

RACIAL IDENTITY AND LEISURE EXPERIENCES: AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE
COLLEGE STUDENTS' RECOLLECTIONS OF ADOLESCENT LEISURE

by

BANTU DAVID GROSS

(Under the Direction of Douglas Kleiber)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this qualitative study was to examine the stories of eight African American males' identity development within the context of leisure. Participants recruited for this study self-identified as African American male, were between the ages of 18-24, and attended either a historically Black university or a predominately White university in the southeastern United States. Utilizing a narrative approach, participants interviewed recalled stories of how their personal and racial identity development unfolded within the context of leisure. Areas explored during semi-structured interviews included: how leisure experiences contributed to identity formation, changes in leisure preferences and orientations from adolescence, the racialized nature of leisure, and how the charge of "Acting White" may influence African American males leisure preferences. Findings from this study suggested participant's leisure experiences contributed positively to African American male's identity development, while charges of acting White from one's peers limited their identity development.

INDEX WORDS: African American males, leisure, identity, racial identity, and acting White.

RACIAL IDENTITY AND LEISURE EXPERIENCES: AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE
COLLEGE STUDENTS' RECOLLECTIONS OF ADOLESCENT LEISURE

by

BANTU DAVID GROSS

BA, Southern University of Baton Rouge, 2008

MA, Nicholls State University, 2010

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2015

© 2015

Bantu D. Gross

All Rights Reserved

RACIAL IDENTITY AND LEISURE EXPERIENCES: AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE
COLLEGE STUDENTS' RECOLLECTIONS OF ADOLESCENT LEISURE

by

BANTU DAVID GROSS

Major Professor: Douglas Kleiber
Co-Major Professor: Deryl Bailey

Committee: Diane M. Samdahl
Jori Hall

Electronic Version Approved:

Julie Coffield
Interim Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2015

DEDICATION

“We are hard pressed on every side, but not crushed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not abandoned; struck down, but not destroyed” (2 Corinthians 4:8-9).

I would like to dedicate my graduate school training and the completion of this dissertation to God the Father. I believe that had it not been for my faith in God this project and the many goals I have accomplished along the way would not have happened. I know that some may say I am foolish for believing in God, but I know that as a result of this process He has become even more real to me.

Additionally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation and my educational achievements to my parents. Ever since the first time I enrolled into school my parents have invested so much time, energy, and resources to ensure that I obtained a valuable education. Both of you have been very supportive of me throughout this journey and it is because of the sacrifices you all have made on my behalf that I am where I am today.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“Oh the places you can go with a PhD” I first heard these words uttered at a conference I attended as an undergraduate student in Atlanta, GA. The speaker, addressing a room full of ambitious students, encouraged us all to pursue a PhD in our respective fields. While giving this speech she went on to share with us the many benefits one could receive after obtaining a PhD. Of all the benefits mentioned the one that stood out most to me was being a more valuable resource for my community. I was struck by this comment because community building was especially important to me considering the neighborhood I grew up in. So having already made up in my mind and heart to pursue a PhD the aforementioned quote and speaker's words provided me with further encouragement to move forward.

Early on in my doctoral studies at UGA I learned that graduating with a PhD would not come easy. In my first semester I can recall how excited and anxious I was adjusting to my new environment and trying to establish myself as a budding young scholar. Hoping to make a good impression I did all the things I thought great students did like showing up to class on time, taking notes, and reading all the assigned articles. So imagine the shock I felt after submitting my first paper and seeing a failing grade. Then on top of that my professor left a note on the back of the paper commenting that my work was not yet on a doctoral level. Still reeling from this professor's comments I was later approached by another professor who advised me to reconsider pursuing a PhD.

This professor felt that I was not committed enough to the rigors of the program and that I should consider another program at a different institution.

Despite what I was experiencing internally I continued to move along. However, I began to question the legitimacy of these professor's comments of whether or not I was cut out for the work need to earn a PhD. Already doubting my abilities and feeling out of place my confidence was levied another blow after I was fired from my first graduate assistantship. I considered this the deathblow since I was already feeling inadequate in my studies and pondering if I should transfer elsewhere. Now that I was no longer receiving tuition assistance for school I thought now would be as good a time as ever to leave. Yet, in spite of these incidents and the internal struggle I felt, there were many people who came to my aid and encouraged me to press on and not give up.

I would like to begin by first thanking to Dr. Douglas Kleiber for serving as my dissertation chair and making me feel comfortable at UGA. After learning that we shared similar interests in psychology and jazz I became excited about the prospect of working with you. While under your tutelage I have come to understand what it takes to become a scholar and how to mentor others. I have learned a great deal from you by sitting in your office as we wrestled with various theoretical concepts and how I should apply them in my work. You showed great patience and willingness to help me grow in my area of research, while also showing me how I want to mentor students. Thank you so much for tough love and pushing me to not just make "dents" in my work but to thoroughly finish the job. Your willingness to guide and mentor me throughout this project has been much appreciated and I am very thankful for your help.

To Dr. Deryl Bailey, thank you for serving as my co-chair and providing me with an opportunity to work with the Empowered Youth Program over the years. One of my goals in life is to develop an after-school program like yours that enriches the lives of young people. Through working with you in this program I was able to see what goes on behind the curtains and see just how difficult, at times, it can be to direct such a program. Watching you work tirelessly at improving this program has been both eye-opening and inspiring. I know that there is still more for me to learn about directing a program, but observing you over the years has further informed me about what I would like to do with my career.

Dr. Samdahl, your classroom assignments were some of the more challenging tasks I have ever had to undertake or endure. When I arrived into the RLST program I had no prior knowledge of the field, but as a result of your classes I was able to develop a firm foundation. Additionally, your requests in my writing assignments for me to go beyond the surface level and dig deeper has really helped me develop as a writer. Though at the time I found your challenges to be difficult and sometimes extreme I believe they have greatly benefitted me as a writer and scholar.

Dr. Hall, thank you so much for introducing me to the world of qualitative studies! I always enjoyed attending your classes because I knew that there would be snacks and great classroom dialogue, but more importantly I appreciated the way you treated your students. Your classroom lectures and the private conversations we had were very instrumental in helping me appreciate the different approaches I found in qualitative studies. Also, I am very grateful for the way you would patiently review my writing

drafts after class to help me organize my thoughts on paper in a way that conveyed the message I was trying to get across. Thank you so much for all that you have done.

To my friends and family thank you for being there for me since day one and always encouraging me to press on and not give up. I would love to mention all of you by name, but I fear some of you would be forgotten. Instead I want you all to know that I am appreciative for the many laughs we have shared, your prayers, words of encouragement, and the hot plates of food. Knowing that you all were in my corner, front, back, and side helped me to maintain my sanity throughout this journey. I want you all to know that you are very special to me and now that I have completed this task I hope to spend more time with you all.

Last, but not least I want to acknowledge my loving wife Tyra "Noni" Gross. Noni we made it! We moved to Athens, GA four years ago with the goal of adding PhD to our names and we did it. While most of our friends were enjoying their weekends partying or hanging out, we were busy writing papers, reading articles, and eating junk food with a movie playing in the background--multi-tasking at its finest. I am so glad that we were able to commit to this journey together and grow stronger as a couple. It has been a fun ride filled with several stories and inside jokes that only you and I get. This moment becomes even sweeter knowing that we will be welcoming a new member to our family very soon. I look forward to seeing what's in store for us knowing that we will be together no matter what. I love you so very much Noni! Let's keep on, keeping on.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
PREFACE.....	1
CHAPTER	
ONE BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE	5
Background	7
Research Purpose and Questions	13
TWO LITERATURE REVIEW	14
African American Leisure.....	14
Adolescent African American Leisure.....	19
African American Males.....	20
Leisure's Connection to Identity Development.....	23
Racial Identity Development	26
Nigrescence.....	28
The Burden of “Acting White”	34
Authentic Blackness.....	38
Research Questions.....	40

THREE METHODOLOGY41

 Introduction.....41

 Purpose of the Study41

 Qualitative Tradition.....42

 Narrative Inquiry.....44

 Sensitizing Concepts.....47

 Recruitment Sampling Criteria48

 Semi-Structured Interviews50

 Interview Protocol.....51

 Data Analysis51

 Researcher Biases and Assumptions.....53

 Trustworthiness.....55

 Summary.....56

FOUR FINDINGS57

 Introduction.....57

 Participant Profiles.....58

 Reno-University60

 Sean-University.....62

 Andre-University64

 Paul-College Hill67

 Richard-College Hill.....71

 Adam-College Hill.....73

 Mac-College Hill75

Joe-College Hill	78
Summary	80
Contributions of Leisure Experiences to Identity Formation	81
Summary	88
Nigrescence	90
Summary	97
'Acting White' in Leisure Activities	98
Summary	108
Conclusion	108
FIVE DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	110
Leisure Experiences Contribute to Identity Formation.....	110
Changes in Leisure Preferences and Orientations from Adolescence	114
'Acting White' in Leisure Activities	116
Nigrescence Model	120
Summary	123
Delimitations.....	125
Theoretical Implications	128
Implications for Practice	129
Implications for Further Research	131
Concluding Remarks.....	133
REFERENCES	134

APPENDICES	153
A Invitation to Participate in Study	153
B Consent Cover Letter	155
C Participant Consent Form	156
D Interview Guide	158

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Nigrescence Model.....	29
Figure 2: Participant Profiles	59
Figure 3: Themes and Subthemes	81

PREFACE

Growing up as an African American in the United States comes with its own set of challenges, perhaps even more so when one identifies as a male. In fact, ever since the first group of Africans set foot on the English colony of Jamestown, Virginia in 1619 as slaves the legitimacy of Blacks as human beings has been called into question.

Furthermore, the legal and civil rights of Blacks have rarely been acknowledged as noted by the Dred Scott case ruling of 1857. Holding such a view of African Americans served as a launching point for many of the injustices African Americans would endure while living in America. Recognizing how frequently the history, culture, and identity of African Americans have been disputed and dismissed, I found it necessary to examine African American males identity development and, more specifically, their racial identity development.

My interest in African American males racial identity development stems from remarks by then Senator Barack Obama's keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention. In his speech Obama contended, "Children can't achieve unless we raise their expectations and turn off the television sets and eradicate the slander that says a Black youth with a book is acting White." Following a reading of Obama's speech I found myself relating his comments to my own experiences of being accused of acting White by both African Americans and Whites. Since then President Obama has not strayed away from this topic and said the following during a "My Brother's Keeper Initiative" event:

Sometimes African Americans, in communities where I've worked, there's been the notion of acting White—which sometimes is overstated, but there's an element of truth to it, where, okay, if boys are reading too much, then, well, why are you doing that? Or why are you speaking so properly? And the notion that there's some authentic way of being black, that if you're going to be black you have to act a certain way and wear certain kind of clothes, that has to go. Because there are a whole bunch of different ways for African American men to be authentic (Obama, 2014).

The expression “acting White” refers to non-Whites talking and behaving in accordance with White cultural norms and traditions, and thus seeming inauthentic. This includes excelling in academics, attending museums, and speaking “proper” English. According to Neal-Barnett (2010), the allegation of acting White is “one of the most negative accusations one African American” can receive (p. 103). Much of our understanding of the term is attributed to Fordham and Ogbu's (1986) research at a predominately Black high school in Washington D.C. In their study Fordham and Ogbu interviewed African American students about their academic achievement and experiences. Fordham and Ogbu asserted: “One major reason Black students do poorly in school is that they experience inordinate ambivalence and affective dissonance in regard to academic effort and success” (p.177). They went on to propose that the indifference some African American communities have towards education is due to “a kind of cultural orientation which defines academic learning [and striving for academic success] in school as acting White” (p.177). So, in an effort to protect their standing and image with peers, some African American students cease striving for academic excellence in school. Upon

learning more about this phenomenon and personally struggling with this self-definition, I realized there was more to racial identity than simply accepting or defying stereotypes.

Equipped with a new outlook on life and completing a Master's degree in psychological counseling, I sought to further investigate the role that racial identity, and specifically the impact of being perceived as acting White, plays in the lives of adolescent African American males. Through my examination of the acting White phenomenon, I was led to a discussion of what might be called "authentic Blackness." In my conversations with family, friends, and colleagues I have heard several definitions of blackness ranging from 'criminal' to 'pastor.' Addressing the topic of Blackness, Favor (1999) argued that to engage in a discussion about what defines Blackness, "we begin to see that our notions of racial identity are fraught with complexity, contradiction, and paradox" (p.1). As illustrated in the aforementioned definitions of Blackness, we see that Blackness is not monolithic but there does seem to be some commonly agreed upon characteristics throughout the Black community. I hope to use this research as an opportunity to delve into this discussion and consider how "Blackness is constantly being invented, policed, transgressed, and contested" (Favor, 1999, p.2).

Upon gaining acceptance into the Recreation and Leisure Studies doctoral program at the University of Georgia I began to expand this thinking by exploring how African American adolescents' racial identity is reflected in and shaped through leisure experiences. I have decided to study leisure as a context for identity formation due to the considerable amount of research demonstrating leisure's potential to affirm one's identity. Furthermore, as noted by Philipp (2000), race is a salient topic within leisure because, unlike schools and work places where integration occurred through the passing of laws

“no similar laws have been enacted to secure the racial integration of leisure spaces” (p.121). As a result, sites of leisure have become “freely” racialized with certain areas being labeled either “Black” or “White.”

My goal in this study is to contribute to our understanding of African American males’ identity development, racial identity development, and the acting White phenomenon.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

In general, the term *leisure* has been used colloquially to mean free time or, to some extent, those activities that are normally done in free time and non-work contexts. A review of the literature shows that even among leisure scholars a general consensus on how to properly define leisure has not been reached. One construction of the term dates back to the era of Plato and Socrates where it was viewed as an ideal human condition, *scholē*, wherein freedom from obligation permitted the refinement of character (deGrazia, 1962). Following from this meaning to some extent, Kleiber (1999) and others have regarded leisure as a context of freedom and opportunity for self-expression, wherein one could engage in self-discovery and self-actualization. However, some have argued that “leisure also represents a cultured space where racial oppression abounds, and is therefore often a contested space for African Americans” (Armstrong 2013, p.212). This view puts leisure in an important place, then, for the expression and development of self and the shaping of personal identity, even racial identity.

Helms (1990), defined racial identity as a “sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (p.3). Racial identity formation is of particular importance for people of color as they are consistently assaulted by negative messages about their race. In contrast, racial identity development for White Americans is not as salient “because societal norms have been constructed around their racial, ethnic, and cultural frameworks, values, and

priorities and then referred to as 'standard American culture'" (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999, p. 39). As a result people of color, living in a Eurocentric society, must develop a racial identity that reflects and reminds them of their cultural norms, values, and traditions.

Noting the affirming potential of racial identity for African Americans, Shinew, Mowatt, & Glover (2007) suggested that "racial identity is a part of the self that can be used to empower African Americans by reflecting shared symbols and meanings, including positive stereotypes and perceived unique traits" (p. 89). With respect to leisure, African American racial identity formation may be reflected by positively embracing traditional forms of African American leisure. Armstrong (2013) noted "leisure is salient to African Americans and is the terrain by which their personal and social identities are nurtured" (p. 212). Past research on African American leisure has focused on leisure constraints, and differences between African Americans and Whites leisure preferences or participation rates (Washburne & Wall, 1978; Johnson, Bowker, English, & Worthen, 1998; Philipp, 1995, 1999; Shinew, Floyd, & Parry, 2004). Some leisure activities that are commonly associated with African Americans include: playing team sports, attending sporting events (basketball and football) and social activities (listening to music, playing card games, and hanging out) (Shinew et al., 2004). By conducting a more nuanced analysis of African American racial identity formation conflicts in racialized self-expression and individual development will more likely be recognized, in much the same way that excelling in academics is problematized as acting White.

Introduced by Fordham and Ogbu (1986), acting White refers to African Americans self-sabotaging themselves academically in an effort to distance themselves from what they believe to be White culture. Fordham and Ogbu explained acting White in the following manner:

This problem arose partly because White Americans traditionally refused to acknowledge that Black Americans are capable of intellectual achievement, and partly because Black Americans subsequently began to doubt their own intellectual ability, began to define academic success as white people's prerogative, and began to discourage their peers, perhaps unconsciously, from emulating White people in academic striving, i.e., from 'acting White' (p.177).

In addition to academic achievement, forms of leisure such as listening to music by White artists and attending museums were also considered acting White. Unwilling to bear the burden of acting White, many African Americans avoided activities considered White to remain in good standing within their community. However, there exists a segment of the African American population who willingly engage in White activities at the risk of being labeled acting White.

Background

We begin this exploration in chapter two by first broadly looking at how researchers have typically examined African American leisure and its connection to identity development. Thus far, scholarship available on African American leisure has revolved around leisure constraints, differences in leisure preferences, and participation rates with respect to race. Floyd (2007) noted how leisure researchers have consistently reported divergent leisure patterns, preferences, and experiences between African

Americans and Whites. Though these investigations have contributed to the body of work on race and ethnicity, they have failed to offer “explanations for why differences exist or do not exist” (Floyd, p.247). A more effective way of approaching race and ethnicity differences in leisure may be to “re-conceptualize the relationship between race, class, and leisure” (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994, p. 171).

Beyond looking at the traditional methods employed by leisure researchers examining racial and ethnic differences, we move to the question of what those differences might mean for the development of identity, and particularly racial identity, in African Americans. Identity formation research in the field of psychology credits much of what it knows to Erikson (1963, 1968, 1980), who asserted identity “provides the ability to experience one's self as something that has continuity and sameness” (Erikson, 1963, p.42). The process of identity development, as articulated by Erikson, posited the individual as engaging in a deep personal reflection of self in relation to others (i.e. family, peers, and society). While considering the views of others, and how one wants to be viewed, the individual begins the process of identity formation. However, as noted by Erikson (1968) the identity process for African Americans becomes even more complicated due in large part to the negative labels assigned to them by society.

In his article *A Memorandum on Identity and Negro Youth* Erikson addressed how issues concerning African American adolescents have “span[ned] the whole phenomenology of aggravated identity confusion and rapid new identity formation” (p.29). During this discussion Erikson noted how African Americans, living in the “feudal South,” were viewed by Whites as being unclean and inferior human beings. Erikson asserted that within the era of slavery African Americans “only historically

'successful' identity [was] that of the slave” and that the “other identity fragments” of African Americans were “underscored and stereotyped by the entertainment industry” (p.30). Minstrel shows depicting White actors in Black face was one of the ways in which the entertainment industry attempted to denigrate African Americans. White actors dressed in black face depicted African Americans as being lazy, jokesters, and cowardly. Though minstrel shows are no longer being produced, some music videos, television shows, and movies continue to depict African Americans exhibiting similar behaviors. Erikson argued that as a result of the negative imagery, many African American youth have a hard time establishing a positive identity:

Youth after youth, bewildered by some assumed role, a role forced on him by the inexorable standardization of American adolescence, runs away in one form or another; leaving schools and jobs, staying out all night, or withdrawing into bizarre and inaccessible moods. Once “delinquent,” his greatest need and often his only salvation, is the refusal on the part of older friends, advisers, and judiciary personnel to type him further by pat diagnoses and social judgments which ignore the special dynamic conditions of adolescence (p.33).

In an effort to combat the internalization of negative stereotypes assigned to them by society, African Americans have sought various ways to develop a positive racial identity.

Racial identity development has been described as a process of African Americans shedding a negative image of self and one's racial group, in exchange for a more positive image of self and one's racial group (Cross, 1971, 1978, 1991; Helms, 1990). In an attempt to explain the racial identity development of African Americans

Cross (1971) developed the *Nigrescence* model. Developed in the 1970's, following the Civil Rights movement, the Nigrescence model presented and analyzed profiles of African Americans undergoing a “Negro-to-Black conversion experience” (Cross, 1991, p. 189). According to Cross's model, African Americans travel through four stages of racial identity development, departing from the Pre-Encounter stage and arriving at the Immersion stage. Cross (2001) posited African Americans' racial identity evolves in part by encountering and transcending negative racial incidents such as the accusation of acting White, with identity evolving more securely beyond the sting of such accusations.

Also, in chapter two is a discussion on how race and gender play an important role in the examination of African American’s leisure experiences, specifically males. A review of the literature revealed that very little research existed that looked primarily at the leisure experiences of African American males. Investigating the relationship between race and gender among adolescent Black and White peer groups Philipp (1998) declared “race and gender are defining features of African American adolescent leisure experience” (p. 214). Some of the ways in which Philipp found that race influenced African American adolescents leisure was how certain leisure activities were designated as being either “Black” or “White.” Philipp also observed in this study that African Americans' peers were more likely to “indicate disapproved activities (i.e., what is ‘wrong’ to do)” than approved activities (p. 228). Leisure activities that were typically disapproved by Blacks' peers included: soccer, horseback riding, water skiing, camping, fishing, and golfing. Approved leisure activities included playing basketball, going to the mall, singing in a choir, and dancing (p.221). Labeling leisure activities as being either “Black” or “White” may cause problems for the African American adolescent who freely

decides to participate in White leisure. A problem that could arise, as noted by Philipp, is African Americans avoiding White leisure for fear of being accused of acting White. Furthermore, within this chapter we may learn if African American males are burdened by the fear of acting White within leisure settings?

In discussing the role of gender in leisure Philipp noted “gender and participation in leisure activities also seem to be associated with adolescent identity development in some fashion” (p.217). Traditionally, discussions about gender in the field of leisure studies have been limited to women’s issues, with attention being given especially to the constrained nature of leisure for women. After conducting a literature review I was able to find that very little, if any, literature existed that primarily chronicles the leisure experiences of African American males. In Philipp’s study he found “Black adolescent males have the fewest peer group approved leisure choices” (p. 223).

Already perceiving a limitation in the number of leisure activities available to them because of their race, African American males also find that their gender further reduces leisure opportunities. Expanding the discussion on the role of gender in leisure to include African American males’ leisure experiences may begin to show how males unique set of challenges are either similar or different from females. By focusing solely on African American males in this study it is my hope that we will learn more about their identity development, racial identity development, and the relevance of the context of leisure to both.

In chapter three, there will be a consideration for the qualitative tradition of narrative research and its usefulness for elucidating the stories of African American males. Researchers adhering to the narrative tradition have used this approach to offer

individuals an opportunity to share their stories. Bamberg (2012) argued that the intentionality of researchers using certain stories assists individuals in cultivating a desired identity they want others to recognize. Another key element of the narrative approach is that it provides an emancipatory space where individuals can offer a “counter-story” to the dominant narrative, which may also help us in understanding African American males' identity development. Thus, utilizing the narrative approach will allow me to disseminate the identity development stories and, more specifically, the racial identity development stories of African American males within the context of leisure.

In chapter four, data obtained through semi-structured interviews were presented as participant profiles. Within each participants' profile there was a discussion about the ways in which leisure served as a context for non-race related identity formation and racial identity development. Additionally, participant demographics were presented. Next, chapter five presented emergent themes and subthemes identified during participant interviews and revisited the research questions guiding this study.

Finally, this paper concludes with chapter six reviewing evidence that either does or does not support the Nigrescence model. The Nigrescence model was used in this study as a way to gauge participants' racial identity development at a given stage. It is my hope that by introducing the Nigrescence model to the field of leisure we will begin to see if it is an effective tool in highlighting participants' racial identity. This chapter then closes with a discussion about the implications of this study for theory, practice, and further research.

Research Purpose and Questions

Perhaps, in spite of the reality of differences in leisure activities embraced by Blacks and Whites, leisure is a sphere of life where such tensions are atypical, and self-expression may shape identity in ways that may be racialized, non-racialized, or both. Using leisure as a context this investigation will attempt to determine the extent of such dynamics in a group of African American males, utilizing a retrospective, narrative approach.

This study addressed the following research questions:

1. To what extent and in what ways is leisure experience relevant to identity formation in African American adolescents?
2. To what extent and in what ways have the leisure preferences and orientations of adolescence endured in terms of current self-assessments, and to what extent is race implicated in this evolution?
3. To what extent and in what ways has their leisure been racialized as “White” or “Black” in their lives and how, if at all, has the problem of acting White been a part of that experience?
4. To what extent and in what ways did they or others they knew, experience tension or conflict around acting White in leisure activities and orientations?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

African American Leisure

Prior to the 1970's some scholars considered leisure a threat to society and questioned its usefulness in helping individuals balance their work-life schedule (Cutten, 1926; Denney, 1959). During this era the average work week was 60 hours, and individuals adhered to the Puritan work ethic. Very little time was spent by individuals in leisure because work was viewed as a moral obligation, while leisure was viewed as something to be avoided. However, when work week hours were decreased from sixty to forty hours, individuals began to find themselves participating more in leisure activities.

In addition to the reduction of work week hours individuals began to see notice an increase in their salaries. Having more money at their disposal individuals began taking more family trips and buying leisure merchandise. Noticing a shift in individuals leisure patterns, leisure scholars began to explore and discuss the types of leisure activities individuals were engaged in and how they were spending their money on leisure items (Kildegaard, 1965). With a new sense of freedom individuals began using leisure as an outlet to experiment with different types of activities and meet new people. Thus, leisure became considered a realm of life wherein activities were freely chosen, and a context for self-expression, social engagement and the experience of freedom.

