bigotry died slowly. The year was 1967 when football players Nat Northington and Greg Page for the University of Kentucky became the first African American athletes recruited to play on teams in the Southeastern Conference. Neither of these men actually played for Kentucky, because Northington quit the team after one year, and Page suffered a career-ending neck injury (Fitzpatrick, 1999). In 1967, Perry Wallace of Vanderbilt University became the first African American to play basketball in the Southeastern Conference, while James Craig and Audrey Hardy at the University of Tennessee and Harry Sims and James Hurley at the University of Georgia were the first African Americans on their track and field teams. Paul et al. (1984) reported 41 African Americans received athletic grants-in-aid in the Southeastern Conference in 1970, with 30 at the Universities of Florida, Kentucky, and Tennessee. This was unusual since typically only one or two African Americans played on a team.

In analyzing the integration of the Southeastern Conference, Paul et al. (1984) found about 90% of the 56 pioneer African American athletes lettered; 14% were All-Americans; 20% were All-Southeastern Conference honorees; and 9% were selected as captains or co-captains in their senior years. These percentages suggested a high percentage of these African Americans were outstanding athletes. Conversely, 20% of these African American athletes dropped off teams during or after initial seasons. Possible reasons could have included having to experience racist or discriminatory treatment and deal with social isolation. As a sign of the changing face of basketball and types of African Americans recruited, by the 1979–1980 season, there were more African American basketball players on the All-Southeastern Conference teams than there were Caucasians (Paul et al., 1984).

The University of Mississippi was the last Southeastern Conference institution to integrate any of its athletic teams beginning in 1971. In 1972, the University of Georgia and University of Mississippi became the last SEC institutions to integrate their football teams, and Mississippi State University was the last Southeastern Conference institution to integrate its basketball team (Martin, 1993).

Perry Wallace of Vanderbilt University, the first African American to play basketball in the Southeastern Conference, was subjected to racial epithets and had objects hurled at him (Fitzpatrick, 1999). When the first African American basketball players competed on teams in the Atlantic Coast Conference, they, too, had to endure disparaging comments hurled at them by fans and discriminatory treatment. Charlie Scott excelled despite such mistreatment.

In 1966, Charlie Scott was the first African American to sign a grant-in-aid offer in basketball at any of the Atlantic Coast Conference institutions located in the ex-Confederate states. While the state of North Carolina had a reputation as being progressive in race relations, in reality the University of North Carolina had not led in integrating its campus or sport teams. Faced with the possibility of integrating its athletic teams, some pro-segregationist alumni expressed displeasure; state media were not supportive either. To illustrate this, Scott was often subjected to racist comments and other indignities from Caucasian fans while playing in games outside of Chapel Hill.

In 1969, despite leading his team to a 27–5 record, the ACC Championship, and the NCAA Championship semi-final game, five sportswriters failed to include Scott on ballots for conference Player of the Year. Most newspaper reporters failed to address this snub or use their stories to address the significance of Scott's breaking the color barrier or his outstanding play.

While the African American press heaped praise on Scott and took issue with abuses he and other African American athletes experienced while playing on predominantly Caucasian campuses. Caucasian sportswriters seemed to ignore the social significance of Scott's breakthrough. Scott was deeply aware of the significance of his role as a racial pioneer. Throughout his college years, he dealt with colliding pressures between winning basketball games with the best players regardless of color and retaining segregated teams in HBCUs. He endured racist prejudices and treatment while maintaining an expected public image and facilitated the acceptance of African American athletes as societal equals (Kaliss, 2008).

Persistent Discrimination

Racial turmoil persisted on many predominantly Caucasian campuses during the 1960s and 1970s. Wiggins (1988) described specific incidents at the University of California, Berkeley, Syracuse University, and Oregon State University to illustrate conflicts between coaches, athletes, and their respective perceptions of fair treatment and authority. In 1968, coach Rene Herrerias of the University of California, Berkeley dismissed the star center and only African American basketball player, Bob Presley, for missing a practice. After Presley's reinstatement two days later, the 11 Caucasian players on the team claimed the coach had been pressured to reinstate Presley. Immediately, 25 of 35 African American athletes at the university claimed Herrerias, two football coaches, and the athletic department business manager should be dismissed because of their unwillingness to relate equitably with African American athletes. Racial conflicts, especially among players on the basketball team, lasted throughout the season. Later that year, athletic director Pete Newell resigned, as did coach Herrerias.

