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RACIAL STACKING IN COLLEGE FOOTBALL: A MICROCOSM OF  
AMERICAN RACISM

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to investigate the practice of racial stacking, or the placement of players in certain positions based on their race, in Division I FBS (Football Bowl Subdivision) college football teams. The objective is to determine whether the practice exists, and if so, the factors which contribute to its existence. The study hopes to examine several factors including the public or private nature of the school, the coaching staff's racial composition, the size of the school, and the conference in which the school plays, and their impact on the extent of the practice of racial stacking that occurs at the 120 Division I FBS colleges and universities.

College football in the United States was not fully racially integrated until the mid-1970's, hence all-white teams have existed a mere 40 years ago. The issue of race continues to be a pertinent problem on many teams, especially in the South, as the Southeastern Conference (SEC) was the last to integrate. Although the days of violent racial clashes in sports are officially and legally over, racism still exists in sports but has taken a more subtle and unspoken form, particularly in the practice of racial stacking. This is a process whereby Black players are generally selected for positions considered peripheral or "non-thinking positions" and their White counterparts are often given positions that are more central to the team, or considered to be "thinking positions."

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study is to investigate the practice of racial stacking, or the placement of players in certain positions based on their race, in Division I Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) college football teams. The objective is to determine whether the practice exists, and if so, the factors which contribute to its existence. The study hopes to examine several factors including the public or private nature of the school, the coaching staff's racial composition, the size of the school, and the conference in which the school plays, and their impact on the extent of the practice of racial stacking that occurs at the 120 Division I FBS colleges and universities.

#### **Statement of the Problem**

College football in the United States was not fully racially integrated until the mid-1970's, hence all-white teams have existed a mere 40 years ago. The issue of race continues to be a pertinent problem on many teams, especially in the South, as the Southeastern Conference (SEC) was the last to integrate. Although the days of violent racial clashes in sports are officially and legally over, racism still exists in sports but has taken a more subtle and unspoken form, particularly in the practice of racial stacking. This is a process whereby Black players are generally selected for positions considered peripheral or "non-thinking positions" and their White counterparts are often given positions that are more central to the team, or considered to be "thinking positions". For

example, Black players are often placed in running back and wide receiver positions, whereas quarterback and center positions are often filled by White players. This can happen in any sport, but it is particularly visible in football due to the game's high variety of positions and the specialization of those positions.

Unfortunately, not much research exists on this topic that identifies school or team characteristics that contribute to the problem of racial stacking. Existing research that looks at racial stacking focuses more on professional football than college football, where the foundation for professional football is laid. It is at the college football level that players become set and specialized in the position they will likely play, if they progress to the professional level. Thus, it would seem most pertinent to study racial stacking in football at the collegiate level. This study aims to fill in the gap left by existing research and hopes to identify, in college football, characteristics of the schools and teams that contribute to the practice of racial stacking in college football.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study is significant because it will add to the body of knowledge on race and race relations as well as racism in college football, especially on racial stacking. It hopes to benefit scholars who study sports and race relations. The study will also be of great significance to student athletes, coaching staffs, and the universities who house the teams. It will also benefit the National Football League (NFL) since college football is generally the training ground for future NFL players. The Black community, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and the Black Coaches and Administrators (BCA) will also



benefit directly from this study. Finally, it is hoped that the study will benefit university and college libraries, faculty, and students reading in the study of racial stacking in college football.

### **Hypothesis**

The practice of racial stacking is prevalent among the schools affiliated with the Southern conferences, as well as those with less diverse coaching staffs and White head coaches. Both private institutions and small institutions will have higher rates of racial stacking.

### **Methodology**

Data for the study included library resources such as books, newspaper articles, online journal articles, magazines, Internet resources, and video documentaries. Statistical data about teams was drawn from team rosters, and pictures of team members made available on the websites of the schools involved, as well as recruiting sites, like Rivals and MaxPrep.

### **Research Questions**

1. What is racial stacking?
2. Does racism exist in sports in America?
3. Is racial stacking a widespread problem in college football?
4. How does racial stacking negatively affect players and coaches?

5. How does racial stacking negatively affect universities and other football institutions?
6. What can be done to reduce the incidence of racial stacking?

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theories of Race and Racism**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter examines the theories of race and racism including White Supremacy, Scientific Racism, Social Darwinism, and attitudes about race concerning sports. To understand fully the salience of race within sports, especially college football, it is important to understand the perception and impact of race in society.

#### **White Supremacy**

Race is a social construct that has been used since the beginning of time to place people in specific social categories. The social nature of race thus renders it a fluid term. For example, in early America, the Irish and Italians were not considered White. However, they, along with other previously non-white groups such as Jewish and Arab peoples, have come to be accepted as “White.” More often than not, race has been used as a label to create differentiation of “us” from “them” and to place certain groups in places of either power or inferiority (Davis, 1997).

White Supremacy, or the institutionalized belief of the superiority of phenotypically White individuals over those of darker skin tones, posits five main beliefs about African Americans, the first of which deals with God’s curse (Jordan, 2012). Many people have cited the bible and the story of Ham whose “disgraced” son was to be born Black with big lips and kinky hair, and to be condemned to slavery. This view became much less popular in the mid-19th century, but it is still used in certain parts of the country where

religion is predominant among the people, such as in the Deep South and very rural areas (Davis, 1997). White Supremacy also held the supposition that Africans were defective, savages, little more than apes, and excessively libidinous. This impression originally came from a misunderstanding of the African culture and the generally imperialistic western supremacist views of the first European explorers to go to Africa, including the British explorer Richard Burton (Davidson, 1994). Although many African societies were more progressive than European societies at the time, the explorers saw Africans in minimal clothing practicing polygamy and religions other than Christianity and decided that different (non-European) was bad. Even though these practices were the best option for the climatic, economic, and social conditions of Africans, the fact remains that because they differed from those of the European cultural practices and perceptions, they were unacceptable as part of the norm. Despite the fact that such racism is condemned today, stereotypes continue to persist. For example, in 1992 Frederick Goodwin, the Bush administration's Director of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration compared African American male youth to "hyperaggressive monkeys who kill each other and are also hypersexual" (Smith, 1995). It is of little wonder, therefore, that there are problems putting young African American men into positions of power in the realm of sports when attitudes like this still exist in society. White Supremacy thus paved the way for other racial theories, such as Scientific Racism.

Scientific racism, or the use of pseudoscience to support racism, began when the first European "explorers" entered the "dark continent" of Africa and persist to this day. The strength of the Scientific Racism theory relies on something that many people trust and hold to be fact: science. Whereas White Supremacy is based on belief, Scientific

Racism tries to claim a legitimate biological explanation for its racist suppositions, despite the fact that it is based on flawed science. Due to its perceived legitimacy, this theory became very popular in the mid- 20th century, the same time as when football teams in America began to racially integrate. In 1973, Rhett Jones conducted a popular study into “why African Americans were inferior” to Whites. His report indicated that African Americans were deficient sociologically, physiologically, and psychologically (1973).

For the sociological component, Jones cited the high African American unemployment rate, poor housing conditions, broken families, and high rates of drug and substance abuse. From this he concluded that African Americans were morally inferior to Whites. This point was often argued as many scholars and civil rights activists attributed these unfortunate social occurrences to the environment in which African Americans were forced to live.

Physiologically, he claimed that African American men were less intelligent than White men because their skulls were smaller, resulting in smaller brains thus giving them a lesser mental capacity. The scientific community eventually refuted this study as it was discovered that Rhett used corpses that had been found, but never claimed, for his experiment. In life, these people were the lowest members of society, so it would be assumed that they would be the least intelligent folks regardless of their race. However, despite the balking of the progressive scientific community, the skull experiment was redone in 1989 by J. Philippe Rushton (1992), showing just how much the notion that African Americans were mentally inferior had pervaded the society and possessed staying power, even in the minds of scholars.

The foundation for the Scientific Racism theory came from scientists like Josiah Clark Nott and George Robbins Gliddon in their work, *Types of Mankind* (1854). Their research claims that race, determined by physical appearance, also determines personality traits. Unsurprisingly, they concluded that Whites were the most highly formed and intelligent race while Negroes were unintelligent and inferior. According to them, “a small trace of White blood in the negro improves him in intelligence and morality” (Nott and Gliddon, 1854). Francis Galton, cousin of Charles Darwin and the father of eugenics, also joined the chorus praising Scientific Racism. He was vocal in his belief that Blacks were less intelligent than Whites and wrote of how true the tales of “half-witted” slaves must be, as he had seen in Africa that Blacks were far less intelligent than Whites (Jackson & Weidman, 2005). He believed strongly that intelligence was strictly hereditary and suggested that society take steps to keep the level of intellect high, such as encouraging intelligent people to produce children only with other highly intelligent people (cf. Plato’s *The Prince*). He believed that Blacks were genetically and intelligently inferior and if Europeans were not careful about how they bred, they could follow the same fate. To further his beliefs, Galton began assessing motor and sensory skills and attempted to tie them to intelligence, in order to prove that intelligence was heritable.

During the same period, Alfred Binet and Theophile Simon were working on a similar type of intelligence test. The results were evaluated using the Binet-Simon Scale, which was eventually transformed into the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale by Lewis Terman and his colleagues at Stanford. The resulting test became the first intelligence quotient (IQ) test (Dennis, 1995).

The IQ test became the cornerstone of the psychological inferiority argument of the

Scientific Racism theory. Even today, this test is used to determine intelligence of individuals, but in the context of Scientific Racism, it was used to prove the lack of intelligence within the individual or group. Indirectly, therefore, the IQ test of today appears to have been legitimized to continue the works pioneered by Galton and others, except that it is not being overtly labeled as such. This test was an extremely powerful tool because, like most aspects of Scientific Racism, it provided hard numbers and figures to “prove” African American inferiority. Unfortunately, the IQ test, as its maker quickly admitted, did not test overall intelligence, but only the stage of learning that the test-taker possessed at the given moment. This would be no different than giving a test to a class which ends up measuring, more accurately, socioeconomic status rather than intelligence. It was convincing, as most African Americans fell into a low socioeconomic class and thus scored poorly (Kamin, 1974).