Missing from much of the early literature on leisure was how marginalized group members spent their time in leisure. The leisure activities, preferences, and patterns of

African Americans or other groups was not considered a worthwhile area to investigate by leisure scholars until the 1970's. After completing a review of the literature in five major leisure studies journals Floyd (2007) noted three waves in the discussion on the intersection of race and leisure. The waves explored in Floyd's article included: disparities, theoretical and methodological development, and "the intersection of race/ethnicity research with other topical areas" (p. 247).

The first wave, disparities, primarily looked at the work of Washburne (1978), which is considered by many in the field of leisure as the most influential article of this period. As noted previously, discussion about African American leisure was non-existent or sparse until now. Washburne's work however, was one of the first to look at African Americans leisure opportunities in comparison to Whites. What makes this study so important is that it introduced the field of leisure to the marginality and ethnicity theory. Over time these two theories would become the bedrock of future research investigating the racial differences found in leisure.

In the first theory, marginality, Washburne suggested African Americans do not participate in certain leisure activities because they lack the financial resources. According to this theory because of African Americans history of financial hardships they have been prevented from participating in "high-end" leisure activities (i.e. golf, tennis, and polo). As a result of not being able to engage in high-end leisure activities African Americans have not been able to develop the requisite skills needed to participate or compete in certain activities (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994).

A criticism of the marginality theory is that it focused too heavily on African Americans limited economic resources, while factors such as racial oppression and

discrimination are unnoticed or overlooked. Scott (2000) discussed how leisure service agencies have adopted certain policies and practices which have created “institutional barriers that constrain leisure opportunities for specific segments of the population” (p. 133). One of these barriers Scott argued is the lack of diversity found in some leisure service agencies staff. As a result of having a monolithic staff some agencies have a “tendency to normalize dominant groups’ perspectives and experiences and make invisible the viewpoints of subordinate groups” (p. 136). This may incline some agencies to adopt certain practices and/or policies that are perceived by members of marginalized groups as discriminatory. An alternative to the monolithic staff would be for agencies to employ individuals reflective of the community being served. Making such an adjustment may help create an inviting environment for members of all ethnic groups.

Washburne’s second explanation for the disparities found in African American leisure, ethnicity theory, suggests differences in leisure patterns are an expression of cultural values that are “distinct from those of the American mass-culture” (Washburne & Wall, 1978, p.1). According to this theory, “minority under-participation or intergroup variation results from differences between racial or ethnic groups’ value systems, norms, and socialization patterns” (Floyd, et al., 1994, p. 159). An example of this theory would be an African American embracing a set of values and attitudes toward leisure that is significantly different from those of Whites, and their subcultural values translating into alternative leisure choices (Floyd et al., 1994; Washburne, 1978; West, 1989).

In the second wave, the advancement of theories and methods, Floyd (2007) examined how researchers studied racially diverse groups. An example of this type of research was Falk (1995) investigation of African Americans utilization of museums.

Falk asserted the four main factors that attributed to African Americans museum going behavior were: socio-economic, institutional, cultural/ethnic and regional factors. Falk described socio-economic factors much like the marginality theory, in that income levels were one of many factors influencing African Americans attendance at museums. Institutional factors Falk asserted were how “seemingly benign policies” operated to discriminate against certain people or groups from attending museums. In discussing the cultural/ethnic factors these were show to operate in similar fashion to the ethnicity theory, which purported attendance at museums is contingent upon one’s culture or ethnicity. Lastly, regional factors suggested one’s locale or proximity to a museum was the reason why one may or may not patronize museums. Integrating these factors into his study Falk was able to observe that African Americans use of museums could be explained, in part, by factors other than the marginality and ethnicity theory.

The third wave presented by Floyd (2007) examined the intersection of race/ethnicity research with other topical areas. During this wave researchers conducted studies that combined theoretical and methodological approaches between race/ethnicity and constraints (p. 247). One study, as noted by Floyd, was the work of Shinew, Floyd, and Parry (2004) who looked at the leisure preferences and constraints of African Americans and Whites. Shinew, et al. asserted “understanding the relationship between constraints and race is important...for gaining greater insight into broader societal issues surrounding race” (p. 182).

In this study Shinew, et al. asserted that the constraints and issues experienced by many African Americans on a daily basis (i.e. discrimination, prejudice, and racism) may impact their leisure preferences (p.182). Utilizing Shaw's (1994) work on women's leisure

constraints Shinew, et al. attempted to explain “whether leisure is 'racially-neutral or whether preferences followed the previous labels of traditionally 'black' and 'white' pursuits” (p.183). Data for the study was collected in the form of surveys which asked Black and White Chicago park users about their leisure preferences and constraints. Results of the study indicated “African Americans reported being less constrained than did Caucasians,” which was contrary to what Shinew, et al. initially hypothesized (p.194). However, they were able to find data to support the notion that certain activities are classified as being “Black” and “White” (p. 194). In attempting to explain why this may be the case Shinew, et al. asserted “African Americans may have become more accustomed to negotiating constraints, and thus have developed strategies of resistance to empower themselves in life and in leisure” (p. 194).

In regards to leisure preferences Shinew, et al. were able to find that differences did exist between Blacks and Whites. Data revealed that of the twenty-five leisure activities listed in the survey Blacks and Whites “statistically differed” on fifteen. Additionally, results of the study indicated that Blacks were less interested in nature-based activities and more interested in shopping or attending church (p.195). These findings proved to be consistent with earlier work exploring the differences in leisure preferences between Blacks and Whites.

The aforementioned study and previous research looking at the African American leisure experiences highlights the need for researchers to continue looking at the leisure experiences of African Americans. One area that appears to be worth looking further into is the role of leisure in African Americans' identity formation. By attempting to understand the relationship between the leisure experiences of African Americans and

identity leisure practitioners may be able to better develop programs and opportunities targeting African Americans. Improvement of the services offered to African Americans, especially adolescents, may prove to be helpful in “alleviat[ing] some of the problems associated with adolescence and encourage positive psychosocial development” (Philipp, 1999, p. 246).

Adolescent African American Leisure

In an attempt to understand the leisure experiences of African American adolescents Philipp (1998) examined the connection between race and gender on adolescent peer group approval. As noted earlier, when attempting to address the racial divergence in leisure preferences between African Americans and Whites researchers have relied upon the marginality and ethnicity theory posited originally by Washburne (1978), while Philipp (1998) has argued that attending to these factors only “effectively hide[s] the power of race in addressing issues of discrimination and racism in the United States” (p.216). So, in an effort to avoid diminishing the role of race, Philipp situated race as a central component of African American adolescent leisure, while also giving attention to the role of gender.

Employing a quantitative approach, Philipp (1998) used stratified random sampling to select both Black and White participants for this study and ran two-tailed tests. Findings indicated “race appeared to be a more important factor than gender when comparing peer group approval ratings between the racial groups for most leisure activities on an activity-by-activity level” (p.214). Additionally, Philipp utilized the racial discrimination theoretical perspective which purports one must understand the salience of race as a major influence for the leisure preferences and participation rates of African

American adolescents. Philipp cited part of his motivation for conducting this study was to shift attention back onto the importance of race. In Philipp's view, highlighting the effects of racial discrimination will improve our understanding of the divergent leisure preferences and participation rates of African American adolescents (Philipp, 1998).

African American Males

A cursory review of American history reveals how African American males have traditionally been subjected to various forms of mistreatment, discrimination, and stereotypes. Even now in 2014, African American males are still being treated in ways that are markedly different from individuals in any other ethnic group or gender. Just this summer the death of two unarmed African American males by White police officers made national headlines and sparked conversations about how African American males are viewed and treated in the United States. The deaths of these two men, as well as other African American males within recent memory, divided the country along racial lines. Furthering that divide between African Americans and White was the fact that in both cases the officers were never arrested. In fact, following the shooting death of Michael Brown a fundraising campaign was started for Officer Wilson where donors attached racist comments with their contributions.

Well aware of the historical mistreatment African Americans have endured in the United States and juxtaposed with the aforementioned incidents, has led many individuals to believe that African American males are perceived and treated unfairly. For some African American males, functioning in a society that has proven on countless occasions to be hostile towards them, the process of identity development becomes very complex and takes on even more significance. Societal messages and images permeate the air

waves depicting African American males as individuals incapable of becoming highly functioning beings and instead should be thought of as “thugs,” irresponsible, and reprehensible. Capturing the dominant narrative held of young men of color, Harper and Associates (2014) offered the following:

Their futures are hopeless. All but a few will remain trapped in generational cycles of poverty and crime-infested neighborhoods. Their lazy, drug-addicted, government dependent single parents care little about their schooling.

Consequently, they inherit from their families and communities a staunch carelessness for learning and educational attainment. More appealing to them are guns, gangs, fast money, and one pair of career options (either becoming rappers or professional athletes). They are to be feared, stopped and frisked, and mass incarcerated, as they are the antithesis of law-abiding citizens (p.5).

Shaping the story of African American males in such a way has led some African American males to internalize these views, thus disrupting their identity exploration and actualization of self. In cases where African American males internalize the negative views suggested of them they begin to adopt stereotypical behaviors and attitudes.

Steele and Aronson (1995) noted how stereotype threat can induce high levels of anxiety in African Americans and reduce their academic performance. In their study, Steele and Aronson found that when African American students were primed with the stereotype that Blacks lacked intelligence, they performed significantly lower than their White peers on a purported intellectual examination. In a follow-up study, Davis, Aronson, and Salinas (2006) investigated how racial identity may serve as a moderator of stereotype threat. The implications of their study were that “promoting positive racial

identity development can be helpful in low threat situations [i.e. homework assignment] but may be insufficiently protective in high stakes testing situations” (p. 415). Davis et al. (2006) suggested the development of programs (i.e. Empowered Youth Programs; Bailey & Bradbury-Bailey, 2010) that encourage a scholar identity (Whiting, 2006; 2009) would help African Americans connect with academics more effectively.

In an attempt to validate African Americans, males in particular, enrichment programs have focused attention on helping them locate alternatives to negative behaviors. Pinckney, Outley, Blake, & Kelly (2011) suggested participation in “structured free-time activities may be highly beneficial by fostering resiliency, leadership skills and self-efficacy” in African American youth (p. 100). Agencies such as the Boys & Girls club, YMCA, and local programs such as the Athens, GA Chess and Community club have endeavored to help offset the problems that seemingly plague only African American males. In these programs, traditional sport activities such as basketball and football are intended to build leadership skills and strength of character, while activities such as chess are introduced to encourage critical thinking skills. The goal of these programs is to introduce African American males to a new set of leisure activities, while still offering to them traditional forms of Black leisure, in hopes that they will develop positive behaviors.

However, some have argued that in addition to addressing the needs of African American males, attention needs to be directed towards African American females as well. Citing that African American females face similar circumstances as African American males, some believe they are marginalized more than males due to their gender and may be at even greater risk. While there may be an element of truth to this line of

reasoning, I have elected to focus on males in this study because of my lived experiences as an African American male. Additionally, while conducting this literature review I was unable to locate any studies in the field of leisure that addressed African American males leisure specifically, thus this study will be the first of its kind.

Leisure's Connection to Identity Development

The subject of leisure has amply been considered in relation to the process of identity development in adolescence (cf. Kleiber, 1999). Similarly, the topic of identity formation has been a heavily explored area by researchers throughout the social and behavioral sciences for decades. One of the more influential theorists in the pantheon of identity researchers, Erik Erikson (1968), viewed identity development as a critical psychosocial task, particularly of adolescence, that is both difficult and complex. Erikson described identity as involving a sense of sameness and continuity over time and believed individuals experience changes throughout their life cycle, while maintaining certain characteristics that distinguish them from others. Citing the work of Erikson, Baumeister (1986) described the concept of identity continuity as “being the same person today as yesterday or last year or next week” (p.18). Establishing continuity is considered an important component of identity development as this will reflect some degree of identity achievement.

According to Erikson's developmental theory, the life cycle is broken into eight stages detailing the changes an individual must undergo. Of significance for this study is the fifth stage, identity versus role confusion. During this stage (ages 12-18) adolescents are tasked with “searching for a new sense of continuity and sameness” due to an instability in their current sense of self (Erikson, 1963, p. 261). The instability or “crisis”

is in response to the adolescent trying to adjust to their maturing body and taking on adult-like tasks while establishing some autonomy relative to parental influence. Furthermore, adolescents “are now primarily concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the occupational prototypes of the day” (Erikson, 1963, p. 261). This quest for an identity leads the adolescent on a journey to “acquire a clear and consolidated sense of true self that is realistic and internalized, one that will lay the basis for further identity development” (Harter, 1990, p.354). In the event an adolescent is unable to find at least preliminary identity during this stage he or she would experience role confusion.

Josselson (1980) broke the process of identity formation down into two components: individuation and social relatedness. Individuation is described as individuals creating a unique self that is distinct from others and developing a sense of autonomy. An example of this would be a younger sibling attempting to escape an older sibling's shadow by developing an interest in a hobby or activity different from those of his older sibling. Social relatedness refers to individuals viewing themselves as members of a unique social network (Shaw, Kleiber, & Caldwell, 1995). This occurs when individuals decide to join a group of people who share similar interests in a hobby or activity that will advance their skill set or connects them socially with like-minded people.

Erikson (1968) noted the process of identity development becomes even more cumbersome for adolescents of color due to the negative messages they receive through media and social interactions. Arnett and Brody (2008) posited, “the challenge (for

African Americans) is not just to sort out their own assessments of who and what they wish to be but to reject and overcome the negative stereotypes that others hold about them” (p.292). Endeavoring to recognize leisure’s self-affirming potential for themselves may prove to be useful for African Americans identity development.

Cross, Parham, and Helms (1998) suggested that for African Americans, identity serves three functions:

(1) social anchor and meaning to one’s existence, (2) connection to the broader African community across the globe, and (3) it serves as a protection or buffer against the social forces that continually bombard the psyche with non-affirming and, in some cases, dehumanizing messages (as cited in Parham, Ajamu, & White, 2011, p. 85).

And while leisure may offer opportunities for positive identity formation, it also presents a context wherein negative identity images can be confronted.

Larson (2011), noted adolescents must learn to “navigate an adult world that is complex and disorderly” and in order to successfully transition into it they must develop “competencies to work towards goals” (p.317-318). This requires adolescents to integrate themselves into society by defining themselves and differentiating themselves from others. Shedding one's former self and establishing a newer self during adolescence – one more in line with maturing into adulthood - is a central task of this period. One way a new self is developed is by replacing or refining “childish” forms of leisure.

Developing interest in newer forms of leisure and the necessary competencies facilitate the growth adolescents typically make at this stage. Kleiber (1999) asserted that the “development of competencies in activities is itself a statement about moving into

adulthood, where skills are essential for the assumption of adult roles” (p. 49). However, as important as skills and interests are alone, personal tastes and preferences such as in music and art, and other sources of joy are inevitably connected to an adolescent’s emerging identity.

Racial Identity Development

As part of their quest to establish an identity in the United States, African Americans have endeavored to create a racial distinctiveness that communicates to the world a sense of collective identity and racial pride. The concept that best reflects this commitment and efforts by African Americans to distinguish themselves is “racial identity.” Differing significantly from ethnic identity, which defines a people group based on cultural values, racial identity classifies individuals based on one's skin color. Chavez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) suggested “racial identity is a surface-level manifestation based on what we look like yet has deep implications in how we are treated” (p.40).

Race, a socially constructed concept based on phenotype, has historically been used to separate people based on skin color and physical features. There is a well-documented history of how race in the U.S. has determined the way individuals were treated and even now continues to be a factor. As a result of one's race, individuals were denied employment, access to certain places, and underserved. Though many claim to not see color when interacting with people from another race we continue to hear stories from people of color discuss how they are unfairly treated in a supposed post-racial society. African Americans in particular note how even after the Civil Rights Movement they do not feel welcome in America

People from different ethnicities have also felt the ramifications of race upon entering into the U.S. Unlike race, when referring to ethnicity one is directing attention to an individual's cultural practices, beliefs, and language (Phinney, 1990). Within the past 60 years, researchers have used ethnicity rather than race when describing group differences or similarities. Philipp (2000) suggested that when researchers conduct studies investigating ethnicity they are effectively masking the saliency of race. Philipp (2000), noting researchers' aversion to topics of race, offered the following scenario:

“Consider an African American executive driving an expensive automobile who has been 'profiled' as a likely drug dealer by police and is stopped for questioning; do the police ponder his ethnicity or is he simply stopped for having a Black face in the 'wrong' part of town?” (p.122).

From this illustration one can see how race is more of a “defining characteristic for African American group membership” than ethnicity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; p. 18). Furthermore, this example shows how in addition to developing an identity, African Americans must also engage in the process of racial identity development.

Abrams and Trusty (2004) asserted racial identity development assists individual's in achieving “increased racial self-acceptance and acceptance of racially different others” (p. 365). For African Americans who identify as such, this means they must seek out individuals who share in the experiences of being African American. By connecting with other African Americans, one begins to learn the common political, social, and spiritual ideologies shared by many African Americans. Additionally, as one is acquiring this information it becomes evident that being Black is not monolithic.

Moreover, through the formation of a racial identity, African Americans can begin to establish a personal set of views to help them combat racial overtones they may experience in society. Thus, establishing a racial identity can be useful in buffering against various forms of racism, discrimination, and negative labels applied to African Americans. Obtaining a firm racial identity will also be beneficial for African Americans when attempting to deflect questions of their authenticity from Non-Blacks and/or fellow Blacks. In an attempt to understand the process of becoming Black, Cross' (1971) developed the *Nigrescence* model.

Nigrescence

One of the earliest and most often used models created shortly after the Civil Rights era to describe African Americans racial identity development was the Nigrescence model. The term *Nigrescence* is a French term that literally means to become Black. In its original form the Nigrescence model consisted of five stages, but since then has undergone considerable revisions (Cross, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) and been consolidated into four stages: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion, and internalization-commitment.

In the first stage, *Pre-Encounter*, Cross explains how African Americans possess a pro-White/anti-Black attitude. Individuals at this stage are characterized as “self-hating” and having a negative perception of African American culture, values, and beliefs. However, these individuals consider non-Black affairs more valuable and worthy of their time (Vandiver, 2001). Parham (2011) notes, individuals in this stage have “accepted a deracinated frame of reference; and because that reference point is usually a White normative standard, he or she develops attitudes that are very pro-White and anti-

Black” (p. 97). Within this stage, identification as an African American is of little importance and more emphasis is placed on other regions of one’s life (i.e. groups, profession, and religion). Characteristics of African Americans at this stage include holding the belief that the enslavement of Africans was a “civilizing experience” and “real Black history [began] after the Civil War” (Cross, 1995, p. 56). Cross stated that as a result of having a distorted view of African American’s contributions to society and history, many African Americans at this stage hold a less positive view of their race and see White culture as being superior.

Figure 1. Nigrescence Model

Stage	Identity
Pre- Encounter: “Deracinated frame of reference” (Parham, 2011).	Assimilation: Race is not as salient as being viewed as an American. Miseducation: “Negative stereotypical mindset a Black person has about the Black community.” Self-hatred: Blacks who view self negatively (Cross, 1991).
Encounter: A re-examination of one's belief system; an awakening (Cross, 1995).	
Immersion-Emersion: Intense involvement in Black culture, tradition, rituals, etc. (Cross, 1971).	Anti-White: Disregard Eurocentric worldview. Intense Black Involvement: African centered worldview (Cross, 1971).
Internalization: An acceptance of being African American intellectually, emotionally, socially, and spiritually (Cross, 1991).	Black Nationalist: Being identified as Black is very salient. Biculturalist: Being Black is not the only salient cultural identity. Multiculturalist: A Black identity is one of multiple identities (Vandiver, et al., 2002).

Cross (1991) re-examined the Nigrescence model and made revisions to the Pre-encounter and Internalization stages. Modifications within the Pre-encounter stage included the addition of three identities: *Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-hatred*. Pre-encounter assimilation places an emphasis on race salience, where race is considered of little importance and being viewed as an American is highly regarded. Pre-encounter Miseducation “describes the negative stereotypical mindset a Black person has about the Black community in general, whereas the Pre-encounter Self-Hatred identity characterizes Blacks who view themselves negatively as a result of their race” (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002).

In the second stage, Encounter, an awakening occurs where an African American reexamines his/her belief system in response to a significant racialized event. Cross (1995) noted that in order for one to successfully progress into the second stage, the encounter must leave an indelible mark or “shatter” their current identity and worldview. The encounter stage has been described as a period when individuals experience some form of discrimination, which compels them to look deeper into the cultural values of their ethnic group. In some cases, one's worldview is altered through a positive encounter such as an African American student learning about significant contributions African Americans have made to the development of America. Parham et al. (2011) noted “it is difficult to predict which specific encounter or how many encounters will be sufficient to instigate the psychic disruption that encounter brings” (p. 97). Instead Parham, et al., pointed to the individual's “degree of defensiveness” asserting that if defenses are low change is more likely to occur and if defenses are high several encounters must occur for change to take place (p.97).

Following an evaluation of their “blackness” African Americans are led to stage three, Immersion-Emersion, where an immersion in African American culture occurs and a pro-Black/anti-White identity emerges. During the immersion stage, individuals “struggle to repress or destroy all vestiges of the Pre-encounter orientation while simultaneously becoming intensely concerned with personal implications of the newfound Black identity” (Cross, 1971). At this stage an individual embraces “Blackness” and an African-centered worldview by distancing oneself from a Eurocentric worldview. Markers of a shift to an African-centered worldview include trading a “slave name” for an African name, wearing traditional African attire, attending Pro-Black gatherings, and acquiring the perspective that in all things, 'Black is beautiful.' Individuals find themselves “clinging to various elements of the Black culture while simultaneously withdrawing from interactions from other ethnic groups” (Parham, 2011, p.97).

In some cases individuals at this stage assert their Blackness by labeling other African Americans as 'not Black enough' or, alternatively 'down for the cause.' This action boosts the identity of the “Super Black,” while belittling some portrayals of Blackness by other African Americans. Understanding this behavior will be important to this study as I seek to understand how the denial of blackness and accusations of acting White affect the racial identity development of African American males.

The final stage, Internalization, is when one acquires an acceptance of being African American intellectually, emotionally, socially, and spiritually. It should be noted that in the original Nigrescence model Internalization was the fourth stage and Internalization-Commitment the fifth stage. However, Cross (1991) condensed the two

stages into one stage because “few differences [existed] between the psychology of Blacks at the fourth and fifth stages of Nigrescence” (p.220). Individuals at this stage are characterized as having attained a degree of “clarity and level-headedness” and “achieving a sense of inner security and self-confidence with his or her Blackness” (Cross, 1995; Parham, 2011). Furthermore, individuals at this stage experience “psychological openness, ideological flexibility, and a general decline in strong anti-White feelings” (Parham, 2011, p. 98).

Identities associated with individuals at the Internalization stage include: Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist. For the Black Nationalist, they have “an Afrocentric perspective where Africa is seen as the political, social, cultural center for people of African descent worldwide” and being identified as Black is very salient (Asante, 1992; Vandiver et al., 2002). A Biculturalist identity “describes the possibility that Blacks have another salient cultural identity beyond Blackness,” whereas Multiculturalist embrace multiple identities with Black identity being one reference point Vandiver, et al. (2002).

Expanding upon the Nigrescence theory, Parham (1989) introduced the idea of recycling or the “cyclical nature of racial identity development” (p. 210). According Parham recycling is the “reinitiation of the racial identity struggle and resolution process after having gone through the identity development process at an earlier stage in one's life” (p. 213). According to Parham, et al. (2011), “recycling does not mean the person reverts back to the old (Pre-Encounter) identity and then traverses all the stages. Rather, Parham is inclined to believe that the challenge or trauma acts as a new encounter

episode that exposes small or giant gaps in a person's thinking about Blackness, and the person recycles in order to fill such gaps” (p.99).

Despite its widespread popularity among scholars and researchers examining African American racial identity, it is not without its detractors. Criticisms levied against the Nigrescence model begin with it not being rooted enough in “traditional African cultural reality” (Kambon & Bowen-Reid, 2010). Kambon and Bowen-Reid (2010) asserted that minimal emphasis is placed on the “role/forces of traditional African cultural reality and philosophy (values, beliefs, behavioral norms, etc.)...and an inordinate amount of attention to African Americans adopting a more multi-cultural and universalistic philosophy” (2010). Additional criticisms of the developmental aspects of the model (Kambon and Bowen-Reid, 2010) include the questionable assumption that the majority of African Americans “experience pre-encounter attitudes because of internalized negative beliefs and attitudes” towards African Americans (Cokely & Chapman, 2009, p. 287). However, in spite of these concerns, I find the Nigrescence model to be generally representative of how most African Americans racial identity is developed and thus worth using as a sensitizing theoretical framework for considering new data.