In 1970, Syracuse University football coach Ben Schwartzwalder dismissed seven African American football players for boycotting spring practice because an African American assistant coach had not been hired. These athletes alleged African Americans were subjected to a double standard in discipline, Caucasian athletes were preferentially treated, African American athletes were not given adequate academic support, and coaches used racist language. Nothing was done to address these issues.

In February of 1969, Oregon State University football coach Dee Andros told African American Fred Milton to shave off his mustache. When he did not, the coach kicked him off the team and told him his football grant-in-aid would be honored only for the remainder of the

academic year. Andros, like most college coaches at the time, opposed long hair and facial hair and resisted challenges to coach authority. The Black Student Union at Oregon State supported Milton. Other African American athletes, if they supported Fred Milton and the position Black Student Union, risked losing playing time, their athletic grants-in-aid, and possible opportunities to play professionally. It was a quandary because athletes had learned to be obedient to coaches and respectful of their authority. Coach Andros came out of the situation unscathed and retained his popularity. In the future, athletes were allowed to wear facial hair during the off-season. The first African American assistant football coach, Gene Hilliard, was hired to join the Oregon State staff.

Continued Covert Discrimination

Davis (1995) stated that racism existed whenever Caucasians believed and acted as if they were superior to people of color. He emphasized how some Caucasians, including members of the electronic and print media, stereotypically and prejudicially attributed successes of African American athletes to innate physical skills, rather than to intelligence and hard work. The latter two attributes most often were reserved for Caucasian athletes.

Illustrations of the disparate treatment experienced by African American athletes attending predominantly Caucasian institutions included poor academic support, academic marginalization, harsh discipline, positional stacking based on speed, quickness, and jumping ability, quotas, and social segregation. Davis (1995) and others concluded that African American athletes seldom sat on the bench, because they either played or were not recruited.

Some African American athletes attending predominantly Caucasian campuses were exploited for demonstrating exceptional talents and then cast aside when they could no longer help win games. Academically they were shortchanged whenever coaches kept them eligible by getting them enrolled in courses not leading to degrees and failing to ensure they received academic support services. Many African American athletes did not earn degrees, felt isolated socially, and continued to endure racist indignities and discriminatory treatment.

Davis (1995) questioned whether African American athletes were objectified or viewed as commodities to serve the financial interests of primarily Caucasian institutions without a reciprocal commitment to athletes' educational advancement. African American athletes kept their part of the contractual agreement through performances; many institutions and athletic departments did not put the equivalent resources into helping these athletes benefit from promised educational opportunities. Davis questioned whether African American athletes lacked a supportive network to help them deal with challenges of an oftentimes hostile or racist social climate on and off campus.

A glimmer of hope that discriminatory treatment might be addressed and eliminated occurred in one conference. In 1972, the Big Ten Conference appointed an advisory committee to investigate complaints of African American athletes and associated racial disturbances on several campuses. The report, entitled "The Status of Blacks in the Big Ten Athletic Conference: Issues and Concerns," made several recommendations, which were immediately

implemented. According to Wiggins (1991), counseling programs were set up at all member institutions to help athletes make progress toward their degrees. All athletes were given a fifth year of financial aid, if needed, to complete their degrees. Educational seminars were conducted to improve communication between Caucasian coaches and African American athletes. Lists were developed of qualified African American candidates for coaching, athletic training, officiating, and administrative positions. The first African American assistant commissioner was hired in 1974. These actions foreshadowed increased sensitivity toward African American athletes as administrators and coaches began to address disparate treatment endured by pioneering African American athletes at predominantly Caucasian institutions.