Interestingly, the idea of intelligence testing is still very relevant to the football world in the form of the Wonderlic Personnel Test (WPT). Many professions use this general intelligence test, but all professional football teams have added it to their arsenal of techniques for sorting through prospective players. The WPT asks players to answer a series of 50 questions in 12 minutes in hopes that the results will allow the team evaluating them to assess the players’ learning and problem-solving capabilities (Quirk, 2006).

### **Race in Sports**

The theories of race and IQ tests discussed above made it rather imperative for the powerful men and women behind sports in America to enforce the exclusion of African

Americans in specific positions of power in sports while still making sports seem like a ‘good thing’ for the races. For example, since fans root for their college football team, regardless of its racial composition, the implication is that fans accept African American athletes. However, this perceived acceptance probably has a less savory origin. It has been argued that the White American fascination with African American athletes stems equally from their fascination with the African American male body and sexuality. As stated earlier, African American men are often viewed as athletically superior but intellectually inferior beings, making them perfect for sports (Childs, 1999). Thus, the fact that African American men are able to play sports with their White counterparts means little in the realm of equality. It simply means that the White population has found a way to take ingrained stereotypes and turn them into a money-making machine.

One of the main reasons why the integration of the races- Blacks and Whites- in sports faced such great opposition was the fact that many believed that integrating sports would allow for the integration of the races within the American society. The concern was that if African Americans and Whites were allowed to be equal on the playing field, they would soon start to see themselves as equal off the field, leading to a whole host of problems for the White-run society. The strongest of these fears was the fear of interracial mingling of African American men with White women. It has been argued that Whites were more afraid of interracial sex and marriage than of African Americans gaining equality in educational or political fields (Wellman, 1993). This concern is extremely important because interracial relationships and integrated sports go hand-in-hand.

The first peak in interracial marriages came just before 1900, the same time when



African American athletes were beginning to gain some notoriety. There were prominent African American boxers and jockeys, as well as baseball players like Fleet Walker and Bud Fowler who managed to play in White baseball leagues. By 1898, however, there were no African American players in White run baseball leagues as the owners had reached a “gentleman’s agreement” to exclude African Americans. Essentially, they reasoned that baseball was a gentleman’s game and African Americans did not have the sophistication or intellect to play it. At the same time, stronger rules came out to keep African Americans from integrating with Whites within the American society. The Plessy v Ferguson case made segregation legal and Jim Crow laws were also enacted, especially in the South. Not surprisingly, interracial marriages also became obsolete. Around this time the National Basketball League also banned African American players. Interestingly, the National Football League allowed African American players in the league up until the early 1930’s, but eventually adopted a gentleman’s agreement similar to that used by the baseball leagues (Childs, 1999).

Another strong example of why the fear of interracial marriages promoted sport segregation came from boxing. In the early 1900’s, interracial boxing matches were frowned upon and if they did occur, and the African American man won, footage and coverage of the match were often kept from the public. This reached its peak in 1910 when Jack Johnson, a Black man, wanted to fight former heavyweight champion James Jeffries, a White man. The idea of the fight met with great opposition. One political official in the South was quoted as saying

Why, some of these young Negroes are now so proud that it is hard to get along with them, but if Jeffries should be beaten by Johnson they will be crowding White women off the sidewalks and there are plenty of towns where such action as that would cause deplorable troubles. (Roberts, 1983)

White men were insecure in such a way that they believed if African American men were to defeat them in sports, the probability of White women being attracted to African American men would increase. Interestingly, their fears may have been well founded. By 1940, professional sports began to integrate again. Football came first, with the Cleveland Browns signing two Black players in 1946. In the same year the Basketball Association of America agreed to sign African American players and a year later the Brooklyn Dodgers signed Jackie Robinson effectively breaking the color barrier in baseball.

Coincidentally, the 1940's also saw a huge resurgence in interracial marriages, despite its strong opposition within the society. States continued to have laws prohibiting it up until 1967 when the Supreme Court issued a ruling making mixed marriages legal regardless of the state. This did not end the problems and fears of interracial marriages among the White population, however, and until the 1970's, universities often dictated with whom Black athletes could interact and strongly discouraged interracial dating (Dyson, 1993).

## **Conclusion**

White Supremacy and Scientific racism have had an indisputable effect on the way the American society views Blacks, both in sports and in the general society. White Supremacy used biblical and social references to promote the stratification of the races while Scientific Racism used flawed science to develop 'facts' which furthered the agenda of the White Supremacists.

Although it seems like society has progressed past overt racism, this optimistic assumption is not always true. Race has always been a salient and controversial topic in

society and it continues to affect the way we view things today. The way that society regards race often spills over into the world of sports and affects the players, coaches, and even fans.

## **Chapter 3**

### **College Football: From Integration to Present Day**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the history and racial integration of college football in order to provide a basis for the discussion of current racial conflicts within the sport. It will also explain how college football is organized to provide a better understanding of the analytical section of the study.

#### **The Inception of College Football**

The first game of college football was played between Princeton and Rutgers Universities on November 6, 1869. At the time, the game bore little resemblance to modern college football and was played more like soccer with a dash of rugby. Three games were supposed to be played that year, but only two actually occurred. The third was cancelled due to concerns of too much emphasis being placed on the sport and worries that the games were interfering with academic work (Rutgers University, 2013). This concern continues to be discussed today. The game became more similar to the modern version in 1874 when Harvard was challenged to a game by McGill University of Montreal whose “football” mirrored rugby. After playing a game under the rules of each team, the tide turned and the rugby-style rules became the norm for American schools. However, the game was highly criticized for its violent nature, including rules like “three slugs you’re out” which allowed players three swings at opponents before they were penalized. Academics and the clergy tried hard to have the sport abandoned, but the

spectacle proved to be too popular with the public, alumni, and students. The cries, however, did not go unheeded and more safety measures were implemented. As the years passed, more rules and regulations were added, and the game began to transform into what we know today.

Though college football began as an interesting new pastime and spectator sport, it quickly grew into a large, lucrative business. As early as the historic Harvard-Yale game of 1894, college football had a rabid fan base. Businesses in the area surrounding Harvard saw increases in business and new train routes had to be put in place to handle traveling fans. It didn't take long before universities across the nation realized this new football game could be quite lucrative. By the turn of the century, recruiters and alumni were fighting to pull the best high school students to their schools and alumni money was being used to pay tuition of recruits who could not afford to attend these schools, but who showed athletic talent. Some players even skipped around from school to school, playing for universities to which they had few academic ties. The money gathered from big stakes games was put back into the program, building better stadiums, hiring better staff, and giving benefits to players.

In the early 1900's, college football began to see major reforms because players were being injured or killed by the brutality of the game and unethical acts abounded. Professors and school presidents began to formulate stronger rules to regulate the way the game was run. The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) was founded in 1906 and tasked with making a safer, fairer game and effectively giving control of the game to a unified organization. In the 1950's a new wave of reform swept through college football to deal with more ethical issues in the game, such as cheating, paying

players, and gambling. The game was made more professional and the image was polished (Watterson, 2000). During this time period, sweeping changes also happened in terms of racial equality on teams.

### **Racial Integration of College Football**

Despite the general conception that colleges and universities are progressive hotbeds of change, college football was, and still is, lagging behind professional football in racial integration and equality. The sport also lags in the area of record keeping, as no one is quite sure who the player was that broke the color barrier in college football. The history of the integration of college football is usually told on a per school basis, with the overall movement gaining acceptance in the Northeast section of the country decades before reaching the South. One of the earliest recorded African American players was William Lewis who played for Amherst in 1888. He was one of two African American players on the team during his time at Amherst and later went on to be an Assistant Coach at Harvard. This was a recorded first for an African American man rising to the rank of assistant coach.

Although Lewis was certainly a beacon of hope for African American players, he was probably not the first to break the color barrier as many football teams that would later become great university programs were still in their infancy, maintaining a club-like status with poor record-keeping until the early 1890's. During that era, there were very few notable African American players and all in the Big Ten conference which covers the Northeastern and North Central parts of the country. For instance, George Jewett played for the University of Michigan and Northwestern University, while Fred Patterson played

for Ohio State, and Preston Eagleson for Indiana University. Nebraska was the first university outside of the Big Ten to have an African American player, George Flippin, on its football team. This caused tensions with other schools which had rejected racial integration in their college football programs, with the University of Missouri deciding to forfeit a game against Nebraska so as not to be forced to play against a Black man. It should be noted that Nebraska is now a member of the Big Ten conference. However, this was a recent occurrence and during the time that Flippin played, their views aligned with a more Southern mindset and culture on the issue of racial integration than with the North.

Besides these few pioneers, the number of African American players was dismally low, with some experts estimating only thirteen Black players were involved before 1900 and only twenty-seven between 1900 and 1914, all of whom played in the Northeast. Outside of this area, African American players faced violent opposition. For example, in 1897 an all Black football game in Tennessee was taken over by a White mob that killed one player and injured six others. In 1923, Iowa saw its first Black player, Jim Trice, die after his very first football game. His death was the result of the violent beating he took in the game from his White opponents. Still, many others never faced the violence because they simply were not allowed on football teams or even admitted to colleges. By 1939 the number of African Americans in college football had risen to thirty-eight players, still mostly in the North. By the 1940's most Northern schools had integrated teams, though African American players were still marginalized and offered fewer opportunities than Whites. The South did not fully integrate its teams until the 1970's, with the University of Mississippi, University of Georgia, and Louisiana State University failing to integrate

until 1972 (Demas, 2010).