Successful passage through Cross's Nigrescence model symbolizes an African Americans' racial identity development in a society that has historically been hostile towards them. Aided by the Nigrescence model, one is able to better understand and explain the process of accepting and affirming a Black identity in an American context (Vandiver, 2001). Furthermore, this model allows us to better understand how African Americans define Blackness, relate to family members, peers, and other ethnicities, and

protect their collective identity. One area that will help us examine these three concepts is through an investigation of the burden of 'Acting White'.

The Burden of “Acting White”

Since the introduction of the term “Acting White,” scholars and researchers have debated the meaning and legitimacy of this concept. Acting White was first introduced in the field of education by McArdle and Young (1970). During a group session, students interpreted acting White as “becom[ing] more inhibited, more formal, or to lack 'soul',” which would lead to an African American losing “a very important and natural part of Negro behavior” (McArdle & Young, 1970, p.137).

Attempting to look deeper into the notion of acting White Fordham and Ogbu (1986), published an article entitled “Black students’ school success: Coping with the 'Burden of acting White'.” In this piece, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) investigated “how the fear of being accused of acting White causes a social and psychological situation which diminishes black students’ academic effort and thus leads to underachievement” (p. 176). Students in the Fordham and Ogbu study attended a predominately black high school in Washington, D.C. during the 1980’s, under the pseudonym of Capital High School. In their attempt to understand student's disinterest in academics, Fordham and Ogbu used a concept from anthropology—“fictive kinship” to describe the oppositional identity students adopted towards academics. Defined as individuals sharing “some reciprocal social or economic relationship,” fictive kinship refers to a “sense of peoplehood or collective identity” (p. 183). In relation to the African American students in this study, behaviors or activities perceived to be characteristic of Whites (i.e. academic excellence) were resisted, rejected, and even condemned.

Amidst some confusion around the meaning of ‘Acting White,’ Fordham (2008) reminded researchers and scholars of what acting White meant and provided an updated definition.

Originally, Fordham and Ogbu defined acting White as the following:

“African Americans who are accused of acting White are inevitably displaced, becoming conscripts in an army of one. Perceived as matter out of place, every American of African ancestry who opts to perform Whiteness, even, episodically, is forced to fight to retain citizenship in the Black community while concurrently seeking acceptance by the hegemonic White society. This compulsory dual citizenship with one segment being the site of privilege and the other a sign of stigma, produces the phenomenon I defined as acting White at Capital High...” (p.231).

Fordham's revised version of acting White described it as a “scripted, even racialized performance, the goal of which is--perhaps unconsciously--something approximating attempted identity theft...in exchange for what is conventionally identified as success” (p.234). Moreover, Fordham (2008) outlined behaviors students at Capital High considered indicative of African Americans 'Acting White': “speaking standard English (also known as ‘talking White’); going to the Smithsonian; having a party with no music, or dancing to the lyrics rather than the beat; studying hard; going camping; hiking in the mountains, and so forth” (p.231). The depiction of 'Acting White' found in this study demonstrates how selection of certain leisure activities plays a major role in how an African American is perceived by his or her peers. Thus, participation in leisure activities considered White causes some African Americans to question the “authenticity”

of a fellow African American. Consequently, African Americans accused of acting White may begin to re-examine their identification with the African American race or authenticity.

Thus far, investigations on the acting White phenomenon have typically been conducted within the field of education without giving much consideration to leisure. Citing this lack of attention given to leisure, amongst other disciplines, Armstrong (2013), noted “individuals want freedom from social, cultural, economic, and psychological constraints and restrictions, and many African Americans seek leisure for such respite” (p.213). For some African Americans accusations of acting White prevents them from engaging in certain leisure activities for fear of being stigmatized as either a “sellout” or “Uncle Tom.” Having one's name attached to these monikers calls into question one's Blackness and status within the African American community; assuming one cares about his or her status in the African American community, this means a great deal.

Interestingly, accusations of acting White may also serve as an attempt to draw back “lost” African Americans. Efforts such as these serve the purpose of preserving African American culture, rituals, and traditions to prevent White culture from tainting or even taking what African Americans have cultivated. (For a more thorough analysis of Whites’ appropriation of African American culture, rather than the reverse, see Daley, 2003.) Shinew, Mowatt, and Glover (2007) asserted individuals with similar racial identities participate in activities considered part of a shared custom where distinct patterns of leisure activities are enacted. Conversely, when individuals participate in

leisure activities unfamiliar to their community or shared racial identity, conflict is likely to ensue, at least internally.

Within some African American communities, family members, neighbors, and peers share a common belief about what is considered Black leisure that prevents individuals from engaging in White-identified leisure activities. Adherence to these strict principles and codes imposed by the African American community reinforces stereotypes associated with African American leisure involving activities such as football, basketball, or track. Bergin (2002) noted African Americans tend to avoid behaviors that might “mean alliance with White culture” (p. 115), which would include activities like hiking and camping as recognized in other leisure research (e.g. Floyd & Shiner, 1999; Martin, 2004). African Americans acting White in the presence of an African American audience may be considered in violation of African American citizenship and could face dismissal (figuratively or literally) from the community. Presented with such a dilemma one must decide whether to retain membership within the African American race, seek acceptance into another racial group, or become race-less.

It should be noted that accusations of acting White are typically used among African Americans, rather than coming as an insult from Whites. Consequently, in situations where a White person accuses an African American of acting White it may conceivably have even more damaging effects on the racial identity development of African Americans. However, for the purposes of this paper we will explore the impact of this accusation within the African American community in the context of leisure. By investigating charges of acting White within leisure we may begin to see the ways in which African Americans' leisure choices and participation patterns are influenced if they

are, how it affects individual and racial identity development as well as personal interpretations of authentic Blackness.

Authentic Blackness

A heavily contested topic amongst African American scholars and researchers, the concept of authentic Blackness has been a central focus of several articles and books seeking to clarify its meaning. Researchers have commonly referred to “particular speech patterns, styles of dress, music preferences, and specific rituals to establish racial or ethnic boundaries between one's group and others” as a way to define authentic Blackness (Ariza & Berkey, 2009). For African Americans who display these attitudes and behaviors, it informs individuals from other racial backgrounds and ethnicities that one's Blackness should not be questioned.

Authentic Blackness is consistent with the idea of fictive kinship that was introduced earlier in the work of Fordham and Ogbu (1986). As with fictive kinship, authentic Blackness describes African Americans' group identity experience as being very familial as evidenced by African Americans greeting one another as “brother” or “sister.”

A further examination of fictive kinship reveals that it describes a “particular mindset” and operates as a way to maintain or preserve African American cultural values, traditions, and beliefs. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) asserted fictive kinship may have been developed in response to Whites’ attempts to strip African Americans of their culture and dismiss their intellect. Creating a style with characteristics found in Africa, African Americans were able to distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups. Williams (1981) noted “fictive kinship means a lot to black people because they regard it as the

ideal by which members of the group are judged; it is also the medium through which blacks distinguish 'real' from 'spurious' members (as cited in Fordham & Ogbu, 1986, p. 185). Establishing criteria by which to grade Blackness provides a way to combat claims that African Americans are “worthless human beings” and “expected to make peace with mediocrity” (Baldwin, 1963, p. 18).

Moreover, fictive kinship “suggests that the mere possession of African features and/or being of African descent does not automatically make one a black person, nor does it suggest that one is a member in good standing of the group” (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986, p.184). A vetting out process occurs in the African American community based on cultural norms, values, and traditions that are not totally contingent upon one's skin color. Much was made of the notion that Bill Clinton, a White man, was considered among some Blacks to be the first African American president due to his love of jazz music and salty foods. While it was offered partly in jest on somewhat superficial criteria, African Americans' willingness to adorn Mr. Clinton with the label of being a Black man indicates authentic Blackness is deeper than color. Instead, Blackness is judged by behaviors and actions, with skin color appearing to have little importance.

Research Questions

This study addressed the following research questions:

1. To what extent and in what ways is leisure experience relevant to identity formation in African American adolescents?
2. To what extent and in what ways have the leisure preferences and orientations of adolescence endured in terms of current self-assessments, and to what extent is race implicated in this evolution?
3. To what extent and in what ways has their leisure been racialized as “White” or “Black” in their lives and how, if at all, has the problem of acting White been a part of that experience?
4. To what extent and in what ways did they or others they knew, experience tension or conflict around acting White in leisure activities and orientations?

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In previous chapters I have discussed the ways in which African American leisure has been understood, how African American males have been portrayed in society, leisure's connection to identity development, the importance of racial identity development, and how accusations of acting White may impact the leisure preferences of African American males. Additionally, a consideration of Cross's Nigrescence model provides a premise for this study. What comes next is how I propose to examine the experiences of African American males in the context of leisure.

In this chapter I will introduce the purpose of this study and why it follows the qualitative tradition. Additionally, this chapter will explain the: (1) motivation for using a narrative approach, (2) the sensitizing concepts, (3) research criteria, sampling techniques and ethical considerations, (4) methods for data collection and analysis, (5) researcher biases and assumptions and (6) the trustworthiness and limitations of this study.

Purpose of the Study

This study addressed: the ways in which African American males' leisure experiences are relevant to identity formation and racial identity development, how their leisure has been racialized, how the problem of acting White has been a part of that experience, and how certain forms of leisure have endured in the course of development from adolescence to young adulthood. This study attempted to reveal how eight college-

aged African American males used leisure as a context for: personal and racial identity development, and how the prospect of acting White may have deterred participation in certain leisure activities.

Qualitative Tradition

Defined as a methodological approach that goes beyond the numbers, qualitative studies give voice to the data collected. Breaking away from the traditional method of conducting research, quantitative studies, qualitative research allows the voice of participants to be better expressed. Unlike their counterpart quantitative studies, where researchers use “statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), qualitative researchers use techniques that will help them better understand “the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2008, p. 37). Stated more broadly, qualitative inquiry is primarily interested in “understanding the meaning of human action,” rather than quantitative research where statistical procedures are used to make generalizations of the population being studied (Schwandt, 2001, p.213).

Citing a need for “mental health nurses to know their clients at depth,” Hall and Powell (2011) argued for the use of qualitative research in the field of nursing. Hall and Powell believed that if more qualitative studies were conducted in the field of nursing the information found could better serve practitioners seeking to “provide holistic care” to patients (p.1). Hall and Powell asserted researchers could find in-depth information about clients by collecting data that addressed “questions of feeling and meaning” (p.1). One of the methods suggested by Hall and Powell to obtain more meaningful information was by gathering clients' stories through interviews.

Some of the techniques used by qualitative researchers seeking to obtain meaningful information from participants include field observations, leading focus groups, and in-depth interviews. These data collection methods allow qualitative researchers to elicit meaningful and descriptive information from participants. When using either of these approaches to collect data researchers select an environment that is comfortable and inviting. Once collected, qualitative researchers are then able to interpret the data, in collaboration with participants, to establish a shared understanding and appreciation of the human experience (Spector-Mersel, 2010).

Additionally, researchers following the qualitative tradition take into account the personal biases and assumptions they bring into the study when collecting and analyzing their data. As a way to promote and maintain transparency throughout the study qualitative researchers acknowledge their position at the onset. By recognizing one's biases and assumptions qualitative researchers are more readily able to engage in the co-construction of the data being collected and later analyzed with the participant (Creswell, 2008). However, such a requirement is not asked of quantitative researchers. Instead, quantitative researchers are obligated to adhere to a specific set of scientific methods, which presumably eliminates some of the researcher's biases. Performing research in this manner requires minimal participant involvement, outside of their responses, in the data analysis process.

Thus, as a result of the reasons described above and the researcher's interest in acquiring a more meaningful understanding of human action the qualitative tradition will be followed. Accordingly, the approach I believe to be best suited to conduct this study is

narrative inquiry, due to its use of in-depth interviews to collect the stories of participants' lived experiences.

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry, a tradition steeped in disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology, and psychology “rests on the epistemological assumption that we as human beings make sense of random experience by the imposition of story structures” (Bell, 2002, p. 207). Researchers have described narratives as an “essential means of human sense making” that takes place in either oral or written form (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013). Riessman (1993) declared individuals' stories offers us a representation of an individual's life experiences and highlights their engagement in the process of interpreting self. Connelly and Clandinin (2006) asserted participant's stories provide “a portal through which one enters their world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful” (p.375). When used in this manner narratives assist researchers in their attempts at understanding how participant's lived experiences reveal aspects of their identity development within certain contexts.

One of the ways narrative inquiry operates in revealing aspects of identity development is by having participants tell stories about their past. Syed & Azmitia (2008) asserted narratives are “retrospective accounts of events that occurred in [an individual's] past and therefore provide a window into the developmental history of the teller” (p. 1015). For example, Cavin and Scott (2010) “analyzed [the] narrative and historical autobiographical accounts of African Americans from three major racial eras in United States history in order to examine African Americans' relationship with nature over time” (p.2). Utilizing an autobiographical narrative analysis approach, Cavin and Scott (2010)

reviewed the autobiographies of Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois and Eddy Harris to uncover “the complicated relationship between the wild places of our country and African American people” (p. 2). More specifically, this study was interested in “understanding the deep historical roots of why more non-Whites have eschewed outdoor environments” (p.2).

In their first narrative, the authors depicted Fredrick Douglass as a man who “did not feel the woods' powerful draw as others” (p. 6). For Douglass, “the woods were seen as a place that was both the path to freedom (i.e. escaping through the woods) and a place replete with fear” (p. 4). The authors interpreted Douglass's story as a man who identified the outdoors as “places associated primarily with the overseer's whip” (p. 6). The second narrative focused on how W.E.B. DuBois pondered the disconnection African Americans have with wildland areas. The authors described DuBois as a man who understood nature as a “soul-restoring place” and viewed leisure as a place where oppressed Blacks could find respite. Ultimately, he was seen as a man that identified the outdoors as a place that “could rise above social context and race and provide transcendental joy” (p.6).

The final narrative, Eddy Harris, highlights the story of a man “encountering nature, while at the same time trying to come to grips with his own 'Blackness' and what that means in the United States” (p.5). The authors depicted Harris as an African American male who willingly engaged in leisure atypical of African Americans (i.e. canoeing), due in part to adopting a color-blind ideology, and lived “with the burden of being out of place” (p.5). In the final analysis, Harris's identity with nature “reflected a resistance to racial stereotypes and peer pressure” (p.6). By following a narrative approach the authors were able to engage in a discussion about the complexities of the

relationship these African American men had with the outdoors, and were able to draw “connection[s] between nature and man” (p.3).

Individuals' retelling of personal stories allowed them to voice their beliefs and views that, in some cases, challenge the dominant narrative of a people group. Thus, the emancipatory powers found within the narrative approach allows members of marginalized group's access to power by enabling them to offer society a counter narrative. In an effort to challenge the dominant narrative that “Black guys don't care about education,” Harper and Hill (2012) presented the counter narratives of African American males (p.107). Drawing from a pool of 304 Black male undergraduates Harper and Hill were able to identify 10 undergraduate students to participate in focus group interviews (p.107). Data collected during interviews provided researchers with the counter stories of academically invested African American males' who made an investment in education. Thus, participation in focus groups and writing essays, allowed participants an opportunity to express their views on a topic that frequently ignores their voice.

Lastly, within the narrative approach there is an emphasis placed on building relational commitments between the researcher and participant. Clandinin and Murphy (2009) defined narrative “as the study of people in relation who are studying the experiences of people in relation” (p. 600). Further expounding on the relational aspect of the narrative approach, Clandinin and Murphy (2009) asserted narrative researchers have an obligation to collaborate with participants “to fulfill the relational responsibilities of representing co-constructed experiences” (p. 600). Hall and Powell (2011) asserted narratives “are a means to reveal life context” such as personal beliefs, values, or

“identification stories signifying gender, race, [and] class” (p.3). Consequently, following the relational commitments of narrative approach allows “researchers to present [life] experiences in all its complexity and richness” (Bell, 2002, p. 209).

Hence, using a narrative inquiry will be beneficial for this study as it will allow me to (1) provide an opportunity for participants' to share unique stories about their lived experiences within the context of leisure and (2) more thoroughly investigate the relevance of their leisure experiences to their identity formation, racial identity development, and awareness of the tension or conflict around acting White in leisure activities.

Sensitizing Concepts

As a way to “draw attention to important features of social interaction and provide guidelines for research in specific settings” researchers utilize sensitizing concepts (Bowen, 2006, p.3). Qualitative researchers have utilized sensitizing concepts in an effort to help readers contextualize the research problem being examined. Sensitizing concepts has been defined by Charmaz (2003) as “starting points for building analysis” which provides a guide for “seeing, organizing, and understanding experience” (p. 259). For this study the sensitizing concepts were identity achievement (as opposed to diffusion, moratorium, and foreclosure), the various stages of racial identity, and the acting White phenomenon.

The first sensitizing concept used in this study, identity achievement (as opposed to diffusion, moratorium and foreclosure), is understood as interpreted by Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966). An individual is said to have reached the identity achievement stage upon completion of an exploration of identities and committing to an identity. As noted

previously, leisure has been used in prior research studies to examine individuals' identity development. This investigation will continue in this line of inquiry, but will focus primarily on the identity development of African American males within leisure. The second sensitizing concept used in this study, racial identity development, will be applied as understood by Cross (1995). Until now researchers in the field of leisure have not had a way to measure the racial identity development of African American males. Cross' Nigrescence model is critical for this study because it provides a way to understand how the racial identity development of African American males occurs within the realm of leisure. The final sensitizing concept used in this study is the acting White phenomenon as presented by Fordham and Ogbu (1986) and Fordham (2008). Acting White has primarily been studied in the field of education to address how academically gifted African American students are accused, by their African American peers, of adopting White behaviors and attitudes. In this study an examination of acting White within the context of leisure will to better understand the leisure experiences of African American males.

Recruitment Sampling Criteria

In an effort to gather the narratives of college-aged African American males' leisure experiences criterion sampling and snowballing technique were used. According to Patton (1990), criterion sampling allows researchers to purposively select participants based on "some predetermined criterion of importance" (p. 176). For this study a total of eight African American males, between the ages of 18-24, were intentionally recruited to describe their leisure experiences and awareness of acting White within the context of leisure. It was deemed beneficial for this study to include participants who have an

awareness of the acting White phenomenon because individuals could give firsthand accounts of how this influenced their leisure.

In addition to criterion sampling, the snowballing technique was employed to identify other potential participants that met this study's requirements. Patton (1990, 2001) asserted snowballing is the process of pursuing “key-informants” to identify individuals who can provide the researcher with “information-rich cases” (p.176). In an effort to achieve this goal, at the conclusion of each interview participants were asked to suggest potential participants for the researcher to include in this study. By using this procedure the researcher was able to gather information rich data from individuals who met the above criteria.

To allow for the possibility that the selection of racial majority/minority school context might be a biasing factor, participants were recruited from both a Historically Black college (HB) and a Predominantly White (PW) university in the Southeastern United States. The eight participants selected for this study were contacted through in-person contact on university campuses and referrals from university faculty and students. Once eligibility was confirmed, participants received notification through email or phone requesting they submit available times to meet and an interview was scheduled. After agreeing to meet an agreed upon interview site was located. Sites for interviews took place in either a graduate student office or conference room located at the participant's university. Prior to meeting with participants all interview sites were inspected to ensure they were free of distractions and comfortable.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Upon agreeing to the terms of the study, individuals participated in an in-depth, one-on-one, semi-structured interview lasting approximately 45-60 minutes commenced. At the start of each interview, participants received an explanation of the proposed study, were notified of their right to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences and asked to complete an informed consent form. All interviews were digitally recorded using a tape recorder and later transcribed by the researcher following the interview. During interviews, participants responded to interview questions with personal stories and communicated how they came to understand or make meaning of life experiences from adolescence to adulthood (Riessman, 1993). To ensure each participant's identity remained confidential and concealed included: personal names were replaced with pseudonyms, all identifying characteristics were removed, and all audio files and notes were stored in a secured office space. At the conclusion of this study all audio files and list of pseudonyms were erased and destroyed.

For this study data was collected by conducting in-depth interviews of participants. According to Bell (2013) interviews are an effective tool for allowing “participants to make explicit certain feelings, beliefs, and opinions which might otherwise have been left unsaid and/or passed unnoticed” (p.102). Interviews, more specifically semi-structured interviews, were helpful in this study because they allowed the researcher to address a common set of themes without being bound to a particular structure. Additionally, a semi-structured interview approach affords researchers the “flexibility to detour from the planned course of action and follow a line of interest, while

at the same time keeping the original focus and purpose of the research in mind” (Bold, 2012, p. 100).

Interview Protocol

Guided by the study's research questions, interview questions were designed to encourage participant dialogue about their experiences from adolescence (12-18) into early adulthood (18-21). Areas covered by interview questions included: leisure experiences and common leisure activities participants engaged in as adolescents and currently as young adults (Appendix A). Participant responses provided a baseline of activities they either performed or avoided during adolescence or presently. Additionally, interview questions revealed how identifying as an African American male influenced one's leisure choices and how those choices challenged or reinforced identity.

Data Analysis

This current investigation was interested in collecting the stories of college-aged African American males' leisure experiences. Data collected through semi-structured interviews was used to examine how leisure is a context for identity development, racial identity development, and how accusations of acting White influence their leisure. At the conclusion of these semi-structured interviews the researcher transcribed each participant's story. Interview transcripts were then reviewed by the researcher who highlighted poignant material and repeating ideas. Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) defined repeating ideas as “an idea expressed in relevant text by two or more research participants” (p.54).

The researcher then created a list of the poignant material and repeating ideas found in participant transcripts. They were then grouped together under the following

headings: leisure experiences, family and peer influence, and acting White. Next, the material found under these headings was dwindled down into more specific themes that were relevant to this study's research questions. What emerged from this was the creation of the four major themes guiding this study and subthemes.

Then, a thematic analysis to search for similarities and/or differences amongst participants in this study was conducted. Research questions guiding this study were used to organize passages from text, directly linked to the purposes of this study, found in interviews. Next, patterns identified in two or more participant transcripts were organized into themes and subcategories. Performing a thematic analysis in this way may provide information indicating African American males attending a HB or PW have similar leisure experiences. Research questions helped facilitate the creation of these themes. Themes were created by identifying the repeating ideas found in interview transcripts. The table above presents the themes and subthemes that emerged in the process of analyzing interview transcripts. Themes and subthemes were created by constant comparative analysis. Patterns were observed in the data and then they were into themes to reflect how a general consensus among participants in this study. Furthermore, information may indicate that attendance at either a HB or PW may be more beneficial for developing a strong racial identity.

Data gathered through semi-structured interviews were organized into participant profiles and stories for analysis. Bold (2012) asserted narrative analysis “aims to understand how people think through events over time and in context” (p. 132). Participants’ in this study stories helped us come to a better understanding of identity development and their awareness of the acting White phenomenon within the context of

leisure. Analyzing data in this manner allowed the thick, rich, and descriptive stories of participants highlight various aspects of their

Researcher Biases and Assumptions

Entering into this study there were some biases and assumptions held by the researcher that needed to be addressed in an effort to provide and maintain transparency. Riessman (2008) asserted views expressed by researchers play an active role in the shaping of stories presented by participants during the interview process. Recognizing the researcher's influence on participants' stories Clandinin (2013) posited researchers must “intentionally come into relation with participants” and through this intentionality “put our lives alongside an other's life” (p.23). Accordingly, the stories shared by participants during interviews in this current investigation were co-constructed between the participant and researcher.

The co-construction of stories in this study was accomplished by the researcher submitting to participants' their story as interpreted by the researcher. Given an opportunity to review the researcher's interpretation of their story participants' offered their take on the profile presented. Next, the researcher took into consideration the feedback and recommendations offered by participants and rewrote the profile until an agreeable medium was reached. An awareness of this collaboration required the researcher to always consider his position and ways to manage inherent biases and assumptions.

Having been raised in a predominately Black neighborhood, and attended predominately Black schools from kindergarten through college has instilled in me a pride in my race. Lessons learned both inside and outside the classroom have helped me

arrive at a place where I view myself and others who look like me as individuals who are capable of being community leaders, businessmen, and scholars. Thus, one of the more obvious biases coming into this study was my identification as an African American male. I make note of my identity as a Black male due to the fact that this allowed me to make deep connections to the participants interviewed in a way individuals from a different background or gender could not.

For instance, participants and I were able to engage in discussions with one another about our unique experiences as an African American male. Wilkinson (1977) asserted the portrayal of African American males in our society has been:

Every dimension of [their] identity is maligned: his fundamental biological needs, emotional system, intellectual and cognitive abilities, capability for expressing human feelings, orientation toward black women, use of leisure time, in short the totality of his existential and biological self (p. 151).

During interviews participants and I were able to share personal stories and reflect on the recent events in the news of unarmed Black males being gunned down by White officers. These conversations then led us to reflect on how episodes such as these have shaped our lives and how we as Black males are viewed in society.