Recognitions for Outstanding Performances

Since 1942, the *Sporting News* selected a college football Player of the Year. Since 1967, the Walter Camp Award has honored the outstanding college football player, as did the Maxwell Award starting in 1937. Seventeen African Americans received one or more of these Player-of-the-Year awards between 1966 and 1979, including twice each for O.J. Simpson of the University of Southern California (1967–1968) and Archie Griffin of Ohio State University (1974–1975). Between 1966 and 1979, there were almost 50 African Americans selected as All-Americans at the highest competitive level in college football. Among these outstanding athletes, seven won the Heisman Trophy: O.J. Simpson of the University of Southern California (1968), Johnny Rodgers of the University of Nebraska (1972), Archie Griffin of Ohio State University (1974–1975), Tony Dorsett of the University of Pittsburgh (1976), Earl Campbell of the University of Texas (1977), Billy Sims of the University of Oklahoma (1978), and Charles White of the University of Southern California (1979). Two items seem noteworthy about these years and players. First, a major breakthrough occurred in the decade of the 1970s as 7 out of 10 of the recipients were African Americans. Second, in what could be classified as a continuation of stacking, all of these honorees played running back.

During these 14 years, an African American male was selected as Player of the Year in basketball in all but three years. These outstanding players included Cazzie Russell of the University of Michigan (1966), Lew Alcindor of the University of California, Los Angeles (1967 and 1969), Elvin Hayes of the University of Houston (1968), Austin Carr of the University of Notre Dame (1971), David Thompson of North Carolina State University (1974–1975), Scott May of Indiana University (1976), Marques Johnson of the University of California, Los Angeles (1977) and (corecipients) Phil Ford of the University of North Carolina and Butch Lee of Marquette University (1978). Numerous African Americans earned All-American honors in basketball at traditionally Caucasian institutions during these years. Examples of these included Dave Bing of Syracuse University, Wes Unseld of the University of Louisville, Jo Jo White of the University of Kansas, Sidney Wicks of the University of California, Los Angeles, Robert McAdoo of the University of North Carolina, and Earvin Johnson of Michigan State University.

During these years, African American males were well represented on the Olympic basketball teams. In 1968, there were five on the gold-medal winning team; in 1972, there

were six; and in 1976, there were eight on the gold-medal winning team. In the first appearance of women's basketball in the Olympic Games in 1976, African Americans Lusia Harris of Delta State University and Charlotte Lewis of Illinois State University helped the team win a silver medal.

Most of the African Americans who competed in the Olympic Games also won collegiate titles in track and field while attending the institutions listed. The 1968 Olympic gold medalists in track and field included Jimmy Hines of Texas Southern University (located in Houston, Texas) in the 100-meters, Tommie Smith of San Jose State University in the 200-meters, Jimmy Hines, Melvin Pender Jr., and Charles Greene of the University of Nebraska in the 4x100-meter relay, Bob Beamon of the University of Texas at El Paso in the long jump, Lee Evans of San Jose State University in the 400-meters, Larry James of Villanova University and Vincent Matthews of Johnson C. Smith University in the 4x400-meter relay, and Willie Davenport of Southern University and A&M College (located in Baton Rouge, Louisiana) in the 110-meter hurdles. Rod Milburn of Southern University in the 110-meter hurdles, Vincent Matthews in the 200-meters, and Larry Black of North Carolina Central University in the 4x100-meter relay were the only African American males in track and field to win Olympic gold medals in 1972. Arnie Robinson of San Diego State University in the long jump, Edwin Moses of Morehouse College in the 400-meter hurdles, and Herman Frazier in the 4x400-meter relay were the only African American males to win Olympic gold medals in track and field in 1976.

There were only a small number of African American female gold medalists in track and field during this time due to limited opportunities for college women to compete in sports. Wyomia Tyus of Tennessee State University won the 100-meters in the 1964 and 1968 Olympic Games. Wyomia Tyus and Barbara Ferrell of California State University, Los Angeles in 1968 helped win a gold medal in the 4x100-meter relay, and Madeline Manning of Tennessee State University won a gold medal in the 800-meters. No African American females won gold medals in track and field in 1972 or 1976.