### **The Structure and Governance of College Football**

Major college football programs are still governed by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), which ensures schools comply with a set of bylaws dealing with issues ranging from recruiting to financial aid (National Collegiate Athletic Association, 2013). Member schools are divided into three divisions: Division I, Division II, and Division III, with each division abiding by a different set of regulations concerning administrative matters such as scholarship distribution. Division I, generally regarded as the highest ranking division, is split into three further subdivisions, Division I-A, Division I-AA, and Division I-AAA (Fenasci, 2004). Historically, only Divisions I-A and I-AA sponsor football. Recently, however, the names of the divisions were changed and Division I-A became the Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) and Division I-AA became the Football Championship Subdivision (FCS). The FCS participates in a 16-game playoff at the end of the season to determine the champion of the subdivision, whereas the FBS schools participate in the Bowl Championship Series (BCS) games. This study concerns itself only with FBS schools, as they have generally been regarded as “big-time” programs, which produce the best athletes of the divisions (Wieberg, 2006).

The number of scholarships a team may offer is based on its division. FBS schools are limited to providing scholarships to 85 players while FCS schools can split their allotted 63 scholarships partially over as many as 85 players. The FBS schools may only give scholarships, partial or full, to no more than 85 players. The schools that are part of the FBS are generally split into conferences, which allow for easier scheduling as well as



media coverage. Although these conferences are generally geographic in nature, recent conference switches and rearrangements have created exceptions to this rule. It should also be noted that membership in a conference is not necessary for an FBS program and some institutions prefer to remain “independent” and unaffiliated with any of the conferences (Hales, 2003).

### **Conclusion**

Racial integration in sports was met with fierce opposition, but much progress has been made in the 31 years since the last college football teams added Black players to their rosters. Although teams will no longer forfeit games against Black opponents or put outright bans on Black players, racial problems in college football programs still exist. It must be noted that integration was less than a generation ago, hence many issues of race continue to plague college football programs today.

## Chapter 4

### Racial Stacking in College Football

#### Introduction

This chapter discusses racial stacking in college football and its effects on players' college, professional, and post-playing careers, as well as its effects on the coaching staff of college football programs.

#### Racial Stacking

According to Woodward (2004), racial stacking can be defined as the “disproportionate representation of races” between different positions on a sports team. In football this is generally manifested in the use of White players in central positions and the use of African American players in peripheral positions. Peripheral positions are those positions whose duties deal primarily with physical strength and intuition, such as running backs and wide receivers. Central positions are those which involve physical skill, but mental and critical thinking skills are also deemed imperative, such as with centers and quarterbacks (Woodward, 2004). This discrimination in terms of position has wide reaching effects, from reducing the amount of interracial conflict on teams because players of the same race often compete for positions, to lessening the chance that a minority player will ascend to a coaching position (Lewis, 1995). Why does racial stacking exist? Recent studies of NFL scouts have determined that African American players are most likely to be described in terms of their physical ability whereas White players are most likely to be described in terms of their decision-making and playmaking

skills (Woodward, 2004). This echoes an earlier study amongst coaches who described their players in the same way (Anshel, 1990). As Yetman & Eitzen (1977) have observed, we live in a society that promotes colorblindness, but many people still harbor ingrained stereotypes that affect the placement of African American players into central positions on college football teams.

There are many different manifestations of the ways in which we view and understand racial issues. One manifestation of this, as it relates to athletics, is the thought that African Americans are athletically superior to Whites. Unfortunately with this lauding comes the assumption of mental inferiority (Hoberman, 1997). This belief stems very directly from the age of Social Darwinism. It was commonplace in almost every academic and social realm for discussions to center around the primitiveness of African Americans. It was believed that they were animalistic in their power and strength, but also lacking any thinking ability (Mead, 1985). This view was fueled by the scientific racism of the time that found many ways to “prove” that African Americans were, in fact, intellectually inept (Coakley, 1998). This widespread belief furthered the stereotype that African Americans were simply physical beings, suited only for menial work. Although society has progressed beyond believing in Scientific Racism, many of the associated stereotypes are still pervasive in society today.

Another argument is that this discrimination stems from the fact that African Americans must work harder to outperform Whites in order to be successful. This may be the cause of the fact that there are generally more African American starters on a team than White starters (Brower, 1973). Because African Americans are underrated to begin with, they must perform to a higher level than their White counterparts to be considered

for a position and because of their extra effort, often end up in starting positions. The caveat here is that those starting positions are limited to peripheral positions and African American players still have a hard time starting in central positions. Another theory is that colleges will not even bother to recruit an African American player if he is not performing above his White counterpart, but are more than willing to recruit Whites as second string players (Edwards, 1969). African American players must outperform White players even in peripheral positions, so the level of superiority needed to attain a central position where the racial bias is even stronger is nearly impossible (Lewis, 1995).

Unfortunately, society does not see racial stacking for the problem that it is. The most common argument advanced on the subject of African Americans in sports is that the ability to attend college to play sports helps African Americans achieve upward mobility (Woodward, 2004). Furthermore, since African Americans are more likely to have obtained a lower level of education than Whites, this could be very beneficial to them. Unfortunately, multiple studies have proven that this is not the case (Hyatt, 2003). The most disturbing part of this belief, however, is the fact that when society as a whole has a perception about a race, regardless of its veracity, that perception becomes the social norm.

### **Impact on Coaches**

Looking out on the football field on a Saturday in September might paint a picture of equality. Most college football teams have a slight majority of African American players but looking at the sidelines will give a whole new perspective. For example, in the FBS only 15% of head coaches were African American and only 11.28% of offensive

and defensive coordinators were African American during the 2010-2011 season (Black Coaches and Administrators, 2011). Although there has been an upward trend in the number of African American coaches, the growth is painfully slow. Since 1982, a total of 466 head coach positions have opened in the FBS. Of those, only 21(4.6%) have been filled by African American men. Twelve of those hirings occurred after 1996 (Steinbach, 2008). College football drops far behind the National Football League (NFL), most other professional sports, and even college basketball in terms of hiring African American coaches (Lapchick, 2011). There is often little room for advancement of African Americans who do manage to progress to coaching staff, causing great job dissatisfaction amongst them. Many African American coaches who look to progress to the position of head coach or beyond find roadblocks in their way (Sagas and Cunningham, 2005). As of the 2010-2011 season, 89% of Division I athletic directors and assistant athletic directors were White, as well as 92.5% of FBS university presidents. All conference commissioners for the FBS conferences were White (Black Coaches and Administrators, 2011).

The question begging for an answer is: are there just not enough qualified African American coaches out there? Everhart and Chelladurai argue that since the majority of coaching staff are drawn from the pool of student athletes in their particular sport and since the majority of athletes in NCAA Division I football are African American, would that not imply that there would be a large pool of qualified applicants to choose from (Saga & Cunningham, 2005)? The answer is more complicated than it may seem. Although organizations like the Black Coaches and Administrators (BCA) assert that there are plenty of qualified African American coaches and that they are not hired

because of institutionalized racial biases, there may be another factor influencing the ability of African American athletes to advance through the ranks of coaching (Steinbach, 2008).

One explanation is that Black coaches are being passed up for promotion simply based on discrimination. White men in power see African American men as inferior and unable to handle managerial positions. This happens in both sports hiring and hiring in other sectors. For this theory of discrimination to be true, potential African American coaches must have the same qualifications as their White peers. In contrast to this, the human capital theory would suggest that African American coaches are not hired because they do not possess the same skill set as their White peers (Morrison & Glinow, 1999). This would imply that having playing and prior coaching experience are critical to the success of African American coaches (Nordhaug, 1993).

Many more African Americans are hired as assistant or position coaches than are hired as head coaches. Of those specialized coaching positions, African American coaches are most likely to work with peripheral positions rather than central positions (Morrison & Glinow, 1999). Based on the human capital theory and the fact that many African Americans are working as assistants coaching peripheral positions, racial stacking appears to be the primary cause of the lack of African American head coaches in college football programs (Agyemang & DeLorme, 2005).

### **Impact on Players' Careers**

Racial stacking has a huge impact on players. As they continue their careers, college football players often continue in similar positions to the ones they played in

college (Nichols, 2008). The peripheral positions in which African Americans are placed generally have a shorter career time than central positions due to their highly physical nature. This results in the player having less income with which to build a retirement fund, fewer benefits to rely on, and lower severance pay (Best, 1987). It has also been proven that most head football coaches are drawn from quarterback and central positions. Because of this, many African American players miss out on the opportunity to turn to coaching when their playing careers are over (Brooks, Althouse, & Tucker, 1997). African American players are actually more likely to continue their football careers professionally and the lapse of time between their college careers and retirement from professional football can cause even more challenges in getting coaching positions.

### **Conclusion**

Racial stacking is a practice that not only affects players during their college years, but it is also something that can follow them for the rest of their lives. These effects can touch all players on a team when they translate into an effect on the makeup of the coaching staff. Overall, racial stacking in college football has such far-reaching consequences that it is something that simply cannot be ignored. It must be addressed and studied in order to better understand and thus remedy this practice.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Data and Analysis**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyze the data on college football to discern whether or not there is any relationship between conference, school size, the public or private nature of the school, the race of the head coach, and the racial make up of the coaching staff.

#### **Data Trends in College Football**

Because research has shown that the average college football team is comprised of about 50% Black players (Black Coaches and Administrators, 2011), a team with no racial stacking would show 50% of players in each position being Black. This means that if the percent of Black players is over 50% in peripheral positions or under 50% in central positions, racial stacking is occurring. As the percentage of Black players moves away from 50%, the evidence of racial stacking strengthens.

Concerning coaches, the fair assumption would be that 50% of the coaches are Black, as coaches are generally drawn from football players whose ratio of Black to White players is 50:50. Any deviation from this ratio would be evidence of racial stacking.