The bonds I was able to develop and establish with participants as a result of our shared ethnicity, gender, and stories allowed me to engage in rich conversations about identity development and how living as an African American male is both unique and difficult. Far too often the narrative of African American males is that we are predisposed to violence and crime and as a result we must be controlled. The frequent denial of our good nature, and individual's inability to forgive Black males for past transgressions, has

caused many brothers to act out in fits of rage. As a result many have fulfilled the negative stereotype cast on African American males with acts of “*Black Rage*” to prove a point (Grier & Cobbs, 1968). However, I find this limited view of Black males to be false and hope that as a result of this study the reader may come to see African American males as good natured individuals who desire to live peacefully with individuals from all walks of life.

Trustworthiness

For this study the two methods used to ensure the trustworthiness of this qualitative study were internal and external validity. Internal validity is concerned with how close and applicable research findings are to reality. In this study I will follow a narrative framework which purports “truth of the story is not dependent upon the accuracy of certain facts” (Rossiter & Clark, 2007, p. 55). Simply put, qualitative researchers are not overly concerned with story details such as dates, times, or locations, but more interested in the story’s meaning. So in an effort to secure the internal validity of this study I employed member checking (Creswell, 2013).

Member checking has been defined as a technique researchers used as a form of participant verification and allows participants an opportunity to correct and confirm their story. In this current investigation member checking was accomplished by the researcher and participant revisiting segments of their interview to ensure that the participants' views were captured accurately. Additionally, during these member checks participants provided the researcher with additional information about their background for further interpretation and analysis.

Leedy and Ormrod (2005) defined external validity as “the extent to which its results apply to situations beyond the study itself, where the conclusions drawn can be generalized to other contexts, real-life settings, or representative samples” (p. 99). Within the field of qualitative studies one of the ways external validity is achieved is by using in-depth, rich, and thick descriptions of participants (Merriam, 2002). In this current investigation participants' stories were written into rich and descriptive stories to help the reader better understand the leisure experiences of African American males. The ways in which this was accomplished was by writing a profile of each participant detailing their family background, leisure interests, and lived experiences.

Summary

This chapter introduced the study’s purpose and provided rationale for following the qualitative tradition of narrative inquiry. Additionally, this chapter has described: (1) how applying a narrative framework will be effective in eliciting the stories of African American males, (2) the research sample and sampling techniques used to select participants, (3) methods for data collection and analysis, and (4) criteria used for evaluating the trustworthiness of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Introduction

Using leisure as a context, this investigation attempted to determine if leisure experiences shaped the identity formation of African American males in ways that are racialized, non-racialized, or both. Research questions guiding this study were as follows:

1. To what extent and in what ways is leisure experience relevant to identity formation in African American adolescents?
2. To what extent and in what ways have the leisure preferences and orientations of adolescence endured in terms of current self-assessments, and to what extent is race implicated in this evolution?
3. To what extent and in what ways has their leisure been racialized as “White” or “Black” in their lives and how, if at all, has the problem of acting White been a part of that experience?
4. To what extent and in what ways did they or others they knew, experience tension or conflict around acting White in leisure activities and orientations?

For this study eight participants were selected who met the following criteria: (1) African American male, (2) between the ages of 18-24, and (3) with an awareness of the acting White phenomenon. Within each participant’s profile excerpts from interviews were used to highlight information about participant’s leisure activity patterns and social influences. Figure 1, presented below, provides information about participants including

their pseudonyms, type of university attended, classification, major, and current leisure activities. Next, the study's research questions will be used to draw connections between participant's identity development and leisure preferences. This will show the ways in which participants' leisure experiences were relevant to their identity development and how certain leisure activities have endured in terms of current self-assessments. Then, quoted material from participant interviews will be used to show evidence of racial identity development in relation to the Nigrescence model. Finally, there will be a discussion about participants' experiences with the accusation of acting White within the context of leisure.

Participant Profiles

In this section participants' stories are presented in an effort to provide a general overview of each participant's personality, background, and leisure activities he enjoyed during his adolescence and into adulthood (see Figure 2). To help with contextualizing participants' stories the influence of family members and friends on participants' selection of leisure activities were also examined in this section.

Figure 2. Participant Profiles

Pseudonym Name	Pseudonym /Type of University	Classification	Major	Leisure Activities <18
Reno	University/ PWI	Senior	Biology/Pre-Med	Basketball, videogames, & socializing with friends
Sean	University/PWI	Junior	Mathematics Education	Running, socializing, dining out with friends, & listening to music
Andre	University/PWI	Junior	Landscape Architecture	Basketball, drawing, poetry, & attending night clubs
Paul	College Hill/HB	Senior	Psychology	Reading, videogames, basketball, football, & baseball
Richard	College Hill/HB	Junior	Psychology	Football & traveling
Adam	College Hill/HB	Senior	Psychology	Reading comic books, watching science fiction movies, football, chess, & basketball
Mac	College Hill/HB	Senior	Psychology	Band member & socializing with friends
Joe	College Hill/HB	Senior	Psychology	Band member, basketball, & running

Reno—University

Raised in a dual parent household, Reno discussed how during his adolescence his parents imparted onto him that in order to survive in this world he would need to “be very strong in [his] resolve and able to stand on [his] own two feet.” Having a father who was once a collegiate baseball player Reno talked about how his parents encouraged his participation especially in sports. As an adolescent, Reno found himself interested in baseball, mainly due to his father’s interest in the sport. However, as Reno matured he began to develop an interest in the sport of basketball instead and quit playing baseball.

Once he decided that baseball was no longer for him Reno quickly developed an interest in basketball and soon considered it his favorite leisure activity as an adolescent. Reno began to take basketball seriously in the seventh grade by participating on organized basketball teams all the way through high school. Reno's passion for basketball continues even now at University. Following our interview Reno mentioned that he made plans to meet a friend at the University Recreation Center to play basketball. When asked about the importance of playing basketball Reno responded:

I love basketball, that was very important. Once I started, it's kind of like you can't get the basketball out my hands. So that was a huge part of my life.

In addition to viewing basketball as a major part of his life, Reno described himself as a very sociable person who enjoys being in the company of friends. One of the leisure activities that allowed Reno to interact and stay in communication with friends, besides basketball was playing online videogames with his peers. Though not as important to Reno as basketball, meeting with his peers online to play videogames was an activity he has enjoyed since middle school. Outside of basketball or watching television,

Reno would spend a large portion of his time playing online videogames with friends. Participating in online videogames with his friends allowed Reno to maintain contact with friends while also satisfying his need to be social. However, upon enrolling into University playing online videogames took on less significance and the amount of time Reno spent playing videogames online began to decrease:

I like to be out and talking to people, while you can do it on videogames it's easier to just go out, go eat, go to the gym together, or do other things interactive together. So, I kind of just shied away from the videogames. Friends I used to play with online a lot started doing the same and we really didn't have the time to connect.

Noticing his desire to be out, and how many of his friends were not playing online as much anymore, Reno began to distance himself from playing online videogames.

While exploring this stage of his life Reno began to discuss the influence of his peers on his leisure. Recalling the lessons on self-reliance he obtained from his parents Reno held the position that he could not be easily swayed by peer pressure. In fact, Reno went as far as to say "I don't think I ever went through an identity crisis." Reno's rationale for such a statement was due to the fact that he "knew what [he] wanted to do, what [he] liked, and what [he] didn't like." However, as the interview continued Reno revealed that his friends did possess an ability to persuade him to participate in certain leisure activities.

Elaborating further on how his peers influenced his leisure choices Reno shared the following:

The influence for me to actually do [leisure activities]...it wouldn't be like I didn't like to do it, or I didn't want to do it. It be more so like, I have this to do, they

[friends] would be like 'Oh come on, you know you want to' and [I would respond] alright I'll do it. So it be more like, pushing me over the edge, and not that I didn't want to do it ever.

Though he considered himself a self-reliant individual, Reno found himself at times succumbing to the influence of his peers to participate in certain leisure activities. However, in spite of their ability to convince him to participate in leisure activities such as playing basketball or videogames Reno maintained that his selection of leisure activities was mainly his own personal choices. In subsequent sections we will return to Reno's story and learn more about how within the realm of leisure he developed a personal and racial identity.

Sean—University

Raised in a dual parent middle-class household, Sean discussed his leisure experiences as an adolescent growing up in a predominately White, rural town. In this small rural town there were plenty of hills and woodland areas which provided Sean with an opportunity to explore the outdoors. A favorite activity of his as an adolescent was riding his bicycle with his younger sister and friends into these woodland areas. Venturing into these areas Sean and his friends would create games to play or, if they were not interested in creating games that day, they would play various tag games or other popular games. Upon reaching his capacity with playing outdoors and exploring the woodland areas Sean would return home to complete chores, watch television, or play videogames. For Sean these leisure activities were fun, but could not compare to the joy he found during the week playing at the Boys & Girls club (BGC) in more organized leisure activities.

As a child, Sean and his younger sister spent a considerable amount of time after-school attending a predominately Black BGC in a neighboring community. This BGC served approximately 30 kids at a time and was a very popular place for children to visit after school. Sean explained the makeup of BGC as children from dual-parent working middle-class families to low-income single parent homes:

The composition of the kids at the Boys and Girls Club were mostly Black and [some] White kids who had situations like one parent in the household or, you know, lower socioeconomic status... [and] situations like mine where both parents worked.

Sean declared that the majority of leisure activities he participated in during his middle school and high school years took place at BGC. Some of the activities he participated in at BGC included basketball, dodge ball, and the most popular of them all kickball. For Sean and his peers kickball was “the big thing to do” and was an activity that everyone enjoyed participating in. Kickball games between Sean and his peers typically involved some lighthearted trash talking mixed with moments of intense competition. Playing kickball was such an important activity that Sean and his peers would stay on their best behavior to ensure BGC staff did not prevent them from playing.

Transitioning into University signaled a waning interest in the game of kickball for Sean. Instead his leisure interests involved “running...at least five days a week,” “hanging out with different types of people,” and visiting “different types of music places downtown...to listen to different styles of music.” Recalling a time while at University when he experimented with a new leisure experience, Sean shared a story about attending a country music bar:

So my roommate he actually went to high school [with me] ... he's White, very country, and loves listening to country music. Before [meeting him] I was like I'm not [attending a country music bar], but I went with him to listen to this guy singing country and I actually started to enjoy it. So I listened to [country music] a little bit more. Also, I was not [and] I'm still not a big fan of hip hop and rap. However, coming to University and [attending] different parties, that's what's being played. So I kind of like it a little bit more now...that allowed me to see that I could enjoy a lot of different styles of music.

Sean's willingness to attend a country bar for the first time and listen to country music allowed him to develop an interest in a new musical genre. This experience helped Sean realize that he could enjoy different styles of music. However, Sean maintained a dislike for music considered Black (i.e. hip hop and rap) which put him at odds with some of his peers and opened him up to charges of acting White. In the sections to follow we will see in Sean's story how his White peers accused him of acting White because he lacked familiarity with current hip hop songs.

Andre—University

Andre, a student at University, described himself as an artist due to a passion for drawing and writing poetry. Reared as an only child by his mother and grandmother in a predominately African American community in Georgia, Andre spent a considerable amount of time drawing. Andre's interest in drawing was highly encouraged by his family and community members. While recalling some of his art work as an adolescent Andre talked about how many of his drawings reflected himself and what he saw in his community:

I realize that a lot of my pictures growing up, was a reflection of myself. I [would] draw a lot of Black boys or Black people doing this and that. [Then] I'll watch cartoons and I'm like none of that is there. I'm looking like okay I got to realize that when I draw something.

Developing an awareness of how the characters he saw on television did not reflect him or his surroundings Andre mentioned how he grew as an artist by eliminating race from his characters: “Now I try to draw more ambiguous figures, I don't put a race on it. “One of the ways Andre began to create more ambiguous figures and characters was by developing an interest in abstract art.

By no longer attaching race to his characters Andre was able to create characters that were race neutral. In this way he was able to create art which appealed to people from various backgrounds. Developing the skill to make art that is attractive to a broader range people helped Andre grow as an artist. Once community members became more aware of Andre's growth as an artist, they became supportive of his work. As community members began to notice how talented an artist Andre was becoming they were “more willing to give a little bit more aid” if he needed any. One of the ways community members gave a little bit more aid was by providing him with tips and advice on how to improve as an artist and encouraging him to continue at his craft. The affirmation Andre received from community members spurred him to continue developing as an artist. He mentioned how the positive reinforcement he received from community members helped him believe that investing himself in the arts was something he needed to do.

When he was not engaged in drawing or writing poetry Andre enjoyed playing basketball. Two influential forces pushing Andre to play basketball were his best friend

and father. Initially Andre was not very invested in playing basketball because he considered himself not as athletic as his peers. However, while in the seventh grade Andre's best friend showed him a trophy he won from playing in a basketball tournament. After seeing his friend's trophy and hearing him talk about how good he was, Andre talked about being overcome with some jealousy of his friend's accomplishment. Shortly after speaking with his friend Andre said he committed himself to playing basketball with hopes of becoming an even better basketball player than his friend. As Andre started increasing the amount of time he spent playing basketball, family members began encouraging Andre to continue in the sport.

Andre noted that out of all the voices of encouraging him to play basketball none was louder than his father's. Upon learning of his son's interest in basketball Andre's father became excited and more involved in his son's pursuit of becoming a better basketball player. A former basketball player himself and fan of the game, Andre's father started playing one-on-one games with Andre. While games between the two were both ultra-competitive and fun, they also provided Andre with an opportunity to get to know his father in new ways and address questions Andre had about manhood. Conversations with his father before and after games were extremely important to Andre because his father was absent for large portions of his adolescence. Describing the relationship with his father Andre stated:

I don't really have the best relationship with my dad because he wasn't there much, but [basketball] was the only way we could communicate. We didn't really talk about anything else, because he didn't know how to talk to me.

Using basketball as a vehicle to interact with his father Andre was able to improve the relationship he had with his father and learn lessons about manhood. Thus, for Andre, involvement in leisure activities during his adolescence meant being able to form a bond with his father and promoting his talents as an artist. Later on in this chapter we will return to Andre's story to examine how leisure served as a context for identity development.

Paul—College Hill

Growing up in a small rural predominately Black town, Paul discussed how his leisure mainly consisted of playing sports and reading novels. Identified at an early age as an above-average student, Paul was enrolled in the gifted program at his elementary school. Paul noted that his class was predominately White except for one other African American student. While discussing this stage of his life Paul recalled homework assignments that required him to write a story to be read aloud in front of his class:

When I was in the third and fourth grade we used to have to write a story using a certain number of words. Everyone used to be excited when I got up to read my story, and it's like you kind of, you know, took pride in it too...It just worked for me.

Identifying as a gifted student at his middle school presented Paul with some challenges outside of the classroom with students who were not in similar courses. Most notably were Paul's Black peers who lived in his community. Feeling the pressure to “dumb down” or face ostracism from his Black peers, Paul began to disengage from activities considered “White”:

I had to dumb myself down in a sense...for me to fit in...One of them was speaking proper, I was speaking White, like using '-ing', and people [Black peers] always ask me 'why you talking like that?' It's like 'I'm just talking.' So I found myself having to dumb it down and speak like everybody else to fit in.

Additionally, Paul began to grow irritated with responses he would receive from his peers due to his intelligence:

Another thing...intelligence it bothered me that a lot of people kind of were intimidated by my intelligence. Like somebody would ask "Why's the sky blue?" and I would just go "Oh, it's blue because of this and that." They'll be like ain't nobody ask you for all of that you know what I'm saying. Like *I was just asking, I ain't asking* you know. When I use to tell people my GPA and stuff like that instantly they automatically be "Oh this n**** think he so smart...he think he know everything." It kind of just made me like "Oh well I'm not going to do that."

For Paul dumbing it down was a very painful experience and it meant him having to disassociate with behaviors he considered appropriate or educated such as speaking properly and being intelligent. In addition to finding that he had to 'dumb it down' for peer approval, Paul began to spend less time reading novels and playing certain videogames. Living in a rural area Paul and his peers had access to outdoor leisure activities such as baseball, hunting, and fishing. However, Paul's Black peers were not as invested and considered these activities White which caused Paul to avoided these activities because they were perceived as White by his peers. Part of the reason Paul's peers may have perceived certain activities as White was due to a lack of seeing Blacks

engaged in hunting and fishing. Thus, being accustomed to not seeing Blacks hunting and fishing Paul's peers considered it White:

If they not into it, it's looked down on. If they don't understand it they want nothing to do with it...That's probably why I fell off of reading, because nobody else [Black peers] was reading. I guess it's one of those things, where you trying to fit in...Certain games I would play my friends wouldn't play. They felt like that's White boy games. Like *Call of Duty* and stuff like that; but I like it, you know, but it's ...one of those [White leisure activities].

After becoming more introspective about his adolescent years Paul argued that peer pressure may have been the main reason he spent less time reading books or experimenting with different types of leisure activities. Noting the influence of his peers on his leisure, Paul reflected back on this stage of his life:

I got into baseball late. I wish I started baseball kind of early, I actually like baseball, but it's one of those things “that's a White boy thing.” Hunting and fishing that's another one, that's a White boy thing, but after I did it 'Oh, you know what, I like this; I see why they do it.'

Though he wished he could have at least experimented with leisure activities denounced by his friends, and possibly developing an interest in these activities, Paul mentioned the support he received from his parents to participate in certain leisure activities. The encouragement Paul received from his mother and father allowed him to revive his interest in reading, while also remaining open to participation in various forms of leisure. In the following excerpt Paul's father, who was often not present, would encourage him to continue reading:

My Dad, he was there, but not really there...He encouraged me in a lot of things too: sports, reading, and stuff like that...With the reading he just would ask me questions about stuff [I read]. He seemed like he was at least interested in what I had to say about it.

Feeling as though his father was “at least interested in what he had to say” Paul felt encouraged to grow as a reader. When discussing the influence of his mother, who appears to be his biggest encourager, Paul commented that “she influenced me with pretty much everything.” Two of the main leisure activities that Paul's mother encouraged him to participate in during his adolescence were reading and playing sports:

She was one of the ones that encouraged me [to read]. We used to read some of the same books. She would read the book first and then give it to me, and I read it afterwards...She the reason why I even play [sports]...She put me into sports 'cause she didn't want me sitting around doing nothing.

Being able to share books with his mother in this way helped Paul remain invested in reading despite his peers objections to reading. Encouragement received from his mother was a key factor in assisting Paul with maintaining an interest in reading. Presently, Paul finds himself being able to overcome the peer pressure that once hampered his willingness to try “White” leisure. In our interview Paul disclosed that he continues to read and finds himself at times checking out “big, thick books” to read.

In Paul's profile we were provided with a glimpse of how his leisure experiences were shaped by his peers and family. Through his story we are also able to see how the combination of peer pressure and a fear of being accused of acting White limited the leisure activities available to Paul during adolescence. However, as Paul matured he

began to overcome the peer pressure he felt to remain in good standing with peers and maintained an interest in reading books through the encouragement received from his parents.

Richard—College Hill

Growing up under the care and influence of his grandparents, Richard's leisure experiences were much different than that of the other participants included in this study. When asked about his views on leisure Richard noted that leisure "was very important because those were things that brought me joy." However, the amount of time Richard was allowed to spend participating in leisure activities was limited in part by his grandfather's views about leisure.

Richard's grandfather held the belief that "there was no time for down time" and that "a man should always be working." Commenting about his grandfather's influence on his leisure, Richard discussed how his grandfather only allowed him to participate in leisure once chores were done:

My grandfather [believed] there's always something better that can be done with your time than just having leisure time...doing things that you enjoy. Now, he was geared towards you enjoying yourself, but as long as everything was done. But if he felt something wasn't [done] to his liking, then that thing needed to be done before you [could] enjoy yourself.

Reared in his grandparent's home, because his father was not present, leisure activities such as "staying in the house and watching TV" were highly discouraged. Richard's grandfather was of the belief that there was always something productive one could do with the leisure time than playing around. In those moments when Richard was

able to participate in leisure activities some of his favorite activities were riding bicycles, playing sports, attending grand prix events and going to College Hill football games. Participation in these activities were highly encouraged by Richard's grandparents because they involved being outdoors, rather than passive leisure activities like sitting on a couch watching television.

Now a student-athlete at College Hill and no longer subject to the rule of his grandparents Richard's leisure interests have evolved. Richard recalled how as a child he had limited opportunities to watch Saturday morning cartoons. However, now that he is an adult Richard finds himself spending less time outdoors completing chores and more time inside watching cartoons:

Nowadays I find myself watching a lot of cartoons, because when I was younger I didn't have the time to watch Saturday morning cartoons. I didn't have that leisure time to do that.

In addition to increasing the amount of time he spends watching cartoons or other television shows, Richard has been able to travel. Richard noted that during his adolescence his family rarely traveled. Thinking back on the number of times he traveled as an adolescent Richard commented "maybe once in a summer or something we would go on vacation." Since then Richard has begun to travel more, especially with his girlfriend:

I find myself traveling a lot with my girlfriend in my spare time as a leisure activity. So, whenever I'm not doing school or football I find myself traveling. I mean, me and her, going to whatever state or city.

For Richard, moving out of his grandparent's home enabled him to add travel to the list of leisure activities he enjoys. Additionally, since being on his own, Richard has found himself engaged in activities that were once restricted. In his profile we see how the influence of his grandparents limited his leisure in some ways and how now as an adult his leisure has expanded.

Adam—College Hill

Adam described himself as a sports guy who has a passion for football. Additionally, he also discussed having interests in reading comic books, and playing chess. In regards to Adam's interest in football, it began while in the sixth grade when he became aware of the school's football tryouts. Adam noted that in the sixth grade going to football tryouts "was what you did [because when] you got a chance to play football, you play." So naturally when the opportunity arose to play football Adam had to attend tryouts. Adding to his need to attend tryouts was the fact that Adam was "naturally a big kid," and becoming a member of the football team just made sense. While exploring just how important it was for him to play football, Adam relayed a story of how he once biked across town to attend practice:

It was fairly important when I didn't get to participate in football. It was a huge deal. There was actually one specific occasion where both of my parents left me at home and I wasn't able to get a ride to football practice. Even though I lived on the opposite end of town I biked all the way to my Dad's office. I then told him that I was about to continue biking all the way to my high school. He said alright I guess I'll give you a ride...There was definitely a passion.

His desire to play football eventually earned him a scholarship to play football in college as a defensive lineman. As far as the encouragement he received to play football, Adam talked about the influence of his parents. Though they were supportive of Adam playing football, his mother demonstrated some apathy towards him playing. Her apathy stemmed from the fact that she feared Adam would get seriously hurt. Fate would have it that during one of his games in college Adam snapped both of wrists while making a play on the ball. Following the injury Adam decided that he would no longer play football and began to shift his interests into other areas. One of the areas that Adam began shifting his attention to was reading comic books.

A secondary interest of Adam, maybe not as obsessive as football, was reading comic books. Following the injury to his wrist Adam kept up with the game of football by watching games and reading games analyses. However, he also began to pick up an interest that was dormant since his middle school years. Adam attributes hanging out with his two best friends as the reason why he got involved with reading comic books. According to Adam his friends were not as athletically gifted as he was. So reading comic books was one of the main ways Adam and his two best friends bonded. When discussing the influence of his best friends Adam shared:

They didn't play sports, but were extremely into comic books. So, as far as my social interactions outside of school, between the three of us, we would do comic books.

Upon being introduced to the world of comic books by his best friends some of the comic books Adam enjoyed were *Guardians of the Galaxy*, *Superman*, and his favorite *The Amazing Spiderman*. While exploring his interest in comic books Adam

mentioned experiencing some mild opposition from his father that came in the form of playful chiding. In his retelling of the remarks made by his father, Adam stated:

[My dad] threw shots connotating [I was] a nerd. I was big kid, so it was like 'Call me a nerd, I'm still big, and I play football. So who's going to mess with me? I'm not going to be bullied.'

Notwithstanding the slights of his father, Adam continued to develop his interest in reading comic books and ventured into exploring other interests as well such as playing chess. One of the more poignant narratives provided by Adam, while discussing his various leisure experiences was his story about playing chess. We begin our examination of Adam's chess story later in this chapter. Topics that will be explored include how Adam's personal and racial identity development occurred and how the accusation of acting White influenced his chess experience.

Mac—College Hill

Growing up in a rural area of south Louisiana, Mac would arise early in the morning during the hot and muggy summers to play outdoors with his cousins and peers. Some of the leisure activities Mac participated in as a young boy were football, hide and seek, riding bicycles, and building club houses in the woodland areas. Recalling what his experiences were like as a child playing with his friends and family members, Mac stated, “we used to be outside every day and it was not ever a dull moment.”

Playing outdoors was highly encouraged in Mac's home because his mother and grandmother believed it was important for him to not become too absorbed with watching television and sitting on the couch all day. When describing how important it was for him to participate in leisure Mac shared:

It was greatly important, because I always learned different lessons. Now that I'm older [and] actually able to compare my life to those different [leisure activities], they made me value family more and where I come from. So [leisure] definitely [played an] important role [in] where I am now.