Since 1930, the AAU has presented the Sullivan Award to the outstanding amateur athlete in the United States who has demonstrated leadership, character, sportsmanship, and the ideals of amateurism. The first African American recipient was Mal Whitfield of Ohio State University in 1954, followed by Harrison Dillard of Baldwin-Wallace College in 1955, Rafer Johnson of the University of California, Los Angeles in 1960, and Wilma Rudolph of Tennessee State University in 1961. They all competed in track and field and won Olympic gold medals.

Analysis of this Time Period

Coinciding with the civil rights unrest and lessening in some prejudicial attitudes, African American male athletes gained greater access to top competitive levels in college football, basketball, and track and field between 1966 and 1979. The University of Texas at El Paso's momentous victory over the University of Kentucky in the NCAA Division I Men's Basketball Tournament in 1966 demonstrated undeniably that times were changing. By the end of this time period, the domination of African American males in winning Player-of-the

Year awards and Heisman Trophies in football and basketball Player-of-the-Year awards and membership on Olympic basketball teams provided evidence that skill had somewhat replaced discriminatory exclusion in these revenue-producing college sports. For cynics, however, maybe these advancements occurred because intercollegiate athletic programs at the highest competitive levels realized African American athletes were highly skilled and could make major contributions to the success of their teams.

The mid-1960s through the 1970s were volatile times in college sports. Disparate treatment and academic and financial exploitation persisted, yet African American male athletes in football, basketball, and track and field recruited to predominately Caucasian institutions protested, boycotted, and fought for their rights with varying degrees of success. Maybe it was an athletic revolution as African American male athletes clamored for more equitable treatment, such as being allowed to play any position on the field or court and receive coaching from African American assistant coaches. Gradually doors began to open so more African American males could attend as recruits and excel as athletes at predominately Caucasian institutions.

1980–1999

Academics versus Athletics

In the last two decades of the 20th century, African American athletes were not as blatantly discriminated against in housing and experienced less social isolation and racist treatment by teammates, opponents, and coaches. Covert discrimination continued to exist in sports and society. Academic exploitation remained a problem whenever African American athletes were encouraged to focus primarily on developing their athletic skills to the detriment of completing coursework and earning degrees.

Dexter Manley was raised in the 3rd Ward in Houston, Texas, by an abusive father and alcoholic mother. After second grade he was placed in a class for retarded children in the segregated schools of Houston in the 1960s. Manley found solace for his low self-esteem by excelling as a high school defensive lineman in football, although he never learned to read and write. His recruitment to Oklahoma State University, which included receiving a car from a booster, landed the Cowboys on probation. Manley stayed eligible to play football for Oklahoma State for four years (1977–1980), but he never learned to read and write, as the academic support system and coaches exploited Manley to advance their football program. Bravely, in 1989, Manley told a Congressional committee he was functionally illiterate.

Critics of the NCAA claimed its lax academic standards allowed (and at times even encouraged) athletes to focus on maintaining eligibility, rather than being serious students seeking to earn degrees. In response, the NCAA passed a regulation in 1983, with an implementation date in 1986, to base a prospective athlete's eligibility to receive an athletic grant-in-aid on having achieved a high school grade point average (GPA) of at least 2.0 in a college-preparatory core curriculum of 11 core courses and a minimum score on a standardized

admissions test. Some African Americans believed this rule, known as Proposition 48, discriminated against minorities claiming standardized tests were culturally biased.

In 1989, the NCAA adopted Proposition 42 that prevented a partial qualifier athlete (i.e., an athlete who met either a minimum GPA and standardized test score, but not both) from receiving an athletic grant-in-aid the first year in college. Assuming an athlete earned the required course grades in the first year, three years of varsity eligibility remained. A firestorm erupted when African American coaches like John Thompson of Georgetown University and John Chaney of Temple University claimed this rule discriminated against African Americans who had attended inadequately funded urban schools or been disadvantaged educationally. Due to intense opposition, Proposition 42 was rescinded in 1990, thus allowing a partial qualifier to receive an athletic grant-in-aid.