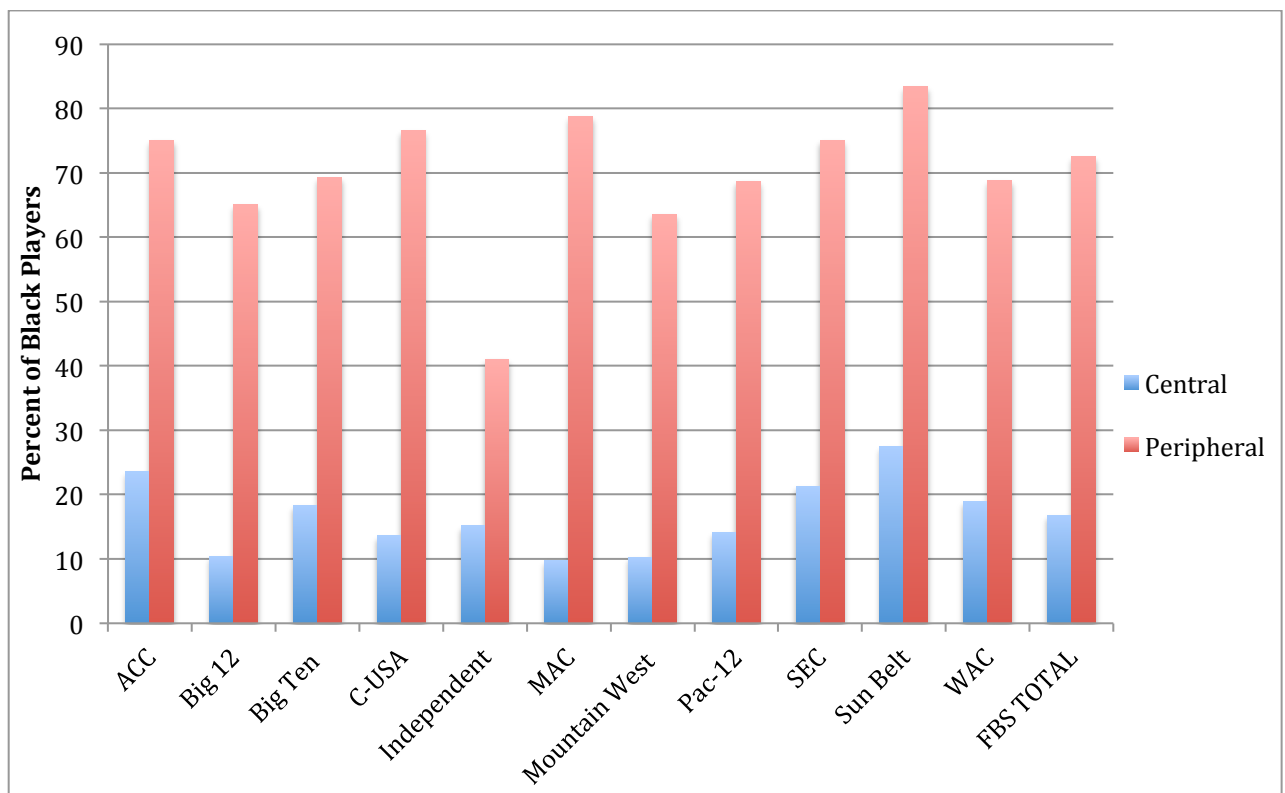
In the FBS as a whole, during the 2012-2013 season, Black players filled 72.46% of peripheral positions. Of those, 67.28% of wide receivers and 83.74% of running backs



were Black. Conversely, Black athletes filled only 16.82% of central positions. Of those, only 9.84% of centers and 19.5% of quarterbacks were Black.

## Conferences

The conference in which a school plays proved to be a salient variable for predicting racial stacking. The extent of racial stacking was examined for both central and peripheral positions as it was related to the conference in which the schools play. See figure 6.1 for data and Appendix C for an explanation of the conferences.



**Figure 6.1 Percentages of Black players in central and peripheral positions across different conferences. FBS averages are provided for comparison.**

To see if there was any statistical difference between the rates of racial stacking in the conferences, a chi square test was used and P values were calculated for both central and peripheral positions. For central positions,  $P=0.128$  and for peripheral positions,  $P=0.020$ . Because the P value for central positions was so high, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected and it cannot be assumed that there is difference among the conferences in terms of racial stacking in central positions. However, the P value for peripheral positions was below 0.05, meaning that the null hypothesis can be rejected and it can be assumed that there is a significant difference among conferences in terms of racial stacking in peripheral positions. This could be due to the fact that schools are more reluctant to place Black players in central positions, regardless of conference, but might be more willing to let regional or conference-wide beliefs about race come into play in peripheral positions. This trend could be due to the fact that coaches and administrators are more willing to take the risk and break the stereotype in peripheral positions, where there is less risk, than in central positions where there is more at stake with the team. This pattern of discernable difference in racial stacking concerning peripheral positions is mirrored in the analysis of other variables as well. The same reasoning for why this phenomenon occurs could be echoed when considering the other variables.

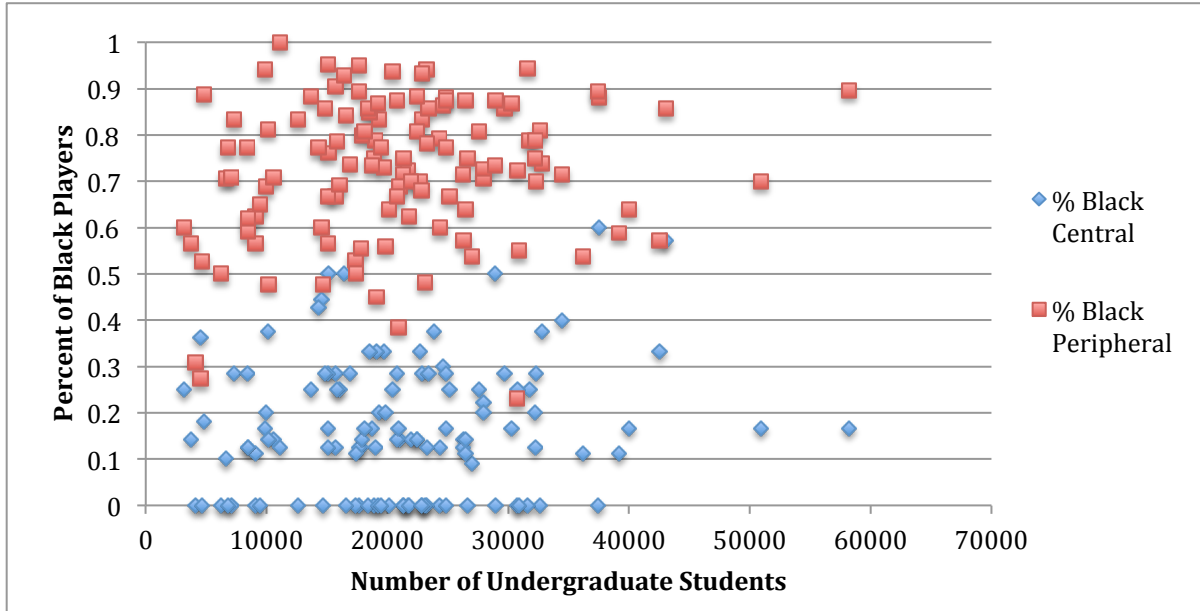
The highest rate of racial stacking in peripheral positions occurred in the Sun Belt conference, with 83.41% of peripheral positions filled by Black players. The lowest were the independent schools, with 41.02%. This is a puzzling number, as what is happening here is the opposite of racial stacking. The White players actually outnumber Black players in traditionally Black positions. This could be due to the fact that the four schools that make up the Independents are either military schools or schools affiliated with a

religion that has historically discriminated against Blacks (Mormon and Catholic). As far as the religiously affiliated schools go, either fewer Black students may be going there from the start, or there could be a higher level of discrimination based on residual racial biases. The military schools may exhibit this trend as they have fewer Black students attending in general. Only 7% of the student body at both the United States Naval Academy (Navy) and the United States Military Academy (Army) is Black (The College Board, 2013).

When looking at central positions, the Mid-American Conference (MAC) had the highest degree of racial stacking with only 9.76% of central positions filled by Black players. Interestingly the Sun Belt, the conference with the highest degree of racial stacking among its peripheral positions, had the lowest rate of racial stacking among its central positions with 27.42% being filled by Black players. This correlation seems odd at first, but the trend could simply be due to the fact that there are more Black players in the Sun Belt teams. This makes sense geographically as the conference includes schools in the Southeast and mid-Southern section of the country. The schools are located in areas with some of the highest Black populations in the country (US Census Bureau, 2000) so it would make sense that the majority of their players, in any positions, would be Black.