For Mac, participation in leisure activities, in retrospect, meant being in an environment where he could learn valuable life lessons and how to value family more. Exploring the influence of his mother and grandmother on his leisure, Mac revealed how adhering to their rules kept him off the wrong road figuratively and literally. Mac discussed how during his adolescence he spent most of his time outside with the caveat that he stay within the boundaries established by his mother and grandmother. In this scenario Mac discussed how following the guidance of his caregivers may have changed his life:

Even though I did go with my cousins and play with them a lot, we always had limits or boundaries to where we [could] go...My mama referred to it as 'The Road.' Basically it was kind of rough over there so my mother, or even my grandmother, [told us] 'I bet not catch you over there on that road.' Because they knew what happened over there. My mother didn't really too much care for [us going there]. At the time, you may see some kids 'Oh they going here, here, and there and your mother like 'No, don't get caught doing that!' It turned into some valuable lessons, because now that I look at some of them [peers] I actually see [what she was trying to tell me]. One [child] I think ended up in jail, some of them did illegal things, one of them actually [made] it out and is having a better life. I also remember his mom encouraging [him to participate in] different

[activities] too. So even though [my mother] allowed me to go play with my cousin and let us go do certain things, she did have boundaries on where I could and could not go.

The limits set on Mac's leisure, established by caregivers, discouraged behaviors considered deviant or unbecoming and helped to keep him from harm's way. Lessons learned during his adolescence continued to steer Mac's leisure choices. However, as he grew older Mac admitted that he began to drift away from those rules and began to experiment with newer forms of leisure:

I'm more active now, because even though I was able to be active at home. I wasn't exactly able to be active in extracurricular activities. I didn't start being active until maybe high school.

Mac's experimentation with various forms of leisure continued upon his enrollment at College Hill. The leisure activities that he once participated in as an adolescent became markedly differently after he moved away from the guidance of his mother and grandmother. Activities such as traveling to town with his grandmother, riding bicycles, or playing hide 'n seek with cousins were obviously no longer important. Now an adult and legally able to drive, Mac found himself wanting to travel beyond the little town he would visit with his grandmother on weekends:

Since I been in college, one thing I know I always [wanted] to do [was] travel and go to different parts of the world. To actually get friends that don't mind doing it, that's a big thing. 'Cause normally when you raised by old people they not too fond of getting up and going. Going to town is travel for them.

In addition to traveling more, Mac developed an interest in participating in extracurricular activities at College Hill. Participation in newer forms of leisure activities meant being able to form a new peer group. Until now Mac primarily associated with friends in his neighborhood and family members. Two of the more important leisure activities Mac affiliated himself with at College Hill were joining the marching band and student government association. Participation in these activities was important to Mac because they allowed him to “expand, grow, and talk to more people,” thus shedding his “stand-offish” and “guarded” personality. Examples of his expansion included serving as a student ambassador at College Hill where he would lead tours for large groups of students visiting the campus.

Joe—College Hill

Joe, a senior psychology major at College Hill and member of the marching band, described himself as a “pretty laid back” and a “down-to-earth person” who tries to get along with everyone. Attending multiple elementary schools composed of diverse groups of people allowed Joe to interact with individuals from an array of cultures. Through these interactions Joe was able to engage in leisure activities with people from different backgrounds, while developing a sense of comfort in himself. Discussing a time when he was the only African American in a leisure activity he shared the following:

When I was younger, my teacher made everybody go outside to play kickball, dodgeball, or red rover...It felt normal to me, you know, I wasn't thinking like 'Oh this White boy this'...I honestly didn't care. I still don't knock it, 'cause I got White, Mexican, Asian friends now. I never did care about race and stuff like that.

I try to get along with everybody I'm not the [radical]; that ain't me, I'm the conservative.

In describing his leisure interest as an adolescent, Joe referred to himself as an “outside kid” who enjoyed participating in outdoor activities such as flag football, basketball, track and playing in his school's band. As an only child growing up in a single-parent home leisure served as a buffer for Joe against involvement in negative leisure activities:

It kept me from doing other stuff, like my friends would smoke marijuana...

Leisure kept my mind busy. I was always doing something constructive.

In addition to viewing his leisure activities as “something constructive” Joe noted how the influence and support of his mother helped allow him to explore various leisure activities:

My mama let me explore. She just kind of let me explore different activities. If I liked them she supported me, like flag football. [She also would say] “If you don't like it, you ain't got to do it.”

Coupled with his mother's support and encouragement to explore different leisure activities, Joe also found support from community members. When the time came for Joe to decide which university to attend, members of his community convinced him that College Hill would be the best choice for him. These community members, former and current members of College Hill band, much like Joe, shared an interest in music. In retelling this story Joe said that he found it easy to connect with a group of like-minded individuals, because “we did something relatable, so I understood what they were talking about.” Moreover, Joe talked about these individuals “sense of pride for school and band”

and how their enthusiasm really intrigued him. Once Joe decided to enroll at College Hill he quickly joined the band and began experiencing what he heard his community members tell him.

Leisure activities Joe once enjoyed as an adolescent began to evolve once he entered College Hill and he shared the reasons for those changes:

I think I got kind of lazy on the slick. I don't know if it's because I'm getting kind of old now, but I just don't do certain stuff. Like I'll run, play basketball, and band, but I'm not about to do no physical sport. I'm too small for that. I think I'm pretty laid back now from how I was in my younger [years]. Basically I do what I need to do, just to get out. Like with band, do your four rips [tasks] and then you done.

Joe's self-description highlighted the influence of his mother and community members. It also describes how watching the College Hill's marching band influenced his decision to attend College Hill and how leisure was viewed as an alternative to involvement with negative leisure like drugs.

Summary

The participant profiles discussed in this section provided contextual information to help with better understanding the participants involved in this study. Information provided in this section addressed participants' childhood leisure activities, the influence of family members and peers, and some of the issues they experienced in leisure settings. The following sections of this chapter will explore how the themes and subthemes emerged in this study. Figure 3 provides an illustration of the overarching themes and their subthemes in relation to research questions guiding this study.

Contributions of Leisure Experiences to Identity Formation

The first question addressed in this study was participants' understanding of how their leisure experiences contributed to their personal identity formation. The data analysis process used revealed a connection between African American males' leisure experiences and personal identity development. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, participants' narratives were used to highlight how they described themselves in terms of their favorite leisure activity and the extent to which this relationship existed.

Figure 3. Themes and Subthemes

Research Question	Main Theme & Subthemes
1. To what extent and in what ways is leisure experience relevant to identity formation in African American adolescents?	Leisure experiences contribute to identity formation. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leisure activities serve to avoid negative stereotypes and connect participants more securely with family.
2. To what extent and in what ways have the leisure preferences and orientations of adolescence endured in terms of current self-assessments, and to what extent is race implicated in this evolution.	Changes in leisure preferences and orientations from those of adolescence. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Race contributes to but does not fully determine changing leisure preferences.
3. To what extent and in what ways has their leisure been racialized as “White” or “Black” in their lives and how, if at all, has the problem of acting White been a part of that experience?	The racialized nature of leisure activities. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African American males experience expectations of others with respect to their choices of leisure activity.
4. To what extent and in what ways did they or others they knew, experience tension or conflict around acting White in leisure activities and orientations?	'Acting White' in Leisure Activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpretations of 'Acting White' • Responses to charges of 'Acting White' • Calling African Americans back to the community

Of the eight participants interviewed six (Reno, Sean, Andre, Richard, Adam, and Mac) discussed how they self-identified with a particular leisure activity. These participants also noted how engagement in certain leisure activities helped facilitate their identity development. Leisure activities with which participants frequently identified themselves with were basketball, football, band, reading, and art. Interview questions that were used to prompt participants' responses to the connection between leisure and personal identity development were: *Tell me about some of your favorite leisure activities growing up?* and *How important was it for you to participate in these activities?* In response to these questions participants discussed how engaging in certain leisure activities helped them learn about themselves, avoid negative activities, and learn valuable life lessons.

Reno, a student at University, credited basketball with being responsible for shaping his identity. One of the ways in which basketball shaped Reno's personal identity was his assertion that he was a basketball player. Identifying with the sport in this way showed a level of commitment and interest that Reno has for the sport of basketball. In addition to defining himself as a basketball player, Reno viewed basketball as an outlet for exercise, alleviating stress, and meeting with friends:

Basketball was a huge part of my life...I just always loved basketball ever since I was able to dribble. I guess it's just a love for the sport. I would say, definitely, growing up, it shaped me. I always loved it, and I don't foresee it going away ever either... It's just a good way to relieve some stress and frustration, it's a good reliever. So, it satisfies various things for me other than just playing.

In addition to viewing certain leisure activities as instrumental in developing their personal identity, participants discussed how leisure initially served as a buffer against some social ills. Andre, Paul, Joe, and Mac, who were raised primarily by their mother and/or grandmother, shared how leisure served as a context where they could engage in activities that prevented them from being involved in fighting, illegal drug use, or criminal activity. By avoiding participation in delinquent activities these participants were able to avoid being distinguished as ‘one of those guys.’ Seeking ways to ensure their sons remained safe and avoided negative activities, participants' mothers and/or grandmother encouraged participation in sports, primarily basketball. Andre and Paul shared in their narratives that participation in basketball provided them with an opportunity to connect with their estranged fathers in special ways.

While discussing what it was like to play basketball with his father, Andre shared stories about the playful banter he and his father would engage in and the different lessons his father would pass along to him. Playing basketball with his father as an adolescent was extremely important to Andre because he “needed male bonding” and was still in the early stages of identity development. Speaking more about the significance of playing basketball with his father Andre stated he “needed [a] father figure...because I didn't know how to grow up as a man.” Andre shared that he spent the majority of his childhood being raised by woman and had few opportunities to learn about manhood from other men, specifically Black males. So one of the ways Andre was able to learn about manhood was by playing basketball in his community or at local parks. So when the opportunity arose for Andre to spend time with his father playing basketball he was finally able to learn about manhood. As a result of connecting with his father through

basketball Andre was able to start making sense of the world around him and develop an identity as a young Black male.

Through the encouragement of their mothers to play sports, Andre and Paul were able to develop a relationship with their respective fathers. In the case of Joe, his mother encouraged him to play flag football, a sport he “didn't really get into,” but because his mother supported him he tried it anyway. Joe shared in his interview that his mother encouraged him to experiment with various forms of leisure activities to keep him “doing something constructive.” Some of those activities included running track, playing basketball, and joining a marching band. In addition to the encouragement received from their mothers Andre, Paul, and Joe talked about community members supporting their participation in positive forms of leisure.

Andre recalled how as an only child living in a violent community he “needed it [leisure]: if I didn't have anything to do, I probably would have went off and did stuff I didn't need to do... ’cause it was available for me.” The area of town where Andre grew up had the stigma of being a place where the Black males that reside there either drop out of high school, sell drugs, go to prison, or die young. However, there was a group of community members that thought highly of Andre and offered him the support and encouragement he needed to continue developing as an artist:

If they saw some kind of potential, they were more willing to give you a little bit more aid. So when I was able to draw, and every time I did poetry, I got more help.

The encouragement Andre received from community members, in addition to his mother and grandmother, helped prevent him from becoming a stereotypical male from

his neighborhood. Furthermore, community support assisted Andre in refining his skills as an artist, a leisure activity he continues to participate in now as an adult.

Joe and Paul also discussed their lived experiences growing up in neighborhoods where there were a plethora of opportunities to get involved in illegal activities; and had they not been involved in some form of leisure activity, their identities would have been shaped in different ways. In the following excerpt Joe discussed how leisure helped him use his time wisely:

It [kept] me from doing other stuff like my friends would smoke marijuana and that's all they really do...Leisure kept my mind busy I was always doing something constructive.

Similar to Joe, Paul discussed how in his neighborhood there were only two options for the males in his neighborhood when it came to leisure activities: sports or fighting.

I guess it was very important because that was all we had to do. We didn't have anything else to do, either you play sports or it was fighting.

In describing the leisure experiences of their adolescence Joe and Paul both talked about how they viewed leisure activities, at least initially, as a way to avoid trouble, rather than as a place for enjoyment. Viewing leisure activities in such a way makes it appear that it was seen more as a buffer against crime than as a place to relax and feel renewed.

Mac also discussed the ways in which his participation in certain leisure activities helped him avoid negative behaviors. Mac noted how his mother and grandmother forbade him from visiting specific parts of his neighborhood or interacting with certain

people. Mac's mother and grandmother were reluctant to allow him into those areas because they were not particularly fond of his peers' behaviors and feared that if he were to hang out with those individuals he may have found himself starting down a path they did not want him to travel.

One participant, Sean, provided a story about how his involvement in leisure activities helped him learn valuable lessons that attributed to his personal identity development. Sean shared how most of his leisure involvement as adolescent revolved around the Boys and Girls Club (BGC). As a member of BGC Sean discussed how he was able to learn lessons from the BGC staff and his peers about becoming assertive without being hurtful and how to avoid problematic situations. When posed with the “question “In what ways did leisure contribute to your identity development?” Sean responded with the following:

I mean just in everything like I learned how to...build relationships with people who I probably would not have because of where I was in the school and community...be direct and forward...deal with certain people and how to stay away from certain situations and [what I learned] from my peers was how to deal with conflict... probably every influential experience [I ever had] is linked in some way to the Boys & Girls club.

For Sean participation in leisure activities at the Boys and Girls club meant being able to develop an identity in ways he may not have in other environments. One of the ways Sean's leisure involvement shaped his identity was the way in which the BGC staff nurtured his leadership ability. As a result of being one of the better students academically, they would call on Sean to lead some of the leisure activities and even

recruit students at surrounding schools. In this capacity Sean began to identify himself as “the Boys and Girls club spokesman” and felt obligated to represent the facility properly. It appears the lessons Sean learned while at BGC carried over into college as he noted his involvement as a member in several student organizations at University and volunteering efforts at an after-school program.

Another area worth noting is participants' discussion of the extent to which their leisure preferences have evolved since adolescence. Recalling the leisure activities of their youth participants were reminded of child-like games they once played and talked about present-day leisure activities they enjoy. Most participants noted that transitioning from high school to college led them to abandon child-like leisure activities (i.e. playing tag games) in favor of leisure activities considered more age-appropriate. While exploring the topic of leisure evolution Reno, Sean, and Adam cited an increase in responsibilities as the primary reason for changes in their leisure preferences.

Reno, a University student, asserted playing online videogames took on lesser significance due to a number of factors. The two factors that attributed to a decrease in the amount of time he spent playing videogames was: adjusting to the rigors of college life and observing that his friends were losing interest in videogames. When asked to talk about his leisure evolution Reno responded:

I guess you could say coming to college and all the requirements of studying, tests, and being the way I am, I like to be out talking to people. While you can do it on videogames it's easier to go out and eat, or go to the gym. So, I kind of just shied away from the videogames and my friends I used to play with online started doing the same.

Sean also shared a story of how the increased responsibilities of college life compromised the amount of time he spent in leisure activities:

In college, [my] responsibilities increased...Second semester [of my] freshman year I started working at [an] afterschool program that took a lot more time than I thought it would. My friends... [would] call me to do something and I'd say "I'm at work. I can't do that right now. I'll be at work when that is going on." So that took a lot of time out of some stuff that I wanted to do, but I was still able to find time to hang out.

In Reno's and Sean's narratives they both expressed how the transition to college caused a change in their leisure patterns and in a sense for them, *abandoning* some leisure activities was part of their evolving identities. When asked to discuss some of their present-day leisure both noted they enjoy hanging out at their dorms with friends or going out to eat with friends. The remainder of the participants noted that some of the leisure activities they currently participate in include: basketball, fishing, baseball, and playing in the college marching band. However, given the questions asked and their responses, it was impossible to determine how important these activities will continue to be as a part of their emerging identities.

Summary

This section examined the various ways in which participants' leisure experiences contributed to their identity development. Areas explored included the evolution of participants' leisure patterns, their ability to forge closer bonds with family members, and how leisure was used as either a buffer or alternative to criminal activity.

Participants noted how the leisure activities they engaged in as children ranged from being indoors playing videogames to playing outside riding bicycles. Most participants shared stories of how their participation in child-like leisure activities began to decline as they matured. Participants' decision to give up certain leisure activities was a result of adapting to the rigors of college life or obtaining employment. The most frequently-cited activity that participants continued to participate in as they matured was basketball. Some of the more age-appropriate forms of leisure they began to engage in once in college included listening to country music, running, and parasailing.

Some participants mentioned how, through their involvement in certain leisure activities, they were able to learn valuable life lessons from family and community members. Sean and Mac noted that the lessons learned in leisure were critical to their identity development as assertive individuals and helped them appreciate their families more. Andre and Paul talked about being able to connect with their estranged fathers through games of basketball and learn lessons about manhood.

Lastly, this section covered how leisure became a buffer against the social ills found in some participants' communities. Participants recalled living in communities with limited opportunities to invest themselves in positive forms of leisure. Andre, Paul, and Joe, who all lived in single-parent homes, asserted they were encouraged by family members to participate in sports. For these participants leisure was viewed as a way to escape the social ills found in their communities, rather than as a place to relax. The remainder of participants talked about living in rural or suburban areas where they were not affected, to the same degree, by the social ills affecting the previously mentioned

participants in this study. These participants talked about leisure as a place where they could freely engage in the activities they enjoyed.

The following section presents an examination of how participants' leisure experiences (e.g. engaging in so called 'White' leisure) influenced their racial identity development. As a way to gauge one's racial identity Cross's Nigrescence model was used to suggest where participants may be at a given time and how leisure experience may have been implicated in that process.

Nigrescence

As a way to assess the racial identity development of participants interviewed in this study, the Cross "Nigrescence" model was employed. Vandiver (2001) asserted that the Nigrescence model illustrates African Americans' "process of accepting and affirming a Black identity in an American context by moving from Black self-hatred to Black self-acceptance" (p. 166). Participants included in this study provided stories that indicated how the Nigrescence model could be used to show how their racial identity development manifested during leisure and through leisure activity involvement.

It was observed in this study that Mac, Richard, and Joe, all from College Hill, appeared to demonstrate characteristics of individuals at the Pre-Encounter Assimilation stage. According to Vandiver (2001), individuals in this stage have acquired a "pro-American or mainstream identity, and race is not as important" (p. 168). When discussing the topic of race Mac and Richard acknowledged an awareness of how race has historically operated as an impediment to African Americans progression in society, but believed race relations in the U.S. have improved. Thus when asked if their race was

influential in the determination of their leisure preferences participants stated they did not consider race a barrier when selecting leisure activities.

Mac noted that he was raised in a home where he was taught to see the world through a multicultural lens. In his home his mother and grandmother rarely talked about race and taught him the importance of being welcoming towards people from all backgrounds, ethnicities, and races. So when asked if his status as an African American male has influenced his leisure Mac asserted it has never been a problem:

Not really...Whatever comes to mind if it looks fun I'm going to do it. I don't close things off just because of my color or anything like that...I was raised in a household that wasn't too big on throwing up the race card. I mean racism exists and it may have had a point in time but that's not something my people ever put emphasis on. They always encouraged us to see everybody as one. We know color is here, but quite honestly I don't think everybody is racist. We have those people that are but I don't think everybody is. So [race] definitely did not influence my leisure time.

Similarly, Richard stressed in our interview that “race isn’t a barrier to me at all” because he did not see color and intentionally sought out opportunities to learn from different cultures. When asked if his status as an African American male has influenced his leisure Richard asserted race was not important, because he did not see race:

Not at all...might it sound elementary but I don't see color...I would like to see what they are doing in their cultures that, you know, maybe I could incorporate or just to learn about.

Richard asserted his color-blind approach towards life is a direct result of his faith:

I believe in Jesus Christ. Everything I view or think that comes from the Lord...It's how I pattern my life. It's a commitment, my dedication, to being like Jesus was, and holding myself accountable for my thoughts, actions, and assumptions.

Possessing such a worldview has helped Richard find liberty to participate in leisure activities some African American males may avoid for fear of being accused of acting White. Richard recalled an experience of being one of the few Blacks in a predominately White setting while taking courses at a predominately White university in Louisiana (PWL):

Back when I used to take classes at [PWL] I participated in a social club for sport administration majors. I wasn't the only [one], but I was one of the few African Americans in that social club. I mean, that didn't make me feel uneasy in a sense. They were welcoming. We talked as if race was never an issue in history. We just clicked, everybody treated everybody fairly so that's [race] no issue to me.

Due in large part to their upbringing and ability to “not see color,” these participants selections of leisure activities were not inhibited by race, but nor did they facilitate racial identity development in any obvious way. In fact all participants saw leisure as an opportunity to explore different activities not typically associated with African Americans. When asked about their thoughts on seeing African Americans participating in White leisure Richard commented “I feel that should be praised [and]

accepted.” Much like Richard, Joe felt that the moment should be celebrated by African Americans:

I act like its normal, maybe I kind of be like “a Black person?” But think nothing negative of it or [I'll say to myself] “Oh! A Black person! I see him!”

Participant responses indicate a level of joy in seeing an African Americans engaging in leisure typically associated with Whites. For these participants the focus was more on enjoying the activity, meeting people from different cultures, while disregarding the influence of race. As a result, these participants were less likely to accuse another African American they saw engaged in White leisure of 'Acting White.'

The next stage of Nigrescence, the Encounter, was showcased by six participants who spoke of events that were compelling enough to fit into Parham's (1989) description: “an individual [experiences] one or many significant (shocking) personal or social events that are inconsistent with his or her frame of reference...then definitively decides to develop a Black identity “ (p.189). It was observed in this study that all participants from University and three from College Hill (Paul, Adam, and Joe) had an Encounter experience.

Participants recalled stories of critical incidents that caused them to distance themselves from leisure activities or behaviors considered White in order to remain in good standing with their Black peers. For example, Paul shared stories of how he stopped reading books, speaking proper English, and playing certain videogames in an effort to avoid being accused of 'Acting White.' Paul even mentioned how he avoided talking about his interest in the game of Pokémon, because it was considered taboo and may have caused his peers to question his authenticity as an African American.

Paul described a time when he was the only African American male participating in a leisure activity considered by his Black peers as White:

When I was in the gifted program, I was into Pokémon. I was playing that hard you know and that's what they [White peers] was all into. None of my [Black] friends back home was into it, but all them were...It was one of them things, it's kind of like...it wasn't full taboo, but it's like I'm not about to talk to them about [Pokémon]. I'm not about to talk to my podnuhs about none of this. I'm going to wait until I go to school and be like "Oh boy, you got to see this card I got!" You know trading cards and stuff like that, you don't bring up around them [Black peers] 'cause they [would] look at me like I'm stupid...I didn't even speak for fear of being...because in the back of my mind this is still White boy stuff. But I knew a lot of Black people that kind of cared, but just because it's seen as a White person thing we don't really talk about it.

This event functioned to discourage Paul from participating in activities considered White, at least in front of his Black peers, in order to maintain his authenticity within the Black community.

Two participants, Andre and Paul, discussed engaging in activities indicative of individuals in the Immersion stage. Parham described the Immersion stage as when an African American becomes heavily invested in learning about their African American culture and history. Parham noted that this stage is marked by African Americans engaging in activities that are predominately Black, speaking in a linguistic style common to Blacks, wearing Black clothing, and developing the mantra "Black is beautiful). Andre discussed a period of time while at University when he was

experiencing identity problems in the classroom as the only Black male and used leisure as a way to cope with his issues. Being the only Black male in most classes Andre talked about how he felt isolated at times in the classroom. Andre noted how in some of his classes teachers would pay him little mind and his White peers were not really warm towards him. As stated by Andre: "I wanted to be a kid that was just trying to learn in the classroom with everybody else." Unable to develop bonds with classmates or teachers Andre began "hanging out more with the Black community on campus," reading books by Black authors, and attending parties hosted by Black Greek fraternities. These efforts were Andre's way of trying to find himself in a predominately White setting.

In the case of Paul, he attended a predominately Black university, College Hill, and he discussed being inspired to learn more about his African American culture and history after reading the book *Roots*. Priding himself on being able to easily read "big, thick books" in a matter of days Paul frequently sought out books like *Roots*. After reading *Roots* for the first time Paul sought more opportunities to learn about his race and African American culture. One of the ways Paul was able to accomplish this goal was by taking an African American psychology course. In this course Andre was able to read books and articles by African American scholars that helped him better understand who he was as an African American and changed the way he saw himself in comparison to Whites. When asked what led him back to reading Paul shared the following:

I read *Roots*, that's what happened. Even though it was fiction the fact that it had some truth in it, you know, like there was some background and research. That's really what started my going to this class. It's like learning about who you are and where you come from. It's not necessarily about making yourself racist, but

understanding that, you know, ain't nobody better than you just because they skin a lighter color.

As a result of taking measures such as these to learn more about himself and his heritage Paul began to stop “putting White people on a pedestal” and started valuing his identity as a Black male.

The final stage of Nigrescence, Internalization, describes individuals who have developed a secure Black identity, possess a non-racist worldview, and are “psychologically healthy” (Vandiver, 2001). Furthermore, “Internalized Blacks” are believed to be “comfortable with their Blackness, [which] frees individuals to concentrate on issues beyond the parameters of a personal sense of Blackness” (Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokely, Cross, & Worrell, 2001). Thus, an individual who reaches the Internalization stage is less likely to be affected by charges of ‘Acting White.’ Of the three identities within the Internalization stage only three participants exhibited characteristics consistent with a Biculturalist identity (three from University and two from College Hill). In the remaining two stages of the Internalization stage, Black Nationalist and Multiculturalist, there was not enough information gathered through interviews to present a compelling argument for placing participants' in either stage.