In 1992, to help boost graduation rates, NCAA Division I institutions adopted Proposition 16, which modified Proposition 48 by establishing a sliding scale allowing a higher GPA and lower standardized test score or vice versa, as long as the GPA was not lower than 2.0 and a 700 SAT or 17 ACT test score was earned. Prior to the effective date of the 1996–1997 academic year, Proposition 16 increased the number of required core courses to 13 and adjusted the minimum test scores for partial qualifiers to 600 SAT and 15 ACT.

The NCAA in 1997 voted greater autonomy to its three divisions. Division I adopted a representative governance structure, while Division II and Division III retained voting rights for each institution. This led to more frequent legislative changes dealing with academics in Division I.

Accomplishments of African American Athletes

In the two decades between 1980–1999, 15 out of 20 Heisman Trophy recipients were African Americans. Six of the eight winners in the 1980s were running backs, one was a wide receiver, and the other was the first African American quarterback to receive this award. In the 1990s, 10 of these recipients were running backs, one was a cornerback, two were wide receivers, and two were quarterbacks. An analysis of the recipients of the Heisman Trophy suggests: (1) during these two decades, the best college football player was most frequently an African American; and (2) African Americans often played positions that reinforced the prejudicial practices of stacking and quotas, namely running back, wide receiver, and cornerback, although a breakthrough occurred with two excelling as quarterbacks.

The Associated Press began selecting its Player of the Year in 1988, in addition to the continuation of annual *Sporting News*, Walter Camp, and Maxwell recognitions. Between 1980–1999, 17 African Americans were honored with Player-of-the-Year awards. With one exception (quarterback Don McPherson of Syracuse University in 1987), all of the African American recipients played running back.

Since 1966, the Associated Press has selected a male college basketball Player of the Year. Since 1969, the Naismith College Player of the Year has been named for males and since 1983 for females. The Wooden Award has been given since 1977 for males to the outstanding college basketball player, and the Wade Trophy has recognized the best women's

basketball player in college since 1981. Within these two decades, 20 African American males, including Ralph Sampson in 1981–1983, were selected for one or more of these awards, as were 15 African American females, including University of Southern California's Cheryl Miller in 1984–1986, University of Virginia's Dawn Staley in 1991–1992, and University of Tennessee's Chamique Holdsclaw in 1998–1999. African American male and female basketball players had begun to dominate this game at the highest level of play as illustrated by these Player-of-the-Year awards.

The AAU's Sullivan Award winners between 1980 and 1999 included African Americans Carl Lewis of the University of Houston (1981), Edwin Moses of Morehouse College (1983), Jackie Joyner-Kersey of the University of California, Los Angeles (1986), Florence Griffin-Joyner of California State University at Northridge (1988), Mike Powell of the University of California, Los Angeles (1991), and Michael Johnson of Baylor University (1996). All of these athletes were repeat Olympic gold medalists in track and field, except Mike Powell, winner of a silver medal in the long jump. The other male honoree, Charlie Ward of Florida State University in 1993, excelled in basketball and football; the other female honoree, Chamique Holdsclaw of the University of Tennessee in 1998, starred in basketball.

Analysis of this Time Period

The two distinguishing features of the 1980s and 1990s involving African Americans in intercollegiate athletics were the NCAA's increasing academic eligibility standards and the domination of African Americans in receiving awards for their outstanding athletic performances. NCAA Division I athletic programs through their football and basketball teams received ever-expanding revenues from television rights fees, ticket sales, donations, and shoe companies in the latter two decades of the 20th century. NCAA Division I teams with winning records received most of these revenues. In the preceding decades, coaches at predominantly Caucasian institutions quickly or begrudgingly realized their teams' successes required recruitment and elite performances of African American athletes. Player of the Year awards and other recognitions of athletic achievement in football and men's and women's basketball affirmed African American athletes' outstanding contributions.