### **School Size**

The size of the school has some bearing on the amount of racial stacking that occurs there. The size of the undergraduate population of the school was plotted against the percentage of Black players in peripheral and central positions. See Figure 6.2



**Figure 6.2 Relation between the amount of undergraduate students at an institution and the percent of Black players in central and peripheral positions.**

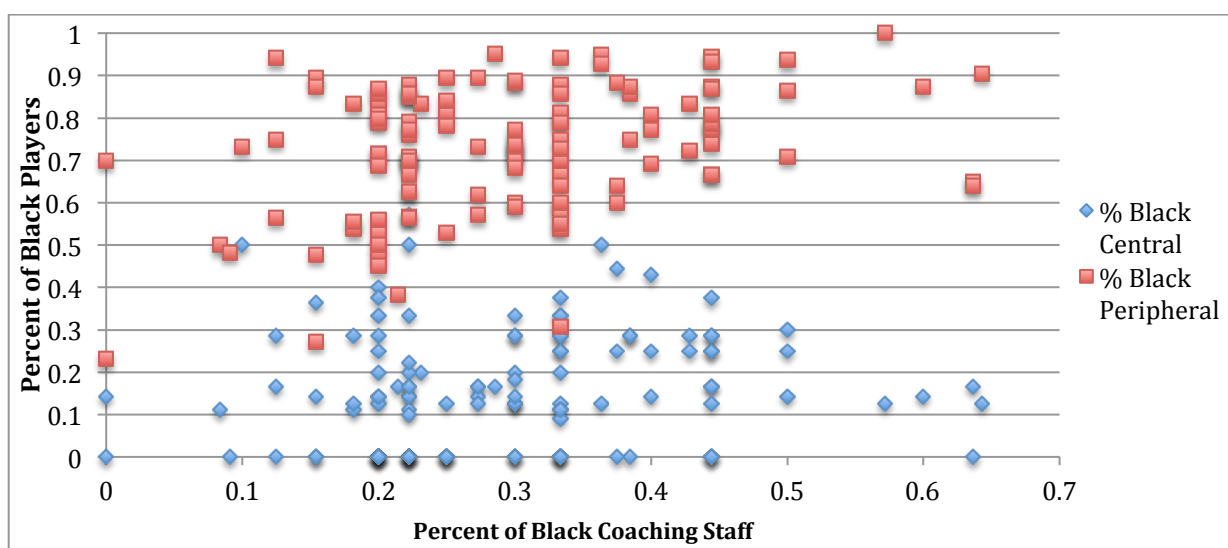
To show if there was any statistical significance to the relationship between the size of the school and the extent of racial stacking, a correlation coefficient was calculated for both peripheral and central positions. For central positions,  $R=0.130$  and for peripheral positions,  $R=0.180$ . These low numbers show that there is questionable correlation between the size of the school and the extent of racial stacking. To further explore this connection, P values for central and peripheral positions were calculated. This was found to be  $P=0.158$  for central and  $P=0.04885$  for peripheral positions. The high P value for central positions means that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected and that there is no relation between school size and racial stacking in central positions. However, the fact that the P value for peripheral positions is less than 0.05 indicates that

the null hypothesis can be rejected and shows that there is some relation between the size of a school and the amount of racial stacking in peripheral positions.

When looking at the trend of data concerning peripheral positions, there is a slight increase in racial stacking as the size of the school increases. This is the opposite of what was initially predicted. This trend could possibly be due to the fact that larger schools often have larger football programs, and thus more pressure to perform. Coaches and administrators in this position may be less likely to take the risk of breaking the old model of racial stacking than smaller schools whose programs do not have so much importance.

### Racial Makeup of Coaching Staff

The racial makeup of the coaching staff has some effect on the amount of racial stacking. The percent of the coaching staff, including assistant coaches, position coaches, and strength and conditioning coaches who are Black was compared to the percentage of Black players in central and peripheral positions. See Figure 6.3



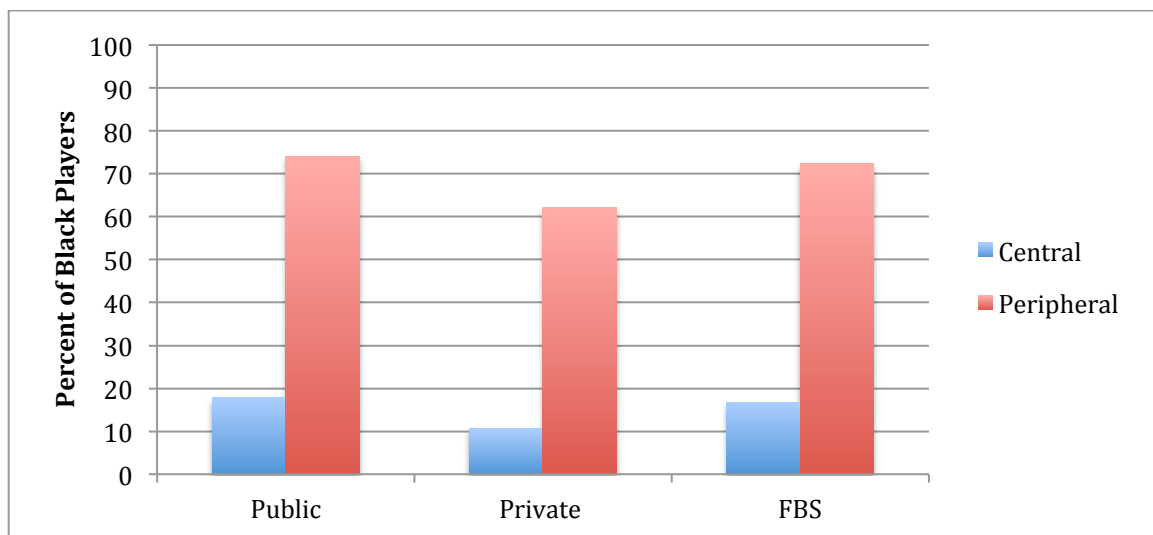
**Figure 6.3 Relation between the percentage of the coaching staff who are Black, and the percent of Black players in peripheral and central positions.**

To show if there was any statistically relevant relation between the percent of the coaching staff who were Black and the amount of racial stacking, a correlation coefficient was calculated.  $R=0.102$  for central and  $R=0.346$  for peripheral positions. These values show that there is little correlation between the racial makeup of the staff and racial stacking in central positions, but there could be some relation between the staff and the stacking in peripheral positions. To be more certain about the correlation, or lack thereof, a P value was calculated. This was found to be  $P=0.267$  for central and  $P=0.00043$  for peripheral positions. The high P value for central positions does not allow for the rejection of the null hypothesis and thus it can be assumed that the racial makeup of the coaching staff does not have an impact on the amount of racial stacking in central positions. However, the fact that the P value for peripheral positions is much less than 0.05 means that there is a significant relation between the racial makeup of the coaching staff and the amount of stacking in peripheral positions.

There was a slight increase in the amount of racial stacking in peripheral positions as the percent of Black coaching staff members increased. This was the opposite of what was initially predicted and at first glance would seem counterintuitive. However, when looking at the types of positions that Black coaching staff members are in, the trend makes more sense. The vast majority of Black assistant and position coaches are found coaching peripheral positions such as running backs and wide receivers, as well as cornerbacks and defensive line coaches. Thus, an increase in the percent of Black coaches means fewer White coaches will be working in peripheral positions. This results in more Black coaches in traditionally Black positions, which could lead to more Black players in those positions.

### Public or Private Schools

Whether or not a school is Public or Private proved to be a relevant variable in the amount of racial stacking. Private schools had Black athletes accounting for 62.26% of their peripheral players, whereas Public schools had 74.05% of peripheral positions filled by Black athletes. Private schools had a lower degree of racial stacking in terms of peripheral positions. This trend was reversed in central positions. Private schools had 10.57% of peripheral positions filled by Black players as opposed to 17.84% of positions in Public institutions. See figure 6.4.



**Figure 6.4 Percent of Black athletes in peripheral and central positions as they relate to the public or private nature of the school. FBS Averages provided for reference.**

To determine if there were differences in racial stacking between Public and Private schools, a two-sample t-test was performed between proportions of Black players in central positions. The t-statistic was significant at 5%,  $t(188.8) = -2.342$ ,  $p = 0.00999$ . Thus, we can reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is a significant difference

between Public and Private schools when considering racial stacking in central positions. The same test was performed using data collected about peripheral positions. The t-statistic was significant at 5%,  $t(401.2)=-4.083$ ,  $p=3.0 \times 10^{-5}$ . Thus, we can reject the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between Public and private schools when considering racial stacking in peripheral positions.

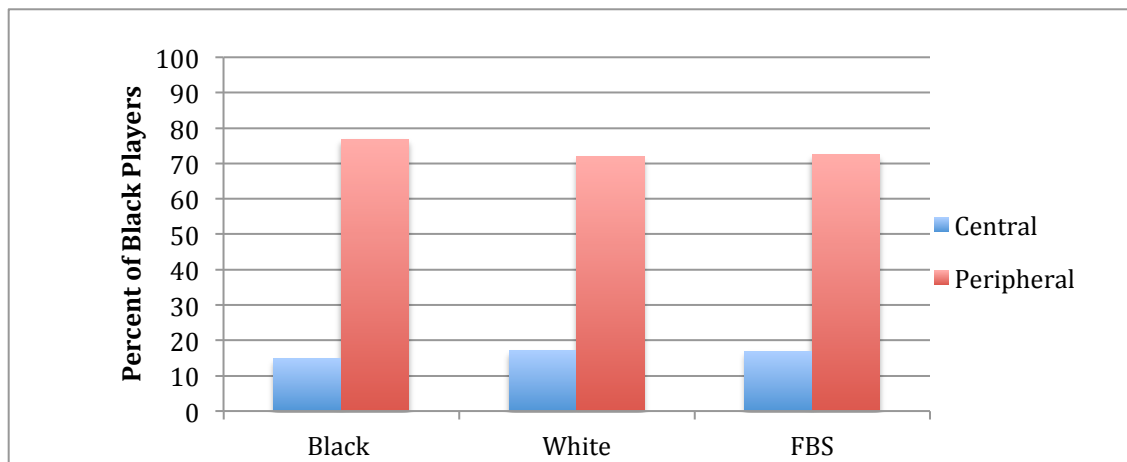
Overall, the differences here were puzzling. Private schools had lower levels of stacking when it came to peripheral positions, but had higher levels of stacking than Public schools in central positions. This translates to a trend of fewer Black players in these positions overall. This is not necessarily a bad thing, as the levels of Black players in certain positions would have to drop if they were to equalize across the board. However, if racial stacking were really being eliminated, the drop in peripheral Black players would be matched by an uptick in Black central players. In this case, it is not. It is possible that this trend is emerging because private schools simply have fewer Black players than Public schools. An analysis of the racial distribution of each team as well as the general population of the school would be needed to confirm this.