Vandiver et al. (2001) described a Bicultural identity as “the acceptance of being both Black and American...without romanticizing race” (p.182). Five participants, Reno, Sean, Andre, Paul, and Adam, reflected a Biculturalist perspective, sharing stories of how their sense of Blackness influenced their leisure to an extent, but did not prevent them from participating in leisure activities with people from different cultures. During our interview Andre discussed having awareness of who he was as a Black male, but was also

interested in learning about people from another race, ethnicity, or cultural background. Reminded of a time when he participated in a leisure activity with individuals from various backgrounds Andre shared the following:

Basketball was the easiest way that I could transition into diversity, because I didn't care who you were, I just wanted to play ball. When I first came to [University] it was like Black guys versus White guys [and I felt] like "I got to win this game, man!" Over time, after some of my friends became different, I'm just looking like I just want to hoop. I play in the mornings and see guys different [from me] in the gym and I'm like "I don't care I just want to hoop. Pick your five and just make sure they not bad." So, I definitely think [playing basketball] helped me converse with different races and understand people from different cultural backgrounds.

Summary

The Nigrescence section presented data that showed participants at various stages of the Nigrescence model. Cokely and Chapman (2009) asserted that one of the flaws with the Nigrescence model is its assumption that all African Americans have "internalized negative beliefs and attitudes" towards African Americans (p. 287). In this study none of the participants provided evidence that indicates they held unflattering views about being an African American, which may reflect participants' higher level of education or socio-economic status than the broader African American youth population. When discussing the Encounter stage it was discovered that six participants (three from University and three from College Hill) had an Encounter experience, which compelled them to not associate with leisure activities or behaviors considered White. By

disassociating themselves from White leisure activities these participants were able to maintain their status as authentic Blacks with their peers. Next, data gathered from two participants interviews showed examples of the Immersion stage. In both case participants talked about being immersed with either African American culture or literature. Finally, this section looked at individuals in the Internalization stage. None of the participants in this study provided evidence of having a Black Nationalist identity. Three participants from University and two participants from College Hill provided evidence that indicates a Biculturalist identity, while three participants from College Hill demonstrated a Multiculturalist identity.

In this section evidence was also provided to show how the Nigrescence model can help us to better understand and explain how the African American males in this study developed a Black identity. Furthermore, this model brought an awareness of how the African American males in this study understood Blackness in relation to family members, peers, and themselves.

'Acting White' in Leisure Activities

In this section participants were highlighted to show how they understood the term acting White, their experiences with being accused of acting White, and some discussion on how they accused their Black peers of acting White in an attempt to draw them back to the Black community.

In order to ascertain how participants understood the term “acting White,” all participants were asked what they thought the term meant. When asked to explain their understanding of the term some participants believed it marginalized African Americans,

while elevating Whites. Participants' interpretations of the term acting White contained words synonymous with success, achievement, and anti-Black.

Reno discussed his understanding of the term acting White as when a Black person intentionally acts as if he or she is not Black and desires acceptance into White culture:

I would define it as somebody who they're either very unaware of how they're viewed in the main scope of things or they're so, I guess, caught up in being normal or cool with White people. They don't identify themselves with Black, so a lot of times for me, acting White is literally renouncing the fact that you're Black. I don't have a problem with anybody identifying with another group; it's [a problem] if you come from this [race] and you just blatantly ignore it or you blatantly talked about it like you're not a part of it. That's what I would say [is] identifying as acting White.

Andre discussed his understanding of acting White as something that the larger Black community might consider as “corny or lame” and behaving in a way to make Whites feel comfortable:

Acting White is probably anything that an urban black community would call corny or lame. Nine times out of ten it's probably something that's along those lines. [For example] I read too many comic books... If it's different from what the norm is in the Black community and I would say urban, the inner-city black community, then it would be considered acting White, or in a way that White people wouldn't feel threatened.

Paul defined acting White along the lines of music preference, dress and speech patterns:

Talking proper, listening to country music...You got some short shorts on, [and] flip flops'....It's kind of like you [dress] like a White boy in a sense. I don't use it, I don't feel that way no more. I used to, but I don't feel like there's such a thing as acting White. I don't feel like there's such a thing [as only a White person can speak with] good English.

Next, participants shared stories of when they were accused of acting White within the realm of leisure. Two of the more poignant stories that arose in interviews came from Sean a student at University, and Adam, a student at College Hill. It should be noted that in both situations participants were accused of acting White by a White peer in a predominately White setting. Following a discussion of what caused their peers to accuse them of acting White both participants discussed how they responded to charges of acting White coming from a White peer. Both of the participants' examples provided show how they felt compelled to respond immediately to their accuser and verify their racial identity. The first story presented is by Sean who recalled a time when he was accused of acting White by a White peer in his cohort at University:

In my cohort of 17, I'm the one Black person and everybody else is White except one Asian. So there's our diversity. Things will be said and I'll get up [to] do a presentation and [I] get "Oh my goodness! Sean you sound so good!" The funny thing is I don't speak that well in public, and that's what irks me. I don't do that well in public and so they say "you sound so good...like you're not even Black." Like what?! I'd have people say that to me just based on the things that I listen to,

the way that I speak, and dress. I've had someone say "you're not even Black, I'm Blacker than you." That's what they love to say...They'll say that based on...like I told you, I'm not big on rap so let's say they name a song or start singing a song... "Sean you know that song" I'm like "no." [Then they would say] "I'm Blacker than you anyway I don't even know why I asked." That just irritates me and I have to speak on it immediately, because if not they will continue.

In Sean's story we see how his identity as a Black male is challenged by his White peers' conceptions of authentic Blackness. Sean noted in the previous excerpt that many of his White peers questioned his Blackness because he did not fit into the stereotypical depiction or "display" of Black males. This is evident in their questioning of Sean's ability to recall certain rap songs because they perceive authentic Blackness to be associated with rap culture and with a certain attire. However, as mentioned above, Sean grew up "not big on rap" and so staying current with the latest rap music was not a priority. So as a result of not being interested in rap music Sean heard his White peer tell him "I'm Blacker than you anyway."

While discussing a time when he responded to a White peer accusing him of not being Black enough and why he elects to respond to the accusation of acting White immediately:

I address it there because I don't like that. Because when you say that it does a couple of things it limits what we are as Black people; and saying that just because you dress a certain way, you're not black? First of all, you can't speak on characteristics of a culture to that effect. Like, you shouldn't be able to generalize a particular culture just based on something like the way someone dresses...The

one that got me the most was the person who said the educated thing [Blacks are not smart] and so it dumbs Black people down when we say that you're acting White. So I can't speak proper English? I can't sound more professional? Who even determines what acting Black or acting White is? That's the problem I have, what is acting White? What is acting Black? and Who determines it?

Sean's disdain for the term acting White and how it is applied to African Americans suggests he believes African Americans are not monolithic and are entitled to express themselves in ways that are not stereotypical. Furthermore, Sean's internal dialogue "So I can't speak proper English?" shed light on some extremely important questions that he and other African Americans may wrestle with personally when accused of acting White. Much like Paul, Sean talked about how avoiding certain activities or behaviors because one does not want to be accused of acting White "dumbs Black people down." It is also evident in Sean's response that he feels compelled to defend the African American race from individuals who attempt to set limits on African Americans' ability to engage in whatever activity or behavior they desire. Similarly, Adam was reminded of a time in high school when he was approached by a White football teammate who referred to him as an Oreo because of his ability to play chess so well:

There's a specific event that stands out in my mind. One of my fellow football players [White] walked up to me and said "You know what Adam, you're like this Oreo, you're Black on the outside, but you have little specs of White in you." I was just like, okay, well I'm definitely Black and I'm definitely better than you at [chess] so why not go ahead and explain that? So, I knew that in a way it was kind of big...for me to be so far from the stereotype or that box they wanted me to be

in. For people to come up to me and be like “Hey man you heard that new Boosie album, bruh?” and “Oh yo, you got the new J's [Jordan brand shoes], bruh?” or what they wanted me to be interested in...So, in a way I was always cognizant of the fact that I was Black, and doing it and they were White losing to me. That was always a part of the situation.

Adam's narrative reveals how he felt a compulsion to reaffirm his identity as a Black male and was very aware of the fact that he was breaking down commonly held beliefs about Black leisure. Following the confrontation with his White peer Adam discussed how he processed the event:

It was pretty *shocking* [my emphasis]...and upsetting because, for somebody to walk up to you and say “I see that you’re Black, but there's no way that you’re Black” because you don't meet this [stereotype]. “You're nothing like what I see on TV.” Like in order for you to speak like this and talk like this and do the things that you're doing you’re obviously White on the inside. For them to attribute the things that I was doing to something outside of myself or to say that I couldn't be myself and do the things that I was doing that was definitely like, ‘ timeout, hold on, I am Black...’ It was definitely something that caught my attention, and I had to check people and check myself with it.

The above example shows how Adam dealt with the situation by calling a “timeout” to “check” his peer for placing him in a box and then accusing him of acting White. Adam's statement that “I am Black,” appears to signal a sense of security in his racial identity. Expounding further on what it meant to check someone Adam provided the following:

[To check people] meant “no, I am Black and you're not going to tell me what I can be.” It meant that “Hey, I don't really care what you saw on the news last night, my name is Adam. Hello! I am an African American. I'm interested in this, this, and this. I'm good at this, this, and this, and that's just who I am as an individual. I've never been White. I have a Black dad, and I have a Black mom. So if you want to get to know me, I am an individual, but if you want to spend time trying to put me in this box then that's not going to work. You can do that over there,” you know.

We see in Adam's story how attacks on his Blackness are “not going to work” because he has acquired a level of comfort, a sense of self. In this final excerpt, while discussing an experience in White leisure, Adam provides a portrait of how he has internalized what it is to be an African American and a sense of personal identity:

A lot of the people who actually know me just allow me to be a little bit different and so maybe when I was younger stuff like that would have bothered me. As of where I am at now, it's not something that I would really think twice about... It's not something that would bother me right now just because I have no qualms about being myself. It's just like, ‘hey, if this is the game of chess, if you have ideas of stereotypes towards this game, [about] who should play it, what it should be like, maybe that's in your own head.’ Maybe there's some things that *you* need to change...’ I feel like, I would be very quick to educate that person. Who would walk up on me and accuse me of being something other than myself, while I was doing something I enjoyed.

Adam's leisure experiences have provided him with a useful context to work out issues related to identity formation, breaking down stereotypes, and accusations of acting White. The narratives presented above showcased how Adam's traversing of turbulent waters have allowed him to acquire an identity that he is unashamed of and a boldness to “check” those challenging his authenticity as a Black man.

The subtheme, 'Calling African Americans back to the community,' examined participants' use of the term acting White to “call back” African Americans they believed have strayed away from group norms. Three participants noted how the term acting White is used by African Americans in a way to remind fellow African Americans, who they believe to have strayed, to not forget who they are or where they come from. Additionally, participant responses showed how seeing an African American in an atypical leisure activity challenged their understanding of what is considered authentic Blackness. While describing this catch 22, Sean referred to it as “twisted”:

See, I wouldn't have a problem with it, just because that Black person could have been me. However, and it's so twisted, because I can remember being in the University Recreation Center and...I saw a [Black] guy in there playing badminton, and me and my roommates stopped, and we're like, 'What's going on? What is he doing in there?' So, it's interesting that even me, and I'm a proponent of, you know, Black people can do whatever they want. Even me, in that instance, I was like 'What is he doing? What is he doing right now?'

Noting that he is a proponent of Blacks being able to participate in any leisure activity they desire, Sean nevertheless discussed how he once questioned an African American's authenticity. During his exploration on this subject, he discussed how normal

it is to maintain “pictures in our heads of certain things that Black people should do or can't do.” The racializing of leisure that Sean refers to appears to have a restricting effect on some African Americans' leisure, at least among those fearful of being labeled as ‘Acting White.’ Sean insisted that the stereotyped images of Black and White leisure may be attributed to a lack of exposure:

You know what... I take that back now; I think it comes from exposure. Like I said, I wouldn't have a problem with seeing a Black person playing racquetball; however, that's only because I played racquetball. So now when I see somebody playing racquetball, who's Black, I don't have a problem with it; I would want to join them. However, with that [leisure activity] he was playing, I was like, 'what?' I don't get it...So I think a lot of that comes from what we've been exposed too. Yeah, I think that's what it was, because I definitely remember being in the Rec center looking at him, like, shaking my head, like, 'What are you doing?'

When this question was posed to other participants they began to wonder aloud during interviews what may have caused an African American to behave in the manner considered White. Some of the comments asked by participants were: Is he aware that he is Black and participating in White forms of leisure? Where was this individual raised? Why is he hanging out with White people? Does he have Black friends?

In his story Andre talked about how certain social cues tipped him off to whether or not an African American he met was Black enough and thus acting White:

Probably internally, I know every time I meet Black guys downtown and if my White friend introduce me to him, it's always a 'What's up man?!' and if they don't respond back with, knowing what the dap is, you know what I'm saying, if they

just, 'Oh, hey how you doing buddy?!' You know, what I'm saying, I'm just looking like, 'Where'd you get this guy from?' or 'This guy don't know anything about Black people.'

In describing a scenario where he saw an African American engaged in a leisure activity he considered White, Joe explained that it would be imperative for him to remind the African American that he is Black:

I guess we [Black people] have some type of racial conflict or something and he [Black guy] trying to side with them [Whites]. 'Cause, you know, Black people they like to take stuff on a whole different level. So you know if you side with them, like say the White people live in one neighborhood, Black people live in a different, [and] you trying to befriend the White person at school or whatever, but you know, you got to go home...Black people, they really get on you, 'Oh what was up with all that? You was supposed to be with us? You Black, just don't forget!

Joe's use of the term acting White reflects his belief in the idea that African Americans must stick together and not forget their roots. The above quote highlights how when Joe charges an African American with acting White it is used as a reminder to return home, rather than as an insult. Thus, it was observed in this study that use of the term acting White, when used by Whites challenges African Americans understanding of their Blackness. Though in some cases it serves as a reminder to African Americans who appear to have strayed away from cultural norms and in a subtle way asks the question "are you with us?"

Summary

In this section, participants' offered their understanding of the terms “acting White” and the tensions they experienced with the terms being applied to them. Some participants understanding of the terms seemed to imply that unfamiliarity with Black culture meant one was acting White. Thus, not behaving in a stereotypical Black manner meant one was acting White. Behaviors that were typically associated with Blackness were based on one's dress, speech patterns, and musical preferences. For African Americans engaging in activities outside of these racial prescriptions was to open oneself up to charges of acting White.

Participants acknowledged that being accused of acting White is hurtful, but even more damaging when the accuser is White. The narratives of Sean and Adam highlighted how confrontations with White peers who accused them of acting White' caused them to defend their racial identity and challenge their White peer's conceptions of Blackness. Sean's and Adam's responses indicated it was important to defend themselves by addressing the charge right away in an assertive and direct manner. Both noted that an immediate response was necessary because they felt it was imperative to educate their accuser about the different conceptions of Blackness. By educating their accuser about the various forms of Blackness participants were able to show that Blackness was not monolithic and possibly prevent accusers from using the term again.

Conclusion

In this chapter a table outlining participants' profiles was provided to better assist with contextualizing the results found during interviews. Contained within participants' profiles were interview quotes highlighting leisure activity patterns, familial and peer

influences on leisure choices, and how participants' leisure activities assisted their identity development. Additionally, this chapter showed how racial identity development, according to the Nigrescence model, occurred within leisure. Lastly, there was a discussion about participants' leisure experiences when accused of acting White.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, the findings are considered in relation to the literature reviewed in chapters 1 and 2. Also, this chapter discusses the ways in which the current investigation contributes to leisure studies literature and its implications for theory, practice, and further research.

The focus on African American males in this study was derived from an interest in understanding how leisure provides a context for identity formation and racial identity development for male adolescents. Included with this interest in understanding African American males identity development was how accusations of acting White may or may not affect their leisure preferences. Additionally, upon recognizing the paucity of literature addressing African American males' identity formation and racial identity development within the context of leisure, a goal of this study sought was to bring awareness to the developmental needs of this understudied group.

Leisure Experiences Contribute to Identity Formation

The first theme observed within this study was the connection between African American males' leisure experiences and identity formation. The research question that addressed this theme was: *To what extent and in what ways is leisure experience relevant to identity formation in African American males?*

Erikson (1968) asserted the development of a firm and sound sense of identity was a critical psychosocial task of adolescence transitioning into adulthood. Building on

Erikson's work on the importance of identity achievement developmentally, several other investigators have examined the processes involved with developing an identity (Marcia & Adelson 1980; Waterman, 1985). Through this research much has been learned about the various challenges experienced by adolescents in developing an identity. Erikson noted that for African Americans the task of identity development becomes even more difficult due to the racial hostility many African Americans experience (Erikson, 1968). Recognition of the additional difficulties African Americans experience in identity development led to the examination of different aspects of identity development such as racial identity development (Cross, 1971, 1978, 1991; Helms, 1990; Parham & Helms, 1981, 1985) and ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1990, 1996; Phinney, Chavira, & Tate 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Over the past 50 years, researchers have examined how leisure experience contributes to human development (see Kleiber, 1999, for a review). Leisure settings have been known to provide an atmosphere where individuals are able to experience freedom and the opportunity to experiment with different forms of self-expression in ways that may be compelling enough to contribute to their identity development. Kleiber (1999) asserted “people feel most authentic in contexts of relative freedom from external expectation, where companionable others allow them to relax and feel comfortable” (p. 98). For this study, African American males identity formation and racial identity development was examined within the context of leisure.

In each interview participants were asked to identify their favorite leisure activities, and what they considered as “Black” or “White” leisure. The most frequently mentioned leisure activities reported were basketball (Paul, Andre, Reno, Joe, & Adam),

socializing with friends (Reno, Sean, Andre, Paul, Mac, & Joe), playing in the band (Joe & Mac), playing videogames (Reno, Paul), and reading (Adam, Paul). Participants noted how participation in these activities were important to them because they were able to learn valuable life lessons, meet people from different cultural backgrounds, and connect with friends.

Leisure activities participants identified as “Black” included: hanging out, dancing, rapping, basketball, football, and track. Participation in these activities meant being able to immerse oneself in activities deemed relevant to the immersion experience. Andre noted in his profile how involvement in Black leisure activities (i.e. attending Black Greek parties) helped him adjust to the difficulties he was experiencing at University and connect with other Blacks around campus. Considering his experience, it appears that participation in Black leisure activities contributes to racial identity formation in relatively simple and direct ways associated with immersion. This can be contrast with the problem of being accused of acting White which may be an encounter experience that moves racial identity formation forward in a different way.

One participant noted the main difference between Black and White leisure is that Black leisure is typically more communal, whereas White leisure is individualistic. This appears to reflect an implicit or explicit understanding that African culture has been found to be more interdependent compared to Western culture (c.f. Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Interestingly, when participants responded to what is considered White leisure, their lists of activities were more expansive than African American leisure. This finding suggests support for the marginality hypothesis and the idea that a lack of opportunity and limited exposure to Black participant role models has led to an over-determination of

activities considered White. Additionally, some of the activities they described could be identified as either more extreme or adventurous than Black leisure. Activities participants considered White included: golf, bowling, baseball, lacrosse, hiking, hunting, skydiving, cliff diving, snowboarding, skateboarding, and bungee jumping.

Upon establishing what was considered their favorite leisure activity and what is considered either Black or White leisure, participants discussed how engagement in these activities helped facilitate their identity development. With the exception of Richard, participants commented that in general participation in leisure activities was very important to their identity development because it prevented them from being involved in activities they personally viewed as negative, suggesting that the activities themselves may have been less important than identifying with others in that Black-friendly social world rather than the other stereotypically negative one associated with delinquent and self-destructive behavior. Most participants noted that the neighborhoods and communities they grew up in presented them with limited opportunities to succeed, but a plethora of ways to fail. Rather than involving themselves in deviant activities such as drug use, committing crimes, or dropping out of school participants elected to participate in more positive forms of leisure.

Andre noted how his community members encouraged him to pursue his interest in art and discouraged criminal behavior. Commenting on the characteristics of his neighborhood Andre stated it was riddled with crime and provided him with several opportunities to venture into criminal activity. Observing that Andre was not interested in a violent lifestyle, community members began investing their time in encouraging him to develop his craft as an artist. Their intervention in addition with the support received

from his parents Andre began to develop as an artist. Thus, leisure served as a buffer against social ills and as a site for positive identity development.

Changes in Leisure Preferences and Orientations from Adolescence

The second research question addressed: *To what extent and in what ways, have the leisure preferences and orientations of adolescence endured in terms of current self-assessments, and to what extent is race implicated in this evolution?*

The leisure preferences and orientations of participants in this study endured in a couple of ways. All participants who cited playing basketball as a favorite leisure activity continue to play the sport in college. Andre noted how playing basketball helped him interact with individuals from different racial backgrounds and develop a relationship with his father. Most leisure activities that participants identified as their favorite when they were adolescents remained as such and continued to provide participants with a source of enjoyment and self-expression.

With regard to how race was implicated in their leisure evolution participants discussed how they became more willing to try new leisure activities as they matured. Across all interviews it was observed that race became salient to participants as they transitioned into high school and later into college. Some participants noted a heightened awareness of race in high school as they saw their peers form cliques along racial lines. Paul was able to recall how “natural” it was for him to walk into his high school's cafeteria and see Blacks sitting on one side of the room with Whites on the other. In her book *Why are all the Blacks kids sitting together in the cafeteria* Tatum (1997) suggested when African American students begin aligning themselves with other African Americans this is a sign of the beginning stages of racial identity exploration.

In Mac's interview he discussed how since transitioning to college he has become more experimental in his selection of leisure activities. Mac's involvement with newer forms of leisure may be attributed to his maturity as an individual. Mac recalled how his leisure was limited as an adolescent, but since enrolling at College Hill he has begun to step outside of his comfort zone and try out new things. It does not appear that Mac's willingness to experiment with newer forms of leisure is unique to just him. Paul and Sean also mentioned in interviews that they began developing an interest in newer forms of leisure upon entering college. Participants sudden desire to participate in newer forms of leisure appears to reflect a level of maturity that began once they left home.

Additionally, some leisure activities participants once considered more clearly "White" (e.g. reading) as adolescents were now acceptable to participate in as adults. Paul noted how as an adolescent his Blacks peers referred to reading as a White leisure activity, which caused him to reduce the amount of time he spent reading. However, once he enrolled in College Hill he began to read more often and was no longer swayed by the charge of acting White by those same peers.

Moreover, Sean discussed how upon becoming a student at University he attended a country music bar for the first time with a White childhood friend and came away from the experience with a newfound respect for country music. Becoming more adventurous Sean was able to experiment with newer forms of leisure in spite of his race and how others may have perceived him.

'Acting White' in Leisure Activities

The third research question addressed:

To what extent and in what ways has their leisure been racialized as “White” or “Black” in their lives and how, if at all, has the problem of acting White been a part of that experience?

This research question addressed the racialized nature of leisure as understood by previous researchers examining the discrepancy in leisure preferences and participation rates found between African Americans and Whites (Floyd & Shinenew 1999; Philipp, 1998; Washburne, 1978). Previous research investigating the racial differences between African American' and White' leisure preferences have utilized the marginality and ethnicity theory (Washburne & Wall, 1980). The marginality theory posits financial limitations have prevented African Americans from participating in certain leisure activities (i.e. golf). The ethnicity theory asserts “divergent values, norms, and socialization practices associated with Whites and Blacks, independent of socioeconomic factors” as the reason differences exist.

In this study four (Reno, Sean, Paul and Adam) asserted they did consider race when selecting leisure activities, while the remaining four (Andre, Richard, Mac, and Joe) did not consider race salient in their chosen activities. Participants who did not consider race important shared stories of feeling comfortable engaging in a White leisure activity. Andre, Richard, Mac, and Joe described their involvement in leisure activities as being based on the activity itself rather than on the activity being considered Black or White such as with Mac's willingness to go parasailing and jet skiing despite those activities being rarely done by or with other African Americans.

However, of the four who did consider race important when selecting leisure activities Reno was the most outspoken. Reno cited feeling uncomfortable as the main reason why he avoided certain leisure activities, specifically White leisure activities. Chavez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) noted that individuals may “prefer to recreate with others they believe to be similar to themselves and may look for places where they feel comfortable and welcome” (p.182). In the case of Reno he noted a preference for being in the company of other African Americans, because it would be more comfortable and less awkward to socialize with Black individuals.

The fourth research question addressed: *To what extent and in what ways did they, or others they knew, experience tension or conflict around acting White in leisure activities and orientations?*

This research question explored the ways in which participants understood the term acting White and experiences with being accused of acting White in leisure. The term acting White was understood as “a scripted, even racialized performance, the goal of which is--perhaps unconsciously--something approximating attempted identity theft...in exchange for what is conventionally identified as success” Fordham (2008). Activities and behaviors participants associated with acting White included: riding dirt bikes, dressing preppy, using proper English, and horseback riding.