Examination of the NCAA's academic rules in the last two decades of the 20th century suggested recruited athletes were fulfilling their commitment to performing at an elite level while colleges oftentimes failed to ensure athletes received the promised academic support leading to degrees. Facing pressure to raise its academic standards, the NCAA legislated several propositions and changes, such as stipulating more rigorous academic requirements for initial college eligibility. Repeatedly African American coaches and athletes claimed negative and disparate impacts resulting from higher academic standards, such as when standardized test score minimums were required for initial eligibility to compete. Oftentimes, increased academic standards led to a disproportionate percentage of African American athletes losing their eligibility for athletic grants-in-aid and competitive opportunities, which often led to their dropping out of college. Critics claimed African American male

athletes were being exploited for their talents on the field or court while being cheated of a meaningful education.

2000–2020

Possible Academic Exploitation

The Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics (2018) and the Drake Group (2018) urged athletic administrators and coaches to prioritize academic outcomes and integrity, especially in the revenue-producing sports of football and men's basketball played by a high percentage of African Americans. These two groups challenged the NCAA to legislate policies to prevent the academic exploitation of athletes. Potentially in response, in 2003, the NCAA made three significant changes with academic reform. First, the NCAA removed minimum standardized test scores for prospective athletes, thus eliminating partial qualifiers, which were believed to adversely impact minorities and disadvantaged populations. Second, Division I institutions increased the number of core courses to 16 to stress to prospective athletes the importance of strengthening their academic preparation for college. Third, Division I institutions increased the academic rigor of their progress-toward-degree standards by requiring athletes to maintain academic eligibility to have completed 40 (previously it was 25) percent of their graduation requirements by the start of their third year, 60 (was 50) percent by the start of their fourth year, and 80 (was 75) percent by the start of the fifth year.

Claiming graduation rates reported by the federal government penalized institutions whose athletes transferred to other institutions or left college while academically eligible, the NCAA developed the Graduation Success Rate (GSR) in 2002. While the NCAA uses the GSR to report higher graduation rates for athletics, the College Sport Research Institute's (CSRI) adjusted graduation gap reports for Football Bowl Subdivision football teams and Division I basketball teams contradict this claim. CSRI reports compare only full-time students with athletes and consistently affirm athletes on these teams do not graduate at rates comparable to other full-time students at their institutions (College of Sport Research Institute, 2017; 2018). Lapchick (2018) reported that African American athletes—over 40% in football, over 50% in men's basketball, and over 40% in women's basketball—comprised a disproportionate percentage of students not graduating. The overall men's basketball adjusted graduation gap between athletes and other full-time students was -23.7% with African American athletes, or 6.9 percentage points (and 9.2 in the Power Five Conferences—Atlantic Coast, Big Ten, Big 12, Pac 12, and Southeastern) worse than Caucasians (College of Sport Research Institute, 2017; 2018). Despite numerous academic reforms, these data suggest African American athletes continued to be exploited. Such manipulation occurs whenever many African American athletes lack numerous credit hours to earn a degree, yet they have exhausted their eligibility to compete and receive athletic grants-in-aid.

In 2004 the NCAA initiated the Academic Progress Rate (APR) to hold Division I institutions accountable for the academic progress and retention of athletes on each team

and included the threat of sanctions against institutions if athletes failed academically. For example, when APR scores fell and remained below the minimum score of 900 between 2007–2008 and 2010–2011, 10 men's basketball teams, including the University of Connecticut, were ineligible for postseason play in 2013. The APR can, however, be manipulated, suggested Gurney and Southall (2012). Athletic departments annually spend hundreds of thousands of dollars to pay class checkers to monitor if athletes attend classes and academic advisers and tutors to attempt to keep athletes eligible. Also, athletic departments identify and pay for current athletes and athletes planning to transfer to get individuals in both groups eligible to raise a team's APR score.

Recognition of African American Athletes

Between 2000–2017, eight of the Heisman Trophy winners were African American, including five quarterbacks (Troy Smith in 2006, Cam Newton in 2010, Robert Griffin III in 2011, Jameis Winston in 2013, and Lamar Jackson in 2016) and three running backs (Reggie Bush in 2005 (now vacated), Mark Ingram Jr in 2009, and Derrick Henry in 2015). The centrality of quarterback to the evolving game of college football was further affirmed by the selection of 10 other quarterbacks as Heisman Trophy winners, including a Native American and one of Samoan descent. Thirteen African Americans—seven quarterbacks, five running backs, and one wide receiver—were named as Players of the Year in college football between 2000–2017.