### **Race of Head Coach**

The race of the head coach is not a relevant factor when looking at the degree of racial stacking on the team. Black coaches had a slightly higher rate of racial stacking on their teams than their White counterparts, with 76.89% of peripheral positions filled by Black players and a mere 14.74% of central positions filled by Black players. Teams with White coaches had 71.9% and 17.07% of positions filled by Black players, respectively.



This could be due to Black coaches fearing repercussions from the school if they break the racial norms that exist within college football programs. See Figure 6.5



**Figure 6.5 Percent of Black central and peripheral players in relation to race of head coach. FBS average provided for reference.**

To determine if there were statistically significant differences in racial stacking between schools with head coaches of different races, a two-sample t-test was performed between proportions of Black players in central positions. The t-statistic was not significant at 5%,  $t(120.6)=0.6$ ,  $p=0.27$ . Thus, we fail to reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is no significant difference between White and Black head coaches when considering racial stacking in central positions. The same test was performed using data collected about peripheral positions. The t-statistic was not significant at 5%,  $t(342.2)=1.799$ ,  $p=.9634$ . Thus, we fail to reject the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between White and Black head coaches when considering racial stacking in peripheral positions.

The most likely explanation for the lack of difference in racial stacking depending on the race of the head coach is that head coaches share a similar mentality, regardless of

race. Although the head coach may be Black, he may not have a mindset or view of his job that is any different than a White head coach. This could be due to the fact that Black head coaches are likely to have come from similar backgrounds as their White counterparts or that they feel they must assimilate to the prominent culture and thought process among head coaches, regardless of race.

### **Conclusion**

Overall, many of the initial hypotheses were proven incorrect in whole or in part. The race of the head coach does not have bearing on the amount of racial stacking on a team. The trends for school size and the racial makeup of the coaching staff were also the opposite of what was originally hypothesized. Larger schools, as well as those who had higher percentages of Black coaching staff, had higher rates of racial stacking, but only in peripheral positions. There was no significant impact on racial stacking in central positions. When considering the public or private nature of a school, there is a significant impact on the amount of racial stacking, but not in the manner predicted. Public schools have higher occurrences of racial stacking in peripheral positions whereas Private schools have higher incidences of racial stacking in central positions. Concerning conferences, there was a significant difference in racial stacking across conferences, but only concerning peripheral positions. There does seem to be a relation between the location of the school and its amount of racial stacking in some, but not all, cases.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations, and Implications for Further Study**

#### **Summary**

The purpose of the study was to examine the practice of racial stacking and to determine what characteristics of football teams and the institutions they played for had an impact on the degree of racial stacking. This study was meant to fill a void in the research on racial stacking and race as it related to college football. Data collection from this study was based on library resources such as books, newspaper articles, online journal articles, magazines, Internet resources, and video documentaries. Statistical data and analysis about teams were drawn from team rosters, and pictures of team members made available on the websites of the schools involved, as well as recruiting sites, like Rivals and MaxPrep.

#### **Conclusions**

The following conclusions are drawn from the study:

1. There is no difference in racial stacking between schools based on the race of the head coach.
2. There are significant differences in racial stacking between conferences, but only in peripheral positions.
3. There are differences in the degree of racial stacking between Public and Private schools in both central and peripheral positions. Private schools have higher

- occurrences of racial stacking than Public schools in central positions, but have a lower occurrence of racial stacking in peripheral positions.
4. There is a positive correlation between the percent of the coaching staff who are Black and the occurrence of racial stacking, but only regarding peripheral positions.
  5. There is a positive correlation between the size of the school and the occurrence of racial stacking, but only in peripheral positions.

### **Recommendations**

1. Coaches and staff at both collegiate and lower level football programs should be made aware of the issue of racial stacking and be observant of its occurrence in their teams.
2. Players should be educated about racial stacking and its possible effect on their careers.
3. Players in non-traditional positions based on the practice of racial stacking should be aware of their situations and choose a collegiate program that practices a lower level of stacking for the position in which the player wishes to continue his career.

### **Implications for Further Study**

1. A comparison between the racial breakdown of institutions and the racial composition of their football teams to discern if there is any correlation between the racial breakdown and racial stacking.

2. Attitudes of players on teams as with varying degrees of racial stacking could be examined.
3. Attitudes of coaches and staff on teams on racial stacking.
4. A study of racial stacking at lower levels of football such as high school, middle school, and even Pop Warner football could be done to identify when racial stacking begins.

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## Appendix A

### Raw Data

School	Conference	Public or Private	School Size	Race of Head Coach	Size of Coaching Staff	Number of Black Members of Coaching Staff	% of Black Coaching Staff
Air Force	Mountain West	Public	4120	White	12	4	0.333333333
Akron	MAC	Public	24308	White	9	2	0.222222222
Alabama	SEC	Public	31747	White	9	3	0.333333333
Arizona	Pac-12	Public	29719	White	13	5	0.384615385
Arizona State	Pac-12	Public	58184	White	11	3	0.272727273
Arkansas	SEC	Public	19027	White	10	2	0.2
Arkansas State	Sun Belt	Public	10113	White	9	3	0.333333333
Army	Independent	Public	4624	White	15	3	0.2
Auburn	SEC	Public	20446	White	10	5	0.5
Ball State	MAC	Public	17627	White	13	2	0.153846154
Baylor	Big 12	Private	12575	White	10	2	0.2
Boise State	Mountain West	Public	17369	White	12	3	0.25
Boston College	ACC	Private	9088	White	9	2	0.222222222
Bowling Green	MAC	Public	15064	White	14	4	0.285714286
Buffalo	MAC	Public	19334	White	13	3	0.230769231
BYU	Independent	Private	30684	White	10	0	0
California	Pac-12	Public	36142	White	11	2	0.181818182
Central Michigan	MAC	Public	21698	White	10	3	0.3
Cincinnati	Big East	Public	22893	White	11	2	0.181818182
Clemson	ACC	Public	15697	White	9	3	0.333333333
Colorado	Pac-12	Public	26325	Black	11	3	0.272727273
Colorado State	Mountain West	Public	23261	White	9	3	0.333333333
Connecticut	Big East	Public	17815	White	11	2	0.181818182
Duke	ACC	Private	6680	White	9	2	0.222222222
Eastern Michigan	MAC	Public	18914	Black	8	1	0.125
ECU	C-USA	Public	21298	Black	10	2	0.2
FIU	Sun Belt	Public	37468	White	6	2	0.333333333
Florida	SEC	Public	32776	White	9	4	0.444444444
Florida Atlantic	Sun Belt	Public	24823	White	9	2	0.222222222
Florida State	ACC	Public	32171	White	10	3	0.3
Fresno State	Mountain West	Public	19719	White	10	3	0.3

School	Conference	Public or Private	School Size	Race of Head Coach	Size of Coaching Staff	Number of Black Members of Coaching Staff	% of Black Coaching Staff
Georgia	SEC	Public	26259	White	10	3	0.3
Georgia Tech	ACC	Public	14527	White	8	3	0.375
Hawai'i	Mountain West	Public	14655	White	10	2	0.2
Houston	C-USA	Public	32639	White	8	2	0.25
Idaho	WAC	Public	9928	White	9	2	0.22222222
Illinois	Big Ten	Public	32281	White	10	3	0.3
Indiana	Big Ten	Public	32271	White	9	3	0.33333333
Iowa	Big Ten	Public	21320	White	13	5	0.384615385
Iowa State	Big 12	Public	24343	White	10	3	0.3
Kansas	Big 12	Public	18737	White	11	3	0.272727273
Kansas State	Big 12	Public	19853	White	10	2	0.2
Kent State	MAC	Public	22436	Black	10	4	0.4
Kentucky	SEC	Public	20827	White	9	4	0.44444444
Louisiana Tech	WAC	Public	9109	White	9	2	0.22222222
Louisiana-Lafayette	Sun Belt	Public	15143	White	9	2	0.22222222
Louisiana-Monroe	Sun Belt	Public	7298	White	7	3	0.428571429
Louisville	Big East	Public	15727	Black	14	9	0.642857143
LSU	SEC	Public	24626	White	10	5	0.5
Marshall	C-USA	Public	9885	White	8	1	0.125
Maryland	ACC	Public	26487	White	10	6	0.6
Memphis	C-USA	Public	17647	White	11	4	0.363636364
Miami	ACC	Private	10590	White	10	5	0.5
Miami University	MAC	Public	15081	White	9	4	0.44444444
Michigan	Big Ten	Public	27979	White	9	2	0.22222222
Michigan State	Big Ten	Public	37454	White	12	3	0.25
Middle Tennessee	Sun Belt	Public	23415	White	10	2	0.2
Minnesota	Big Ten	Public	34469	White	15	3	0.2
Mississippi State	SEC	Public	16390	White	11	4	0.363636364
Missouri	SEC	Public	26996	White	9	3	0.33333333
Navy	Independent	Public	4536	White	13	2	0.153846154
NC State	ACC	Public	24833	White	13	5	0.384615385
Nebraska	Big Ten	Public	19103	White	10	2	0.2
Nevada	Mountain West	Public	15082	White	8	1	0.125
New Mexico	Mountain West	Public	21008	White	10	2	0.2