Fordham asserted “performing Whiteness indiscriminately--especially in the presence of a predominately Black audience--is widely perceived by Americans whose ancestors were enslaved in this country as a violation of their Black citizenship” (p.231). Thus, the calling out of an African American by a fellow African American serves as a way to remind one of their Blackness. As previously mentioned authentic Blackness is a

“particular mindset” that operates as a “medium through which blacks distinguish 'real' from 'spurious' members” (as cited in Fordham & Ogbu, 1986, p. 185). Additionally, this criterion used to gauge one's authenticity as an African American serves as a way to maintain or preserve African American cultural values, traditions, and beliefs.

Participating in leisure activities considered “Black” would arguably be part of this process while participating in White activities would not be, even though the latter may have been more likely to lead to an encounter that may have contributed more dramatically to racial identity formation.

When participants were asked to discuss a time when they accused an African American of acting White six participants' noted they have used the term in a disparaging manner. According to these six participants the term was used in a way to call back African Americans they believed had lost their way or forgot where they came from. Participants also noted that seeing an African American engaged in an activity they were not accustomed to, they viewed it as White leisure. This then led participants to believe that the individual was out of place and began to question his/her Blackness. Asked to expound on why they would accuse someone of 'Acting White,' participants noted how the individual in question embodied Whiteness. Characteristics of someone who embodied Whiteness was based on their style of speech, clothing, and selection of leisure activities. Participants also noted how they would wonder if the African American in question had Black friends, identified with the Black race, or knew about African American history.

However, Richard and Mac, both from College Hill, asserted they would not question an African Americans racial identity by accusing him/her of 'Acting White.'

Both of these participants believed an individual's race should not prevent them from freely engaging in leisure activities of all kinds. Additionally, both individuals asserted they did not consider race important and saw no value in labeling leisure activities according to race or ethnicity.

Furthermore this research question addressed participants' responses to charges of acting White by a White peer. By inquiring of participants' responses to charges of acting White additional information was gathered to address the concept of authentic Blackness. In this study, two participants recalled Encounter stories of when they were accused of acting White by a White peer. Participants stated that they addressed their accuser directly and immediately in the moment citing a need to educate their accuser about the different portrayals of Blackness, while confirming their own Blackness. Examples of participant responses to charges of acting White are given in the profiles of Adam and Sean.

The final subtheme examined was how participants have used the term in a way to question one's authenticity as an African American or to call back African Americans they believed have strayed away from group norms. Participant responses in this subtheme highlighted how seeing an African American in an atypical leisure activity challenged their understanding of authentic Blackness. All participants stated that they would not have a problem with seeing an African American engaged in White leisure. However, some asserted that they would question the individuals' motives for participating in White leisure and would wonder if he/she was aware of his/her status as an African American. One participant, Joe, believed it to be important for the African American male participating in White leisure to remember that he was Black.

Nigrescence Model

Participants' narratives showed how the Nigrescence model may be a useful tool in describing how African American males' racial identity unfolds partly within the context of leisure. When Cross (1970) first developed the Nigrescence model it was to show how Blacks were becoming more socially conscious following the events of the Civil Rights Movement. In this study I attempted to show how leisure provides an important context within which to examine the racial identity development of college-aged African American males using the Nigrescence model. It was my belief that the Nigrescence model could be used within the discipline of leisure studies to improve the field's understanding of how African American males racial identity develops.

The profiles of Richard, Mac, and Joe provided evidence of Pre-Encounter behaviors that could be furthered explored in leisure. Cross characterized individuals in the Pre-Encounter stage as being aware of racial differences, but do not consider these differences important (i.e. "color-blind"). Cross went on to state that individuals in this stage elect to identify with the dominant culture and "hold attitudes that range from low salience, race neutrality, to anti-Black" (Cross, 1995, p. 54). At this stage being an African American is of little importance and more attention is given to other areas of one's life (i.e. groups, profession, and religion).

Three participants in this study stated that either they did not see race or that race was not a factor when selecting leisure activities. Richard's story, more notably, showcased how a color-blind mentality operates within leisure. While a member of a predominately White student group at PWL Richard discussed how race was never an issue and that the topic of race was never raised. During interviews it never appeared that

Richard held disdain towards the African American race or thought lowly of himself, in his eyes race was just never a factor. Furthermore, the data obtained through Richard's interview does not show him having an Encounter experience that would trigger an Immersion. Thus, Richard's color-blind ideology helped him feel empowered to use his leisure as an opportunity for traveling to different countries to interact with people from different backgrounds. . It appears that, based on the interviews conducted, the Nigrescence model that assumes self-disparagement before encounters may not apply in all cases.

When discussing the Encounter stage it was discovered that six participants (three from University and three from College Hill) had an Encounter experience which compelled them to not associate with leisure activities or behaviors considered White. By disassociating themselves from White leisure activities these participants were able to maintain their status as authentic Blacks with their peers. Paul discussed an Encounter experience within leisure when describing a scenario when he re-considered what leisure activities were appropriate for Blacks to participate in or not. Paul shared how when his friends demeaned his intelligence and were not easily swayed to read books as he did. Paul talked about how this caused him to not read as much and began to stay away from White leisure in an effort to remain in good standing with his peers. The paralysis Paul experienced prevented him from engaging in activities that he would later consider "peaceful" or "fun." His maturation in finding deeper meanings of authentic Blackness, while have the self-assuredness to do activities that may not be traditionally Black or more clearly white in connotation, indicates movement into the internalization stage.

It was observed in this study that only two participants' stories provided enough evidence to support the idea of the Immersion stage of Nigrescence occurring in the context of leisure, perhaps indicating the limited usefulness for understanding it as a potential product of leisure experience. Both participants talked about being immersed with either African American culture or literature and how through this immersion they came to a better understanding of who they were as African Americans. Paul and Andre's narratives showed how their Immersion in Black activities helped them find a sense of identity within the Black community. Generally, more intellectual leisure activities such as reading would have to replace the more stereotypic patterns of leisure activity, as in sport especially, to contribute to this level of racial identity formation (Nigrescence).

While engaging in Black leisure activities Andre noted how he was able to gain a better sense of his racial identity. However, as he continued to talk about being involved in Black leisure he saw a decline in his academics. This may indicate evidence of someone about to enter the Internalization stage, but not enough data was gathered to confirm or deny this assertion.

Finally, this section looked at individuals in the Internalization stage. None of the participants in this study provided evidence of having a Black Nationalist identity. Three participants from University and two participants from College Hill provided evidence that indicates a Biculturalist identity. For example, Paul discussed how his reading of the book *Roots* started him on his path to understanding more about Black culture, though this reflects the immersion stage as well as noted above. While the prospects for internalization occurring in leisure or being facilitated by leisure involvement, perhaps the best evidence would be where the charge of acting white is no longer threatening to

one's sense of authentic Blackness. While I have talked about the readiness to engage in so called White activities as reflecting a kind of pre-encounter color blindness; it would also reflect – as it did in the cases of Paul and Sean, reaching the advanced, internalization stage of racial identification.

Summary

In this study I attempted to show how leisure provides a context within which to examine the personal and racial identity development of college-aged African American males using the Nigrescence model and beginning to some extent with my own experience. In the course of the study I was able to we have begun to hear also from other African American males with respect to how they understand their past and present leisure experience. Topics that were brought up during interviews included viewing leisure as a safe haven for self-expression and identity development, being the only Black male engaged in leisure with Whites, and experiences with being accused of acting White in leisure.

Some participants noted how family and/or community members encouraged participation in sports as a way to avoid involvement in criminal activity. Paul shared that in his community there were only two options, fight or play sports. So in an effort to keep Paul safe and away from trouble his mother encouraged him to play sports. Much like Paul the other young men in this study received encouragement from family and/or community members to avoid involvement in crime by participating leisure activities, namely sports. Joe talked about how his involvement in leisure activities helped him “do something constructive” with his time, instead of smoking marijuana like many of his

peers. It appears that for the young men in this study, participation in leisure activities, primarily sports, was effective in helping them avoid a life of crime.

This study also brought to light how leisure was a fertile ground for the identity development of African American males. The stories of Mac and Sean highlight how through leisure they were able to learn lessons about becoming assertive and direct. Sean shared that his involvement in leisure activities was very influential in his decision to become active in student groups at University and volunteering at non-profit organizations while not being limited by racial stereotypes.

Exploring the topic of acting White participants offered their understanding of what they believe the terms meant. Interpretations of acting White included descriptions of African Americans demonstrating intelligence, articulating their words clearly, dressing preppy, or engaging in non-Black leisure. A review of participants' interpretations gave rise to the notion that if one was not acting Black, then by default they were assumed to be acting White. Equating an absence of Black behaviors with acting White, as illustrated especially in Sean narrative, limits and diminishes what it means to be Black. All participants shared a similar dislike for the terms and felt that it was irresponsible to use such terms because it creates the idea that African Americans are monolithic.

Paul's narrative of his leisure experience revealed how he learned that reading, as understood by his peers, was considered an inappropriate form of leisure for Blacks. As told by Paul since his peers were not good at reading it was deemed unpopular and an activity to be avoided by Blacks. In his attempts to convince them otherwise, Paul was unsuccessful and his interest began to decline. However, had it not been for the

encouragement he received from his mother, he may have given up the activity altogether. This revelation brings to light how levels of competence in a particular leisure activity should be taken into account when looking at the accusation of acting White in leisure.

This study also explored participants' experiences as the only Black male engaged in a leisure activity with Whites. Sean talked about his experience as the only Black male going to a country music bar and rafting with White friends. However, some participants talked about being the only Black among Whites in a leisure activity. Reno shared a story of being in the dining halls and how during one experience he felt isolated since he was the only Black male. He talked about how his White peers would make snide comments or exclude him from conversations that made him feel unwanted. So he shared that he would prefer to be in the presence of Blacks because it felt safer, possibly because he felt more of a connection to his Black peers than White peers. While this may have served as an encounter moment for Reno, he did not reveal it as a stimulus for him to immersion or subsequent internalization, as it apparently was for others in this study.

Delimitations

This study was primarily limited by its relatively small sample size of eight African American male participants, between the ages of 18-24, attending either a Historically Black university or a Predominantly White university in the Southeastern United States. While the delimitations of the current investigation to males was justified earlier, including African American females from either of these types of institutions would have improved the diversity of the sample and our current understanding of racial identity development. As noted previously the identity development process for African

Americans is complicated by factors such as racial biases and discrimination. This process may be even more cumbersome for African American females coming of age in a patriarchal society. Including African American females in subsequent studies may improve how we understand their personal and racial identity development.

Another way the diversity of the sample size could have been improved was by recruiting individuals from various regions across the U.S. to see how residing in a particular region may have impacted the study's findings. Results may have shown how leisure activities considered White in one geographic area is not considered White in another. For example, Blacks in the North may consider hockey an acceptable (non-racialized) leisure alternative, but Blacks in the South may perceive this activity as White.

Additional ways in which the sample size was limited included the selection of participants solely from the ranks of higher education and from particular courses of study. All eight of the participants included in this study were enrolled in a four year university with five being psychology majors at a HBCU. It is possible that individuals who attend universities are more willing to perform leisure activities considered outside the norms of their racial group, though no such differences were found between the two groups in this study. Furthermore, the five psychology majors who attended an HBCU were enrolled in a course on African American psychology. As a result participants may well have been exposed to concepts of racial identity development that had an influence on their own self-constructions.

Another limitation of this study were the interview questions themselves. The addition of different interview questions may have allowed the researcher to ask, with

greater confidence, questions about personal and racial identity development. For example asking participants “how would you feel if you could not perform a certain activity?” may have revealed the salience of an activity and further explain how participants' personal identity formation occurred. Also, inclusion of questions that addressed how the accusation of acting White by a White peer at a predominately White institution affected an African Americans' racial identity development may have been beneficial. A refinement of the interview questions used in this study may have provided the researcher with more interpretable data. Thus, future studies attempting to determine the importance of leisure activity involvement to personal and racial identity development should address these concerns.

Another limitation of the narrative research design was obtaining the meaning of participants' stories rather than the truth. Within the field of narrative analysis, investigators find themselves more interested in understanding participants' experiences rather than determining whether participants' stories are factual (Sandelowski, 1991). As noted by Bell (2002) researchers encounter pitfalls when “imposing meaning on participants' lived experience” (p. 210). Recognizing this researchers following the narrative analysis approach should invite participants to take part in the collection and interpretation of data. Through their collaborative efforts researchers empower participants from disenfranchised groups to share their story uninhibited. Though the process of data collection and interpretation is collaborative it is ultimately the researcher who provides narrative form to the story and no claim can be made to the data being factual. While these cautions were considered in the current investigation, there was

likely room for improvement when it came to interpreting findings, perhaps by more clearly ‘member checking’ those interpretations.

Lastly, Riessman (1993) noted the use of “small sample sizes” from “unrepresentative pools” is a limitation of narrative research. As a result, generalizations should not be made from the data obtained when using this methodology. Therefore, findings presented from this study are limited in application to African American male college students’ personal and racial identity development within the Southeastern United States, and even then only where the conditions of those interviewed would be the same.

Theoretical Implications

Contributions from this study relate to the connection between race and leisure by examining the role of leisure in identity formation and racial identity development. Steinfeldt, Reed, and Steinfeldt (2010) noted that for African Americans, leisure can be viewed not only as a site where one is able to define self, but also where one develops a racial identity. Unlike other domains of life (i.e. employment and education), where laws and regulations have been established promoting integration “no similar laws have been enacted to secure the racial integration of leisure spaces,” nor should they exist (Phillip, 2000, p.121). Four participants in this study acknowledged the importance of race when selecting leisure activities. This study showed that the influence of race, family, and peers contributed to African American males identifying certain leisure activities as either Black or White, even though several of the participants chose activities in an apparently racially-blind way, either because they hadn’t been troubled by the racial nature of leisure or they had transcended it as an indication of authentic Blackness.

Furthermore, findings show charges of acting White did affect participants' leisure choices. Some young men noted how participation in non-Black leisure opened them up to criticisms from family members and peers. Several participants shared stories about how they avoided some leisure activities as a result of their peers labeling it “White” or calling them a “White boy.” Participants’ peers in this study typically frowned upon activities identified as White. However, participants demonstrated a willingness to engage in White leisure despite their peers negative views and defended their choice of leisure activities. This finding suggests (1) participants were either short of an encounter that would have them prefer activities more typical of African Americans or (2) transcended the immersion stage where racial stereotypes of activities mattered as indicators of authentic Blackness. Additionally, these findings suggest establishing a firm personal and racial identity may improve the likelihood that African American males will participate in leisure that is atypical of Black populations.

Implications for Practice

Implications from this study can be applied to the programmatic development of leisure activities for African American adolescents. Participants noted how their peers' lack of exposure to “White leisure” prevented their peers from experimenting with various forms of leisure. The Louisiana Outdoors Outreach Program (LOOP) has combined outdoor recreation activities with classroom relevant education. LOOP provides services to underserved and at-risk youth, typically African Americans, in Baton Rouge and New Orleans, LA (McNulty, 2010). Activities students participate in include venturing into the wildland, canoeing, and backpacking none of which are traditionally considered Black activities. Educating and more importantly, exposing students to the

outdoors, contributes to altering the way many students perceive the outdoors, which may improve their impressions of wilderness experiences.

Furthermore, several participants in this study stated they applaud African Americans who engage in White leisure because it helps break down commonly held stereotypes about African American leisure. Participants believed that encouraging fellow African Americans to participate in White leisure would increase the likelihood more African Americans will participate in similar activities.

However, attempts at deracializing leisure may, in fact, reduce the effect or value of using leisure as a place for racial identity formation. Pinckney, et al. (2011) noted how African American communities have “adopted rites of passage programs to prepare their youth for adulthood” (p. 98). Pinckney et al. argued that many of the societal messages African American youth hear and see about their culture portray them in a negative light, which may cause some to acquire a poor self-image or to develop a negative racial identity development. Pinckney et al. proposed the utilization of rites of passage programs, steeped in African culture, to “combat the influences that the dominant majority group has on the identity of Black youth while promoting the development of a positive self-image” (p.104). Thus, programs that focus on the youths' racial background may be beneficial in improving their racial identity and leisure it appears may be an especially appropriate context for race-related self-expression, especially as alternative activity patterns become more populated by African American participants.

Another area worth noting is the role of the African American church in promoting personal and racial identity in African American males. Considering that many Black churches are considered vital to the development of African American

communities, locating ways to implement programs that reinforce cultural values and traditions may prove to be beneficial (Foster, 2014). In particular African American churches may look into how they currently operate their youth programs. Some churches may want to consider incorporating a rites of passage program where participants learn about their cultural heritage and diverse patterns of culturally consistent forms of self-expression. Pinckney et al. (2011) asserted that rites of passage programs equip “youth of color with a better understanding of who they are by educating them about their ancestry,” while preparing them for adulthood. As noted by Pinckney et al. (2011) rites of passage programs are not new, having been used in several cultures to preserve their heritage, but adopting such programs in the context of leisure may instill a sense of pride in one's self and racial group.

Implications for Further Research

In addition to addressing the sampling limitations discussed earlier, future studies may consider using quantitative methods. In this regard, the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) developed by Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998), may be particularly useful since it purports to measure progress along the Nigrescence continuum. The MMRI is described as a model to be used for “understanding both the significance of race in the self-concepts of African Americans and the qualitative meanings they attribute to being members of this racial category” (p. 19). Stated differently, this model seeks to address the following questions “How important is race in the individual's perception of self? and what does it mean to be a member of this racial group?” (p. 23). Usage of the MMRI will allow future researchers to see a multiplicity of viewpoints in regards to race that African American males

possess. As noted in this investigation some African American males did not consider race important when selecting leisure activities, whereas the remainder of participants did consider race important. However, patterns related to the Nigrescence process was not entirely clear through this interview study; perhaps a more quantitative approach can shed additional light on this question. Additionally, utilizing the MMRI will address questions of saliency and strength of identification with the African American race while offering a more generalizable basis for further testing interpretations raised in this investigation.

The literature in the field of leisure has effectively documented the gendered nature of leisure, but few studies exist that have examined primarily African American females. An examination of their leisure experiences may reveal unique developmental processes they experience in leisure. Furthermore, one may look into what leisure activities African American females consider acting White and the ways accusations of acting White may affect them.

Sean and Adam were the only participants to go into detail about being accused of acting White by a White peer. When discussing the encounter they noted how irritating it was and how quickly they addressed the charge. They both talked at length about how they responded immediately to their accuser and began to consider their status as an African American. Sean noted that being accused of acting White by a Black peer was unsettling. However, the experience of having a White peer accuse him of acting White appeared to be more unsettling as evidenced by comments made in his profile. By addressing these limitations in future studies research will be able to improve sample diversity or at least offer a contrast with the current one and examine the dynamic of an African American being accused of acting White by a White peer.

Concluding Remarks

One of the first of its kind in the field of leisure studies, this investigation presented the narratives of eight African American males' personal and racial identity development within the context of leisure. Participants' stories were collected using semi-structured interviews that chronicled leisure experiences from adolescence into young adulthood. A diversity of leisure activities engaged in during adolescence and on into college were highlighted, some associated with racial identification, some not. In this study participants noted how leisure helped them stay out of trouble and interact with family and peers while offering opportunities for both skill-based and social competence.

For them leisure was a place where they could challenge commonly held conceptions of authentic Blackness and expand its meaning. When accused of acting White for participating in atypical Black leisure, some of these men educated their peers about how demeaning the term is and what 'authentic Blackness' means. Their responses demonstrated an awareness of who they were as individuals and as African Americans. I hope that with this investigation the field of leisure studies will begin to conduct more research examining the personal and racial identity development of African American males.

REFERENCES

- Akbar, N. (1991). *Visions for Black Men*. Winston-Derek Publishers, Nashville, TN.
- Andrews, M., Squire, C., & Tamboukou, M. (eds.) (Forthcoming) *Doing narrative research in the social sciences*. London: Sage.
- Armstrong, K. (2013). Toward a Black psychology of leisure: An 'Akbarian' critique. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 37(3), 212-222.
- Arnett, J.J., & Brody, G.H. (2008). A fraught passage: The identity challenges of African American emerging adults. *Human Development*, 51, 291-293.
- Arnold, M. L., & Shinew, K, J. (1998). The role of gender, race, and income on park use constraints. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 16(4), 39-56.
- Bailey, D.F., & Bradbury-Bailey, M.E. (2010). Empowered youth programs: Partnerships for enhancing postsecondary outcomes of African American adolescents. *Professional School Counseling*, 14(1), 64-74.
- Baldwin, J. (1963). *The fire next time*. New York: Dell Publishing.
- Ballard, H.E. (2010). Critical race theory as an analytical tool: African American male success in doctoral education. *Journal of College Teaching & Learning*. 7(10), 11-23.
- Bamberg, M. (2012). Narrative Analysis. In H. Cooper (Editor-in-chief), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology* (3 volumes) (Vol.2, 77-94). Washington, DC: APA Press.
- Bamberg, M. (2012). Why Narrative? *Narrative Inquiry*, 22(1), pp. 202-210.

- Bamberg, M., & Andrews, M. (2004). *Considering counter-narratives: Narrating, resisting, making sense*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Bamberg, M., & McCabe, A. (1998). Editorial. *Narrative Inquiry*, 8, iii-v.
- Banks, J.A. & Grambs, J.D. (1972). *Black self-concept: Implications for education and social science*. McGraw Hill.
- Barnett, L.A. (2006). Accounting for leisure preferences from within: The relative contributions of gender, race, or ethnicity, personality, affective style, and motivational orientation. *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 38(4), pp.445-474.
- Bell, J.S. (2002). Narrative Inquiry: More than just telling stories. *Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages*, 36(2).
- Bernal, M.E., & Knight, G.P. (Eds.). (1993). *Racial identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Bold, C. (2012). *Using narrative in research*. London: Sage.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2002). We are all Americans! The Latin Americanization of racial stratification in the USA. *Race & Society*, 5, 3-16.
- Bowen, G.A. (2006). Grounded theory and sensitizing concepts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(3), 1-9.
- Bruner, J. (1987). Life as narrative. *Social Research*, 54(1), 11–32.
- Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 18, 1-21.
- Burke, P.J. & Stets, J.E. (2009). *Identity theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Carbado, D.W. (2011). Critical what what? *Connecticut Law Review*, 43, 1549-1643.

- Carter, P. L. (2008). Coloured places and pigmented holidays: Racialized leisure travel. *Tourism Geographies*, 10(3), 265-284.
- Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 371–393). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cavin, D., & Scott, D. (2010). An analysis of nature: In three African American autobiographical narratives. *Journal of Unconventional Parks, Tourism & Recreation Research*, 3(1), 2-7.
- Charmaz, K. (2003). Grounded theory. In J.A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods*, 81-110, Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Chase, S. E. (1995). Taking narrative seriously: Consequences for method and theory in interview studies. In R. Josselson & A. Lieblich (Eds.), *Interpreting experience: The narrative study of lives* (pp. 1–26). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chase, S. E. (2005). Narrative Inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 651–679). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chavez, A.F. & Guido-DiBrito, F. (1999). Racial and ethnic identity and development. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 84, 39-46.
- Clandinin, D. J. (2013). *Engaging in narrative inquiry*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc.
- Clandinin, D. J. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

- Clandinin, D. J. (Ed.). (2007). *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Clandinin, D. J., & Huber, J. (In press). Narrative inquiry. In B. McGaw, E. Baker, & P.P. Peterson (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of education* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Elsevier.
- Clandinin, D.J., & Murphy, M. S. (2007). Looking ahead: Conversations with Elliot Mishler, Don Polkinghorne, and Amia Lieblich. In D. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 632–650). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Clandinin, D.J., & Murphy, M. S. (2009). Relational ontological commitments in narrative research. *Educational Researcher*, 38(8), 598-602.
- Clandinin, D.J., & Rosiek, J. (2007). Mapping a landscape of narrative inquiry: Borderland spaces and tensions. In D. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 35–75). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Clandinin, D. J., Pushor, D., & Murray Orr, A. (2007). Navigating sites for narrative inquiry. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 58(1), 21–35.
- Clandinin, D.J., Murphy, M.S., Huber, J., & Orr, A.M. (2010). Negotiating narrative inquiries: Living in a tension-filled midst. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 103, 81-90.
- Coatsworth, J.D., Sharp, E.H., Palen, L.A, Darling, N. Cumsille, P., & Marta, E. (2005). Exploring adolescent self-defining leisure activities and identity experiences across three countries. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 29(5), 361-370.