In 1951, an inaugural class of 54 legends, including the first African American inductee, Fred (Duke) Slater of the University of Iowa, was inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame. Through 2018, there have been 997 players and 217 coaches from all divisions of the NCAA and NAIA enshrined in the College Football Hall of Fame. This number included 194 African American players and 11 African American coaches. Of the players, 138 have been chosen for this recognition since 2000. By position, the most frequent inductees included 27 linebackers, 20 wide receivers, 19 defensive backs, 16 quarterbacks, 14 defensive tackles, and 10 offensive tackles. It could be argued that stacking in these positions in college football persisted when over 40% of the players were African Americans while playing mostly in six positions.

Since 2000, 13 African American female basketball players have received Naismith, Wooden, or Wade Player-of-the-Year awards including multiple years by Seimone Augustus (2005–2006), Candace Parker (2007–2008), Maya Moore (2009–2011), and Brittney Griner (2012–2013). Fifteen African American male basketball players were honored with Naismith, Wooden, or Associated Press Player-of-the-Year awards between 2000–2018. Only six Caucasian male and six female players receiving this recognition provided evidence of the domination of African Americans in college basketball.

Sullivan Award winners since 2000 included only two in football—Ezekiel Elliott of Ohio State University in 2014 and Keenan Reynolds of the United States Naval Academy in 2016. No African American athlete other than in track and field, football, and basketball has received this award. By comparison, Caucasian recipients of this award have excelled in 13 different sports. This disparity could suggest African American athletes may have

self-selected into these sports, possibly because of opportunities and role models; or, it might indicate limited opportunities to excel in certain sports due to socioeconomic or other factors.

In 2007–2008 at the NCAA Division I level, 31.4% of the male athletes were African Americans, while 42.4% of the football players and 60.4% of the basketball players were African Americans (Lapchick, 2018). In 2016–2017, 22.3% of the male athletes were African Americans compared with 44.2% of the football players and 53.0% of the basketball players (Lapchick, 2018). A contributing factor in the large decrease in African Americans overall and specifically in basketball could be associated with the 8.2% nonresident aliens in basketball in 2016–2017. Of the female athletes at the NCAA Division I level in 2007–2008, 14.0% were African Americans, while 38.6% of the basketball players and 28.1% of the track and field/cross country athletes were African Americans. In 2016–2017, 12.5% were African American females in all sports compared with 43.4% of the basketball players and 24.0% of the track and field/cross country athletes (Lapchick, 2018). These numbers demonstrate the predominance of African American athletes in these sports, with the football and male basketball players central in the revenue-producing sports in Power Five Conference institutions.

These data provide evidence of the disproportionate percentage (compared to the 12.3% of the United States population) of African American males and females competing on NCAA Division I football, basketball, and track and field teams, with a much smaller percentage of African American athletes competing in other Division I sports. This may be due to the lack of role models, socioeconomic factors limiting their access to coaching and facilities, or racial discrimination. Most African American athletes choose publicly funded sports in schools. Many African American athletes continue to pursue an unrealistic dream of playing professional football (1.6%), men's basketball (1.2%), and women's basketball (0.9%) (NCAA, 2018a) and capitalizing on their talents financially in track and field.

In 2000–2001, 2.1% of the head football coaches and 22.9% of the head men's basketball coaches for male athletes were African Americans in NCAA Division I institutions. In 2016–2017, the percentages of head coaches increased to 7.7% in football and decreased slightly to 22.3% in men's basketball (Lapchick, 2018). In 2000–2001, head coaches of women's sport teams in NCAA Division I institutions included 4.0% for African American males and 3.2% for African American females. In 2016–2017, the percentage of African American coaches for women's teams were 4.4% males and 3.1% females (Lapchick, 2018). Less than half (43.4% in NCAA Division I institutions in 2014) of intercollegiate athletic teams were coached by females, including 59.2% in basketball and 17.9% in track and field (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014).