School	Conference	Public or Private	School Size	Race of Head Coach	Size of Coaching Staff	Number of Black Members of Coaching Staff	% of Black Coaching Staff
New Mexico State	WAC	Public	14276	White	10	4	0.4
North Carolina	ACC	Public	18503	White	9	2	0.222222222
North Texas	Sun Belt	Public	28956	White	13	2	0.153846154
Northern Illinois	MAC	Public	16552	White	8	2	0.25
Northwestern	Big Ten	Private	9466	White	11	7	0.636363636
Notre Dame	Independent	Private	8475	White	10	3	0.3
Ohio	MAC	Public	22685	White	9	3	0.333333333
Ohio State	Big Ten	Public	43058	White	9	2	0.222222222
Oklahoma	Big 12	Public	21980	White	6	0	0
Oklahoma State	Big 12	Public	20130	White	8	3	0.375
Ole Miss	SEC	Public	16060	White	10	4	0.4
Oregon	Pac-12	Public	20809	White	9	2	0.222222222
Oregon State	Pac-12	Public	21812	White	9	2	0.222222222
Penn State	Big Ten	Public	39193	White	9	3	0.333333333
Pittsburgh	Big East	Public	18429	White	9	2	0.222222222
Purdue	Big Ten	Public	30776	Black	7	3	0.428571429
Rice	C-USA	Private	3755	White	9	2	0.222222222
Rutgers	Big East	Public	31593	White	9	4	0.444444444
San Diego State	Mountain West	Public	26624	White	9	3	0.333333333
San Jose State	WAC	Public	25157	White	9	4	0.444444444
SMU	C-USA	Private	6249	White	10	2	0.2
South Carolina	SEC	Public	22890	White	9	4	0.444444444
South Florida	Big East	Public	30289	Black	9	4	0.444444444
Southern Miss	C-USA	Public	13658	White	8	3	0.375
Stanford	Pac-12	Private	7063	Black	9	2	0.222222222
Syracuse	Big East	Public	14798	White	9	3	0.333333333
TCU	Big 12	Private	8456	White	11	3	0.272727273
Temple	Big East	Public	27567	White	10	2	0.2
Tennessee	SEC	Public	20916	White	14	3	0.214285714
Texas	Big 12	Public	39955	White	11	7	0.636363636
Texas A&M	SEC	Public	42514	Black	9	3	0.333333333
Texas Tech	Big 12	Public	26481	White	9	3	0.333333333
Toledo	MAC	Public	16877	White	10	3	0.3
Troy	Sun Belt	Public	17915	White	10	2	0.2
Tulane	C-USA	Private	8423	Black	9	4	0.444444444
Tulsa	C-USA	Private	3160	White	9	3	0.333333333
UAB	C-USA	Public	11128	Black	7	4	0.571428571

School	Conference	Public or Private	School Size	Race of Head Coach	Size of Coaching Staff	Number of Black Members of Coaching Staff	% of Black Coaching Staff
UCF	C-USA	Public	50968	White	9	2	0.222222222
UCLA	Pac-12	Public	27941	White	12	4	0.333333333
UNLV	Mountain West	Public	22432	White	10	3	0.3
USC	Pac-12	Private	17414	White	12	1	0.083333333
Utah	Pac-12	Public	24840	White	10	3	0.3
Utah State	WAC	Public	23279	White	8	2	0.25
UTEP	C-USA	Public	19217	White	10	2	0.2
Vanderbilt	SEC	Private	6796	Black	9	4	0.444444444
Virginia	ACC	Public	15822	Black	9	4	0.444444444
Virginia Tech	ACC	Public	23859	White	10	2	0.2
Wake Forest	ACC	Private	4815	White	10	3	0.3
Washington	Pac-12	Public	28933	White	10	1	0.1
Washington State	Pac-12	Public	23136	White	11	1	0.090909091
West Virginia	Big 12	Public	22827	White	10	3	0.3
Western Kentucky	Sun Belt	Public	18101	White	9	4	0.444444444
Western Michigan	MAC	Public	19478	White	9	2	0.222222222
Wisconsin	Big Ten	Public	30863	White	9	3	0.333333333
Wyoming	Mountain West	Public	10163	White	13	2	0.153846154

School	# of C	# of Black C	% Black C	# of QB	# of Black QB	% Black QB	% Black Central	# of RB	# of Black RB	% Black RB	# of WR	# of Black WR	% Black WR	% Black Peripheral
Air Force	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	6	3	0.50	7	1	0.14	0.307692308
Akron	2	0	0	7	0	0	0	10	9	0.90	14	10	0.71	0.791666667
Alabama	3	1	0.33	5	1	0.2	0.25	7	5	0.71	12	10	0.83	0.789473684
Arizona	2	0	0	5	2	0.4	0.29	8	8	1.00	13	10	0.77	0.857142857
Arizona State	2	0	0	4	1	0.3	0.17	11	9	0.82	18	17	0.94	0.896551724
Arkansas	3	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.13	6	7	1.17	13	8	0.62	0.789473684
Arkansas State	1	1	1	7	2	0.29	0.38	4	4	1.00	12	9	0.75	0.8125
Army	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	7	5	0.71	12	5	0.42	0.526315789
Auburn	1	0	0	3	1	0.33	0.25	7	7	1.00	9	8	0.89	0.9375
Ball State	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	5	5	1.00	14	12	0.86	0.894736842
Baylor	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	5	5	1.00	7	5	0.71	0.833333333
Boise State	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	5	4	0.80	12	5	0.42	0.529411765
Boston College	3	1	0.33	6	0	0	0.11	5	4	0.80	11	6	0.55	0.625
Bowling Green	1	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.17	6	6	1.00	15	14	0.93	0.952380952
Buffalo	1	0	0	4	1	0.25	0.2	4	4	1.00	8	6	0.75	0.833333333
BYU	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	11	3	0.27	15	3	0.20	0.230769231
California	3	1	0.33	6	0	0	0.11				13	7	0.54	0.538461538
Central Michigan	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	6	5	0.83	12	8	0.67	0.722222222
Cincinnati	1	0	0	6	2	0.33	0.29	11	9	0.82	13	11	0.85	0.833333333
Clemson	2	0	0	5	2	0.4	0.29	5	5	1.00	16	9	0.56	0.666666667
Colorado	3	1	0.33	4	0	0	0.14	5	4	0.80	9	4	0.44	0.571428571
Colorado State	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	6		17	10	0.59	0.941176471
Connecticut	2	0	0	6	1	0.17	0.13	3	2	0.67	15	8	0.53	0.555555556
Duke	4	0	0	6	1	0.17	0.1	8	6	0.75	9	6	0.67	0.705882353
Eastern Michigan	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	11	10	0.91	13	8	0.62	0.75
ECU	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	7	5	0.71				0.714285714
FIU	1	0	0	4	3	0.75	0.6	6	6	1.00	19	16	0.84	0.88
Florida	2	1	0.5	6	2	0.33	0.38	9	7	0.78	14	10	0.71	0.739130435
Florida Atlantic	2	0	0	4	1	0.25	0.17	8	8	1.00	17	14	0.82	0.88
Florida State	2	0	0	8	2	0.25	0.2	7	5	0.71	13	10	0.77	0.75
Fresno State	2	0	0	4	2	0.5	0.33	9	9	1.00	17	10	0.59	0.730769231
Georgia	2	0	0	6	1	0.17	0.13	2	2	1.00	5	3	0.60	0.714285714
Georgia Tech	2	1	0.5	7	3	0.43	0.44	5	4	0.80	10	5	0.50	0.6
Hawai'i	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	6	3	0.50	17	8	0.47	0.47826087
Houston	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	7	7	1.00	14	10	0.71	0.80952381
Idaho	1	0	0	4	1	0.25	0.2	6	4	0.67	10	7	0.70	0.6875
Illinois	1	0	0	6	2	0.33	0.29	4	4	1.00	16	10	0.63	0.7
Indiana	1	0	0	7	1	0.14	0.13	7	6	0.86	12	9	0.75	0.789473684
Iowa	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	7	6	0.86	13	9	0.69	0.75

School	# of C	# of Black C	% Black C	# of QB	# of Black QB	% Black QB	% Black Central	# of RB	# of Black RB	% Black RB	# of WR	# of Black WR	% Black WR	% Black Peripheral
Iowa State	1	0	0	7	1	0.14	0.13	7	4	0.57	18	11	0.61	0.6
Kansas	2	0	0	4	1	0.25	0.17	1	0	0.00	14	11	0.79	0.7333333333
Kansas State	1	0	0	4	1	0.25	0.2	7	6	0.86	18	8	0.44	0.56
Kent State	2	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.14	9	9	1.00	17	12	0.71	0.807692308
Kentucky	2	0	0	5	2	0.4	0.29	2	2	1.00	14	12	0.86	0.875
Louisiana Tech	2	0	0	7	0	0	0	12	9	0.75	18	8	0.44	0.566666667
Louisiana-Lafayette	1	0	0	7	4	0.57	0.5	7	6	0.86	14	10	0.71	0.761904762
Louisiana-Monroe	2	1	0.5	5	1	0.2	0.29	6	5	0.83	12	10	0.83	0.8333333333
Louisville	2	0	0	6	1	0.17	0.13	7	7	1.00	14	12	0.86	0.904761905
LSU	3	1	0.33	7	2	0.29	0.3	9	8	0.89	13	11	0.85	0.863636364
Marshall	2	0	0	4	1	0.25	0.17	6	6	1.00	11	10	0.91	0.941176471
Maryland	2	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.14	6	4	0.67	10	10	1.00	0.875
Memphis	2	0	0	6	1	0.17	0.13	7	7	1.00	13	12	0.92	0.95
Miami	2	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.14	8	7	0.88	16	10	0.63	0.7083333333
Miami University	3	1	0.33	5	0	0	0.13	10	7	0.70	11	7	0.64	0.666666667
Michigan	2	0	0	7	2	0.29	0.22	7	6	0.86	10	6	0.60	0.705882353
Michigan State	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	6	6	1.00	13	11	0.85	0.894736842
Middle Tennessee	2	1	0.5	5	1	0.2	0.29	7	7	1.00	14	11	0.79	0.857142857
Minnesota	1	0	0	4	2	0.5	0.4	7	6	0.86	14	9	0.64	0.714285714
Mississippi State	2	0	0	4	3	0.75	0.5	4	4	1.00	10	9	0.90	0.928571429
Missouri	2	0	0	9	1	0.11	0.09				13	7	0.54	0.538461538
Navy	4	0	0	7	4	0.57	0.36				11	3	0.27	0.272727273
NC State	2	1	0.5	5	1	0.2	0.29	3	3	1.00	13	11	0.85	0.875
Nebraska	2	0	0	7	3	0.43	0.33				20	9	0.45	0.45
Nevada	2	0	0	5	2	0.4	0.29	7	5	0.71	16	8	0.50	0.565217391
New Mexico	1	0	0	6	1	0.17	0.14	9	8	0.89	7	3	0.43	0.6875
New Mexico State	2	1	0.5	5	2	0.4	0.43	7	7	1.00	15	10	0.67	0.772727273
North Carolina	3	2	0.67	6	1	0.17	0.33	3	3	1.00	17	14	0.82	0.85
North Texas	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	9	9	1.00	15	12	0.80	0.875
Northern Illinois	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	7	7	1.00	12	9	0.75	0.842105263
Northwestern	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	9	6	0.67	11	7	0.64	0.65
Notre Dame	3	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.13	7	5	0.71	15	8	0.53	0.590909091