- Cokely, K. & Chapman, C. (2009). Racial identity theory: Adults. In *Handbook of African American psychology* edited by Nevilles, H.A., Tynes, B.M., & Outsey, S.O. (2009).
- Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, 19(5), 2–14.
- Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (2006). Narrative inquiry. In J. L. Green, G. Camilli, & P. Elmore (Eds.), *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (3rd ed., pp. 477– 487). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum
- Cook, P. J., and Ludwig, J. (1997). Weighing the “Burden of ‘Acting White’ “: Are There Race Differences in Attitudes toward Education? *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 16(2), 256–278.
- Creswell, J. W. (2000). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches* (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Cross, W. E., Jr. (1971). The Negro-to-Black conversion experience. *Black World*, 20 (9), 13–27.
- Cross, W. E., Jr. (1978). The Thomas and Cross models of psychological nigrescence: A review. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 5(1), 13–31.
- Cross, W. E., Jr. (1991). *Shades of Black: Diversity in African American identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Cross, W. E., Jr. (1995). The psychology of nigrescence: Revising the Cross model. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 93–122). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Cross, W. E., Jr., Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1998). Nigrescence revisited: Theory and research. In R. L. Jones (Eds.) *African American identity development: Theory, research, and intervention* (pp. 3-71). Hampton, VA: Cobb and Henry.
- Cross, W. E., Jr., & Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Nigrescence theory and measurement: Introducing the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 123–147). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. & Larson, R. (1985). *Being adolescent: Conflict and growth in the teenage years*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Cutten, G.B. (1926). *The Threat of Leisure*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Daley, M. (2003). “Why do Whites sing Black?”: The Blues, Whiteness, and early histories of rock. *Popular Music and Society*, 26, 161-167.
- Davis, C., Aronson, J. & Salinas, M. (2006). Shades of threat: Racial identity as a moderator of stereotype threat. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 32, 399-417.
- DeCuir, J.T., & Dixson, A.D. (2004). “So when it comes out, they aren’t that surprised that it is there”: Using critical race theory as a tool for analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher*, 33, 26-31.
- DeGrazia, S. (1962). *Of Time, work, and leisure*. New York: 20th Century Fund.
- Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York: New York University Press.
- Denney, R. (1959). The Leisure Society. *Harvard Business Review*, 37(3), 46-60.

- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds). (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*.
 Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- DuBois, W.E.B. & Eaton, I. (1967). *The Philadelphia Negro: A social study*. New York:
 Schocken Books.
- Erickson, B., Johnson, C.W., Kivel, B.D. (2009). Rocky mountain park: History and
 culture as factors in African American park visitation. *Journal of Leisure
 Research, 41*, 529-545.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis*. (1st edition) New York: Norton.
- Erikson, E. (1980). *Identity and the Life Cycle*. New York: Norton.
- Falk, J.H. (1995). Factors influencing African American leisure time utilization of
 museums. *Journal of Leisure Research, 27*(1), 41-60.
- Favor, J.M. (1999). *Authentic Blackness: The Folk in the New Negro Renaissance*.
 Durham, N.C: Duke UP.
- Floyd, M.F. (1998). Getting beyond marginality and ethnicity: The challenge for race and
 ethnic studies in leisure research. *Journal of Leisure Research, 30*, 3-22.
- Floyd, M. F (2007). Research on race and ethnicity in leisure: Anticipating the fourth
 wave. *Leisure/Loisir, 31*(1), 245-254.
- Floyd, M.F., & Shinew, K. (1999). Convergence and divergence in leisure style among
 Whites and African Americans: Toward an interracial contact hypothesis.
Journal of Leisure Research, 31, 359-384.
- Floyd, M.F., Bocarro, J.N., & Thompson, T.D. (2008). Research on race and ethnicity in
 leisure studies: A review of five major journals. *Journal of Leisure Research, Vol.
 40* (1), 1-22.

- Floyd, M.F., Shinew, K.J., McGuire, F.A., & Noe, F.P. (1994). Race, class, and leisure activity preferences: Marginality and ethnicity revisited. *Journal of Leisure Research*. 26(2), 158-173.
- Fordham, S. (2008). Beyond capital high: On dual citizenship and the strange career of “Acting White.” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*. 39(3), 227-246.
- Fordham, S. & Ogbu, J. (1986). Black students’ school success: Coping with the “Burden of ‘Acting white’.” *The Urban Review*. 18(3), 176-206.
- Foster, L.S. (2014). First churches Los Angeles project: Studying African American churches in the first half of the twentieth century. *Western Historical Quarterly*, 45(1), 60-65.
- Fuller, R.D., Percy, V.E., Bruening, J.E., & Cotrufo, R.J. (2013). Positive youth development: Minority male participation in a sport-based afterschool program in an urban environment. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*. 84, 469-482
- Gallant, A. (2013, October 13). Athens teens build community and life skills through chess. *Athens Banner Herald*. Retrieved from <http://www.onlineathens.com>.
- Glover, T.D. (2004). Narrative inquiry and the study of grassroots associations. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 15(1), 47-69.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*. 8(4), 597-607.
- Grier, W.H., & Cobbs, P.M. (1969). *Black rage, by William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs. Foreword by Fred R. Harris*. New York, Bantam Books.
- Hall, Powell, (2011). Understanding the person through narrative. *Nursing Research and Practice*. 1-10.

- Harter S. (1990). Developmental differences in the nature of self-representations: Implications for the understanding, assessment and treatment of maladaptive behavior. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*. 14(2), 113–142.
- Harper, S.R., & Associates. (2014). *Succeeding in the city: A report from the New York City Black and Latino male High School Achievement Study*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Race and Equity in Education.
- Harper, S.R., & Davis III, C.F. (2012). They (don't) care about education: A counter narrative on Black male students' responses to inequitable schooling. *Educational Foundations*, 26(1/2), 103-120.
- Helms, J. E. (1990). An overview of Black racial identity theory. In J. E. Helms (Ed.), *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 9–47). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Helms, J. E. (1991). Introduction: Review of racial identity terminology. In J. E. Helms (Ed.), *Black and White racial identity: Theory research and practice*, Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Howard, T. (2008). The disenfranchisement of African American males in pre K-12 schools: A critical race theory perspective. *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 110, 954-985.
- Hylton, K. (2005). 'Race', sport and leisure: Lessons from critical race theory. *Leisure Studies*, 24(1), 81-98.
- Hylton, K. (2008). “Race” and sport: Critical race theory. 1-19.

- Hylton, K. (2012). Talk the talk, walk the walk: Defining critical race theory in research. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15(1), 23-41.
- Iwasaki, Y. (2006). Counteracting stress through leisure coping: A prospective health study. *Psychology, Health & Medicine*, 11(2), 209-220.
- Jackson, E. L. (2005). Leisure constraints research: Overview of a developing theme in leisure studies. In E. Jackson (ed.) *Constraints to leisure*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Johnson-Bailey, J. (2004). Enjoining positionality and power in narrative work: Balancing contentious and modulating forces. In K. deMarrais, & S. Lapan (Eds.), *Foundations for research: Methods of inquiry in education and the social sciences* (pp. 123-138). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Johnson, C.Y., Bowker, J.M., English, D.B.K., & Worthen, D. (1998). Wildland recreation in the rural south: An examination of marginality and ethnicity theory. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 30(1), 101-120.
- Josselson, R. (1989). Identity formation in adolescence: Implications for young adulthood. In S.C. Feinstein, A.H. Esman, J.G. Looney, G.H. Orvin, J.L. Schimmel, A.Z. Schwartzberg, Sorosky, A.D., & M. Sugar (Eds.), *Adolescent psychiatry: Developmental and clinical studies*, 16, 142-154. Chicago, IL, US: University of Chicago Press.
- Kildegaard, I. C. (1965). The Leisure Boom. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 5(4). 49-53.
- Kivel, B.D. (2000). Leisure experience and identity: What difference does difference make? *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32 (1), 79-81.

- Kivel, B.D., Johnson, C.W., & Scraton, S. (2009). (Re)Theorizing leisure, experience and race. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 41(4), 473-493.
- Kleiber, D.A. (1999). *Leisure experience and human development*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Kleiber, D. A., Walker, G.J., & Mannell, R.C. (2011). *A Social Psychology of Leisure: 2nd Edition*. Venture Publishing, Inc., State College, PA.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 7-24.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). Critical race theory in education. The Routledge *International Handbook of Critical Education*, 110.
- Larson, R. (1997). The emergence of solitude as a constructive domain of experience in early adolescence. *Child Development*, 68(1), 80-93.
- Leedy, P.D., & Ormrod, J.E. (2005). *Practical research: Planning and design* (8th Ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Marcia, J. & Adelson, J. (1980). Identity in adolescence. *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, 159-187.
- Marcia, J. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3(5), 551-558.
- Markus, H. R. & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98(2), 224-253.

- Martin, D. (2004). Apartheid in the great outdoors: American advertising and the reproduction of a racialized outdoor leisure identity. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 36(4), 513-535.
- McArdle, C.G., & Young, N.F. (1970). Classroom discussion of racial identity or How can we make it without 'acting white'? *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 40(1), 135-141.
- McKissick, F. (1969). *Three fifths of a man*. New York: Macmillan.
- McNulty, I. (2010). Outdoors program looking for friends. *New Orleans Magazine*, 44(12), 35.
- Merriam, S. B. (2002). Introduction to qualitative research. In S. B. Merriam (Ed.), *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis* (pp. 3-17). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Milner, H.R. & Ross, E.W. (Eds.) (2006). *Race, ethnicity, and education: The influences of racial and ethnic identity in education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood/Praeger.
- Obama, B. (2014). Remarks by the President at My Brother's Keeper Town Hall. Walker Jones Education Campus. Washington, D.C.
- Ogbu, J. (2004). Collective Identity and the Burden of “Acting White” in Black History, Community, and Education. *Urban Review* 36(1), 1–35.
- Ogden, D. C. (2004). The welcome theory: An explanation for the decreasing number of African Americans in baseball. *Ninth Annual Conference POCPWI*, Paper 23, 52-54.
- Ogden, D.C. (2003). The welcome theory. *Tenth Annual NINE Spring Training Conference*, 12(2), 114-120.

- Parham, T.A. (1989). Cycles of psychological Nigrescence. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 17(2), 187-226.
- Parham, T.A., & Helms, J.E. (1981). The influence of Black students' racial identity attitudes on preferences for counselor's race. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 28(3), 250-257.
- Parham, T.A., & Helms, J.E. (1985). Relation of racial identity attitudes to self-actualization and affective states of Black students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 32, 431-440.
- Parham, T.A., Ajamu, A., & White, J.L. (2010). *Psychology of Blacks: Centering our perspectives in the African consciousness*. Boston: Prentice Hall.
- Patton, M.Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd Ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (3rd Ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage
- Philipp, S.F. (1995). Race and leisure constraints. *Leisure Sciences*, 17, 109-120.
- Philipp, S. F. (1998). Race and gender differences in adolescent peer group approval of leisure activities. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 30(2), 214-232.
- Philipp, S. F. (1999). Are we welcome? African American racial acceptance in leisure activities and the importance given to children's leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*. 31(4), 385-403.
- Phillip, S. F. (2000). Race and the pursuit of happiness. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32(1), 121-124.

- Phinney, J.S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499-514.
- Phinney, J.S. (1996). When we talk about American ethnic groups, what do we mean?, *American Psychologist*, 51(9), 918-927.
- Phinney, J.S., & Ong, A.D. (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54(3), 271-281.
- Phinney, J.S., Chavira, V., & Tate, J.D. (1992). The effect of ethnic threat on ethnic concept and own-group rating. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 133(4), 469-478.
- Pinckney, Harrison P. (2009). The influence of racial socialization, racial ideology, and racial saliency on black adolescents' free-time activities. Doctoral dissertation, Texas A&M University. Available electronically from <http://hdl.handle.net/1969.1/ETD-TAMU-2009-08-7207>.
- Pinckney IV, H.P., Outley, C., Blake, J.J., & Kelly, B. (2011). Promoting positive youth development of Black youth: A rites of passage framework. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 29(1), 98-112.
- Polkinghorne, D. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Richmond, L.P. & Johnson, C. W. (2009). "Its a race war:?" Race and leisure experiences in California state prison. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 41(4), 565-590.
- Riessman, C.K. (1993). Narrative analysis. (Qualitative research methods, volume 30), Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

- Riessman, C.K. (2008). *Narratives methods for the human sciences*. Boston College, Sage Publications.
- Rossiter, M. & Clark, M.C. (2007). *Narrative and the practice of adult education*. Malabar, Fla: Krieger.
- Sandelowski, M. (1991). Telling stories: Narrative approaches in qualitative research. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 23(3), 161-166.
- Scott, D. (2000). Tic, toc, the game is locked and nobody else can play! *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32, 133-137.
- Sellers, R.M., Caldwell, C.H., Schmeelk-Cone, K.H., & Zimmerman, M.A. (2003). Racial identity, racial discrimination, perceived stress, and psychological distress among African American young adults. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 43, 302-317.
- Sellers, R.M., Rowley, S.A.J., Chavous, T.M., Shelton, J.N., & Smith, M. (1997). Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: Preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 805-815.
- Sellers, R.M., Smith, M.A., Shelton, J.N., Rowley, S.A.J., & Chavous, T.M. (1998). Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2, 18-39.
- Shamir, B. (1992). Some Correlates of Leisure Identity Salience: Three Exploratory Studies. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 24(4), 301-323.
- Shaw, S.M. (1999). Gender and Leisure. In E. Jackson & T. Burton: *Leisure studies*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.

- Shinew, K. J., & Floyd, M. F. (2005). Racial inequality and constraints to leisure in the post-civil rights era: Toward an alternative framework. In E. Jackson (Ed.), *Constraints to leisure*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Shinew, K. J., Floyd, M. F., Parry, D. (2004). Understanding the Relationship between Race and Leisure Activities and Constraints: Exploring an Alternative Framework, *Leisure Sciences*, 26,181-199.
- Shinew, K.J., Mowatt, R., & Glover, T. (2007). An African American community recreation center: Participants' and volunteers' perceptions of racism and racial identity. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 25 (2), 84-106.
- Shinew, K. J., Floyd, M. F., McGuire, F. A., & Noe, F. P. (1996). Class polarization and leisure activity preferences of African Americans: intragroup comparisons, *Journal of Leisure Research*, 28, 219-232.
- Shinew, K., Stodolska, M., Floyd, M., Hibbler, D., Allison, M., Johnson, C, & Santos, C. (2006). Race and ethnicity in leisure behavior: Where have we been and where do we need to go? *Leisure Sciences*, 28, 403-408.
- Solorzano, D.G., & Yosso, T.J. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8, 23-44.
- Spector-Mersel, G. (2010). Narrative research: Time for a paradigm. *Narrative Inquiry*. 20 (1), 204-224.
- Stamps, S., & Stamps, M. (1985). Race, class and leisure activities of urban residents, *Journal of Leisure Research*, 17, 40-56.
- Staples, R. (1982). *Black Masculinity: The black males role in American society*. San Francisco: Black Scholar Press.

- Steele, C.M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, 52(6), 613-629.
- Steele, C.M. & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(5), 797-811.
- Steinfeldt, J., Reed, C., & Steinfeldt, M. (2010). Racial and athletic identity of African American football players at historically Black colleges and universities and predominately White institutions. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 36(1), 3-24.
- Stryker, S. (1987). Identity theory: Developments and extensions. In K. Yardley and T. Honess (Eds) *Self and Identity: Psychological Perspectives*. N.Y.: Wiley.
- Stryker, S., & Serpe, R. T. (1982). Commitment, identity salience and role behavior: Theory and research example. In W. Ickes and R. Kidd (Eds.) *Personality, Roles and Social Behavior*. N.Y.: Springer-Verlag. 199-218.
- Suzuki, L.A., Ahluwalia, M.K., Arora, A.K., & Mattis, J.S. (2007). The pond you fish in determines the fish you catch: Exploring strategies for qualitative data collection. *Counseling Psychologist*, 35(2), 295-327.
- Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2010). Narrative and ethnic identity exploration: A longitudinal account of emerging adults' ethnicity-related experiences. *Developmental Psychology*, 46(1), 208-219.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In J. T. Jost & J. Sidanius (Eds.) *Political psychology: Key readings* (pp. 276-293), New York: Psychology Press.

- Tatum, B.D. (1997). *Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?* Basic Books.
- The Athens, B. (2013). Teens build community, life skills through chess. *AP Regional State Report-Georgia*.
- Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Psychological Nigrescence Revisited: Introduction and Overview. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 29*, 165–173.
- Vandiver, B. J., Cross, W., Worrell, F.C., & Fhagen-Smith, P.E. (2002). Validating the cross racial identity scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 49*(1), 71-85.
- Vandiver, B. J., Fhagen-Smith, P.E., Cokely, K.O., Cross, W., & Worrell, F.C. (2001). Cross's nigrescence model: From theory to scale to theory. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 29*, 174-200.
- Waterman, A.S. (1985). *Identity in adolescence: Processes and contents*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Washburne, R. (1978). Black under-participation in wildland recreation. *Leisure Sciences, 1*, 175-189.
- Washburne, R., & Wall, P. (1980). *Black-White ethnic differences in outdoor recreation*. U.S.D.A. Forest Service research paper. Ogden, VT: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service.
- Whiting, G. W. (2009). The Scholar Identity Institute: Guiding Darnel and Other Black Males. *Gifted Child Today, 32*(4), 53-56.
- Whiting, G.W. (2006). Enhancing Culturally Diverse Males' Scholar Identity: Suggestions for Educators of Gifted Students. *Gifted Child Today, 29*(3), 46-50.

- Wilkinson, D.Y. & Taylor, R.L. (1977). *The Black male in America: Perspectives on his status in contemporary society*. Nelson-Hall, Chicago.
- Wilson, W.J. (1980). *The declining significance of race: Blacks and changing American institutions*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Woodard, M. D. (1988). Class, regionality, and leisure among urban Black Americans: The post-civil rights era. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 20, 87-105.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Invitation to Participate in Study

Name: _____ Phone: _____ Date: _____

Eligibility Screen for Individual Interviews.

Greetings,

My name is Bantu D. Gross and I am a third year doctoral student in the College of Education in the Recreation & Leisure studies program. I am contacting you in regards to a research study I am conducting at [participants' university]. I am interested in interviewing African-American males at [participants' university] about the connection between racial identity, leisure activity preference and experience. I would like to ask you a few questions to ensure that you are eligible to participate in the study. May I have a few minutes of your time?

- Are you African-American? *(If no, ineligible)*
- Are you 18 years of age or older? *(If no, ineligible)*
- Are you familiar with the term 'Acting White'? *(If no, ineligible)*
- Are you willing and able to participate in a 1-hour interview about your leisure experience and racial identity development? *(If no, ineligible)*

It appears that you are eligible for this research study. The study requires an individual interview that will last about an hour to learn more about your leisure experiences. Are you available the week of _____?

Or

Unfortunately, it appears as if you are not eligible for this research study.
However, I do appreciate your time and wish you the best.

Appendix B: Consent Cover Letter

May, 2014

Dear Participants:

My name is Bantu D. Gross and I am 3rd year doctoral student in the Department of Counseling and Human Development Services at The University of Georgia. I invite you to participate in a research study entitled *Racial Identity and Leisure Experience in the Adolescent Recollections of Male African American College Students* that is being conducted under the direction of Dr. Douglas Kleiber and Dr. Deryl Bailey. The purpose of this study is examine incidents of African American males being accused of acting White within the context of leisure and their racial identity development.

Your participation will involve participating in a 45-60 minute face-to-face interview. Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled

Identifying information will be kept confidential and stored in a secured location. Information for this study will not be released to anyone other than individuals working on this project. The results of the research study may be published, but your name or any identifying information will not be used. In fact, the published results will be presented in summary form only.

The findings from this project may provide information on how to better serve the leisure needs of African American males. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me Bantu D. Gross at (504) 940-8249 or send an e-mail to b2dgross@uga.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board, 629 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602; telephone (706) 542-3199; email address irb@uga.edu.

By completing and returning this questionnaire, you are agreeing to participate in the above described research project.

Thank you for your consideration! Please keep this letter for your records.

Sincerely,

Bantu D. Gross

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form

Racial Identity and Leisure Experience in the Adolescent Recollections of Male African American College Students

Greetings Participant,

You are being invited to participate in a research study examining the connection between racial identity, leisure activity preference and experience. This study is being conducted under the direction of Dr. Douglas Kleiber and Dr. Deryl Bailey, (706)-542-5064, at the University of Georgia through the Department of Counseling & Human Development Service.

The intent of this study is to examine incidents of African American males being accused of "Acting White" within the context of leisure. Narratives collected in this study will help to build a body of literature that is currently lacking in the field of recreation and leisure studies. Furthermore, this study will explore how an accusation(s) of acting White affects one's racial identity development. Benefits from this study include contributions to the body of literature examining the experiences of African Americans being accused of acting White within leisure.

Lastly, involvement in this study is voluntary and you may elect to refuse or discontinue your involvement at any time without penalty or loss of benefit to which you are otherwise entitled. If you decide to withdraw from the study, the information that can be identified as yours will be kept as part of the study and may continue to be analyzed, unless you make a written request to remove, return, or destroy the information.

By agreeing to participate in this study, you are acknowledging that you are:

1. Between the ages of 18-24.
2. An African American male.
3. Willing to participate in a 45-60 minute digitally recorded interview and able to participate in a follow-up interview, if necessary.

Follow-up interviews will be conducted to clarify information and/or answer additional questions.

Additional Information:

1. There are no foreseeable risks by agreeing to participate in this research.
2. Participants will be assigned a pseudonym and any identifying information disclosed will remain confidential.
3. Audio files will be transcribed and stored in a locked location until destroyed in August 2014.

4. Researchers will not release identifiable results of the study to anyone other than individuals working on the project without your written consent unless required by law.

If you have any questions regarding this study now, during the course of the project, or at its conclusion please contact the Department of Counseling and Human Development Services at (706) 542-1812 or Bantu D. Gross at b2dgross@uga.edu. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chairperson at 706.542.3199 or irb@uga.edu.

To voluntarily agree to take part in this study, you must sign on the line below. Your signature below indicates that you have read or had read to you this entire consent form, and have had all of your questions answered.

Name of Researcher

Signature

Date

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Appendix D: Interview Guide

Greetings! My name is Bantu D. Gross and I am doctoral student in the Counseling and Human Development Services department at the University of Georgia. I am conducting a research project on the connection between racial identity and leisure activity preference and experience. Some of the areas we will touch on include: identity development, racial identity development, the accusation of acting White and leisure experiences.

Before we begin, I would like to offer you a friendly reminder, as mentioned in the informed consent you signed, that all information you share during our interview today will be kept confidential. In an attempt to keep your identity concealed I will not identify you by name or use any other identifying information; instead you will be assigned a pseudonym. It should also be noted that any question you do not want to answer may be skipped, or if you feel uncomfortable during our conversation you may leave without any penalty. During the course of today's conversation, approximately one hour, if you should have any questions please feel free to inquire. Do you have any questions?

Transition: We will begin our discussion today by first looking at how your leisure experiences are to your identity formation in African American males.

To what extent and in what ways is leisure experience relevant to identity formation in African American males?

1. So tell me about some of your favorite leisure activities growing up?
 - a. How important was it for you to participate in these activities?
 - b. Were certain leisure activities encouraged?
...discouraged?
2. How much influence did individuals (i.e. family, friends, and co-workers) have on your choice of leisure activities?
 - a. In what ways were they influential?
3. How did your leisure activity involvement change over the course of your adolescence (12-17 years of age) until now?

Transition: Great, now let's move to discussing your current leisure interests and the influence of race.

To what extent and in what ways have the leisure preferences of adolescence endured in terms of current self-regard, and to what extent is race implicated in this evolution?

4. Are there any leisure activities from your childhood that you continue to participate in as an adult?
 - a. What are they?
 - b. Do you consider your race when selecting leisure activities?

Transition: Okay, I want to now focus on the racialized nature of leisure.

To what extent and in what ways has their leisure been racialized as “White” or “Black” in their lives and how, if at all, has the problem of “Acting White” been part of that experience?

5. What leisure activities do you believe mostly Whites participate in?
Blacks?
 - a. Are there leisure activities that White males participate in that are different than Black males?
6. How has being an African American male influenced your choice of leisure activities?
7. Was there a time when you participated in a leisure activity mostly participated in by Whites?
 - a. Tell me about that time?

Transition: Now, I'd like to discuss the notion of “Acting White.”

To what extent and in what ways did they experience tension or conflict around “Acting White” in leisure activities?

8. Have you heard of the phrase "Acting White"?
 - a. How you would define it?
 - b. If not, let me explain.

“Acting White” has been understood as African Americans behaving in stereotypically White ways (i.e. playing golf, attending museums, etc.)

9. Have you ever been accused of “Acting White”?
 - a. In what ways, tell me more about this experience?
 - b. If not, have you ever accused someone of “Acting White”?
10. How would your friends respond, in high school, if you participated in some of the leisure activities that they believe Whites participate in?
 - a. How about your family?
11. What are your perceptions of African Americans who participate in “White” leisure?
 - a. Have you ever mocked someone because they were “Acting White”?
12. Is there anything you would like to add or share to today’s discussion?

Wrap-up

Thank you for participation in this interview and sharing your story and experiences with me today. I truly appreciated hearing your thoughts and insight on this topic the information you provided me will be extremely useful to my research. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions, comments, or concerns pertaining to this interview. Lastly, may I contact you at a later date to conduct a follow-up interview?