Section 106.41 of the 1972 Education Amendments, known as Title IX in the world of sports, requires equal opportunity in all educational programs, including intercollegiate athletics. This legislation greatly expanded competitive opportunities for all females, including athletic grants-in-aid, number of teams, and program support, such as equipment and practice and competitive facilities. Participation and achievements of African American females, especially in basketball and track and field, soared directly as a result of this federal legislation.

This legislation had little impact on athletic opportunities for African American male athletes in football, basketball, and track and field.

Analysis of this Time Period

College sports in the 21st century continued to be governed and coached primarily by Caucasian males. Historically and prejudicially, African Americans were perceived as incapable of effectively leading athletic departments and coaching. This resulted in the exclusion, or token representation, of African Americans in administrative offices and the coaching ranks. For example, while over 40% of the college football and basketball players were African Americans, the percentages of African American head coaches, assistant coaches, and other members of coaching staffs lagged far behind. Athletic directors and their associate and assistant directors and other personnel in intercollegiate athletic departments remained primarily Caucasian and male. The few minorities hired further verified persistent gender and color barriers or prejudices in job hires and opportunities for career advancement.

African Americans have excelled in football, basketball, and track and field by dedicating significant time and effort in developing their skills. One reason may be sports provided what was perceived as the quickest path to prestige, wealth, and upward mobility, with role models of highly successful African Americans in professional sports enjoying widespread media exposure. With de facto segregation declared illegal, many prejudices eradicated, and opportunities opened to all, have African American athletes achieved equitable treatment? A *Chicago Tribune* commentary (Jackson, 2018) states that exploitation of African American male athletes in Power Five Conference football and basketball persists.

Through revenues earned by these athletes, Jackson (2018) admitted she personally benefited from this exploitation as a track and field athlete at the University of North Carolina by receiving a grant-in-aid, competing in a well-funded sport, and earning her degree. Unlike football and basketball players who weekly spent 50 or more hours on their sports, she never expended more than 20 hours per week practicing and competing. She prioritized academics over athletics, while football and basketball players, over 40% of whom are African Americans, sometimes took fraudulent courses to maintain eligibility and often did not graduate. These same athletes helped bring in millions in revenues that subsidized sports for predominately Caucasian male and female athletes in other sports and highly paid, mostly Caucasian, coaches and administrators. Jackson (2018) concluded, a 21st century Jim Crow system has perpetuated because Caucasians, especially those personally benefiting, want it this way.

CONCLUSION

African American athletes enjoy expanded opportunities to play and excel in intercollegiate athletics while receiving greater equity in how they are treated. The dedicated and tireless efforts of these athletes in developing athletic skills may lead to professional careers in their sports, although the likelihood of this happening remains around 1% (NCAA, 2018a). College advisers and coaches need to temper the financial allurements of becoming a

professional athlete by emphasizing how African American athletes earning a college degree holds much greater promise for long-term financial security.

Many African American athletes in men's basketball and football do not fully benefit from the athletic grants-in-aid they receive by earning their degrees. According to Harper, Williams, and Blackman (2013), of the African American male athletes competing at the highest competition levels in 76 institutions in football and basketball, 49.8% do not graduate within six years. Unlike the NCAA's claim that African American male athletes in Division I institutions graduate at rates higher than other African American male students (NCAA, 2018b), reality for the dominating number of African American athletes in the revenue-producing sports of football and men's basketball is they often do not. To rectify this injustice, educational institutions need to strengthen their efforts and focus greater financial support on the academic achievement of all African American athletes in these two sports, while significantly reducing the excessive hours spent being a college athlete. Earning college degrees also can help prepare former African American athletes to qualify for intercollegiate coaching and athletic administration positions.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why were a few African Americans allowed to compete in football, basketball, and track and field at predominantly Caucasian institutions?
2. What are five specific examples of the racial indignities that African American athletes suffered through and overcame?
3. For each individual discussed, identify two types of racial discrimination they had to endure and explain how each individual dealt with and overcame disparate treatment to excel in their sports.
4. How have or have not African American athletes been academically exploited?

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