School	# of C	# of Black C	% Black C	# of QB	# of Black QB	% Black QB	% Black Central	# of RB	# of Black RB	% Black RB	# of WR	# of Black WR	% Black WR	% Black Peripheral
Ohio	2	0	0	4	2	0.5	0.33	5	3	0.60	15	11	0.73	0.7
Ohio State	2	0	0	5	4	0.8	0.57	5	5	1.00	9	7	0.78	0.857142857
Oklahoma	3	0	0	4	1	0.25	0.14	6	6	1.00	14	8	0.57	0.7
Oklahoma State	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	7	6	0.86	18	10	0.56	0.64
Ole Miss	2	0	0	6	2	0.33	0.25	11	7	0.64	15	11	0.73	0.692307692
Oregon	2	1	0.5	5	0	0	0.14	8	6	0.75	16	10	0.63	0.666666667
Oregon State	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	5	4	0.80	11	6	0.55	0.625
Penn State	5	1	0.2	4	0	0	0.11	5	1	0.20	12	9	0.75	0.588235294
Pittsburgh	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	4	4	1.00	10	8	0.80	0.857142857
Purdue	2	0	0	6	2	0.33	0.25	8	6	0.75	10	7	0.70	0.722222222
Rice	1	0	0	6	1	0.17	0.14	9	6	0.67	14	7	0.50	0.565217391
Rutgers	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	6	6	1.00	12	11	0.92	0.944444444
San Diego State	4	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	5	1.00	15	10	0.67	0.75
San Jose State	3	1	0.33	5	1	0.2	0.25	7	4	0.57	11	8	0.73	0.666666667
SMU	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	9	4	0.44	19	10	0.53	0.5
South Carolina	3	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	2	1.00	13	12	0.92	0.933333333
South Florida	1	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.17	8	7	0.88	15	13	0.87	0.869565217
Southern Miss	2	0	0	6	2	0.33	0.25	5	5	1.00	12	10	0.83	0.882352941
Stanford	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	8	8	1.00	16	9	0.56	0.708333333
Syracuse	3	0	0	4	2	0.5	0.29	9	9	1.00	12	9	0.75	0.857142857
TCU	3	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.13				21	13	0.62	0.619047619
Temple	2	0	0	6	2	0.33	0.25	8	7	0.88	18	14	0.78	0.807692308
Tennessee	2	1	0.5	4	0	0	0.17				13	5	0.38	0.384615385
Texas	1	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.17	7	6	0.86	18	10	0.56	0.64
Texas A&M	3	1	0.33	6	2	0.33	0.33	9	6	0.67	19	10	0.53	0.571428571
Texas Tech	2	1	0.5	7	0	0	0.11	7	6	0.86	18	10	0.56	0.64
Toledo	1	0	0	6	2	0.33	0.29	7	6	0.86	12	8	0.67	0.736842105
Troy	2	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.14	9	7	0.78	26	21	0.81	0.8
Tulane	3	0	0	4	2	0.5	0.29	7	7	1.00	15	10	0.67	0.772727273
Tulsa	2	0	0	6	2	0.33	0.25	5	4	0.80	15	8	0.53	0.6
UAB	2	0	0	6	1	0.17	0.13	8	8	1.00	13	13	1.00	1
UCF	2	1	0.5	4	0	0	0.17	7	5	0.71	13	9	0.69	0.7
UCLA	2	0	0	8	2	0.25	0.20	6	5	0.83	16	11	0.69	0.727272727
UNLV	2	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.14	6	6	1.00	11	9	0.82	0.882352941
USC	3	1	0.33	6	0	0	0.11				12	6	0.50	0.5
Utah	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	7	6	0.86	15	11	0.73	0.772727273
Utah State	2	0	0	6	1	0.17	0.13	9	8	0.89	14	10	0.71	0.782608696
UTEP	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	8	8	1.00	15	12	0.80	0.869565217
Vanderbilt	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	8	7	0.88	14	10	0.71	0.772727273
Virginia	3	0	0	5	2	0.4	0.25				14	11	0.79	0.785714286

School	# of C	# of Black C	% Black C	# of QB	# of Black QB	% Black QB	% Black Central	# of RB	# of Black RB	% Black RB	# of WR	# of Black WR	% Black WR	% Black Peripheral
Virginia Tech	3	0	0	5	3	0.6	0.38							
Wake Forest	3	1	0.33	8	1	0.125	0.18				9	8	0.89	0.88888889
Washington	1	0	0	7	4	0.57	0.50	1	1	1.00	14	10	0.71	0.733333333
Washington State	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	11	6	0.55	18	8	0.44	0.482758621
West Virginia	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	10	7	0.70	12	8	0.67	0.681818182
Western Kentucky	2	0	0	4	1	0.25	0.17	10	8	0.80	16	13	0.81	0.807692308
Western Michigan	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	8	8	1.00	14	9	0.64	0.772727273
Wisconsin	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	6	4	0.67	14	7	0.50	0.55
Wyoming	2	0	0	5	1	0.2	0.14	6	3	0.50	17	8	0.47	0.47826087



## **Appendix B**

### **Data Collection Procedures and Considerations**

Race of each player was determined by a visual examination of the picture of the player on the online roster of the player's team. If there was no picture listed on the roster, the high school picture from a site like Rivals or MaxPrep was used. If no picture was available on these sites, a picture was sought from a local newspaper. If no picture could be found there, social media sites like Facebook were used to find pictures of the player. There were no players for whom pictures could not be found. If a player looked to be of mixed racial decent, but one of those races appeared to be Black, the player was counted as Black. Race was determined based on visual examination because this is the way race would be perceived in the real world. It would be unlikely that the coach and staff would go back to look at the player's admissions paperwork to determine race before deciding how to treat him. It is more likely that race and the associated stereotypes would be formed upon the first visual inspection. Players who were White Hispanic/Latino, Pacific Islander, Asian, Caucasian/ White or any other race than Black or mixed descent with Black, were counted as White.

Some schools did not have any players in the position of either running back or wide receiver. This is due to the fact that some schools use formations that do not involve these positions. These schools generally have players in positions whose duties are similar to those of running backs and wide receivers, but in these cases, the position was simply not counted toward the total amount of stacking rather than having a similar position substituted in the data, as the positions are not exactly the same.

It should also be noted that not all of the players who were counted in these statistics actually play frequently or at all. Because a player is listed in a position on the roster does not mean that he is starting in the position. The use of depth charts was considered to only account for active players, but depth charts can change on a game-to-game basis, so anyone listed on the roster filling the position in question was used. Data was drawn from 2012-2013 rosters.

## Appendix C

### Conferences

The following is a complete list of the conferences that appear in this paper as well as their member schools who were eligible to participate in bowl games in the 2012-2013 season.

#### ACC (Atlantic Coast Conference)

Members: Boston College, Clemson, Duke, University of Miami, Wake Forest, Florida State, Georgia Tech, University of Maryland, North Carolina State, University of North Carolina, University of Virginia, Virginia Tech

#### Big 12

Members: Baylor, Texas Christian University, Iowa State, University of Kansas, Kansas State, University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma State, University of Texas, Texas Tech, University of West Virginia

#### Big Ten

Members: Northwestern, University of Illinois, University of Indiana, University of Iowa, University of Michigan, Michigan State, University of Minnesota, University of Nebraska, Pennsylvania State, Ohio State, Purdue, University of Wisconsin

#### C-USA (Conference USA)

Members: Rice, Southern Methodist University, Tulane, Tulsa, East Carolina University, Houston, Marshall, Memphis, University of Alabama at Birmingham, University of Central Florida, University of Texas at El Paso, Southern Mississippi

#### Independent

Members: Brigham Young University, Notre Dame, United States Naval Academy, United States Military Academy

#### MAC (Mid-American Conference)

Members: Ball State, Bowling Green, Central Michigan, Eastern Michigan, Kent State, Miami University, Northern Illinois, University of Ohio, Toledo, Western Michigan, Akron, Buffalo

#### Mountain West

Members: United States Air Force Academy, Boise State, Colorado State, Fresno State, University of Hawai'i, University of Nevada, University of New Mexico, University of Nevada Las Vegas, University of Wyoming, San Diego State

Pac-12 (Pacific-12)

Members: Stanford, University of Southern California, University of Arizona, Arizona State, University of California, University of Colorado, University of Oregon, Oregon State, University of California Los Angeles, University of Utah, University of Washington, Washington State

SEC (Southeastern Conference)

Members: Vanderbilt, University of Arkansas, Auburn, University of Florida, University of Georgia, University of Kentucky, Louisiana State University, Mississippi State, University of Missouri, Ole Miss (University of Mississippi), University of Tennessee, Texas A&M, University of Alabama, University of South Carolina

Sun Belt

Members: Florida Atlantic, Florida International University, University of Louisiana-Lafayette, University of Louisiana- Monroe, Middle Tennessee, North Texas, Troy, Western Kentucky, Arkansas State

WAC (Western Athletic Conference)

Members: University of Idaho, Louisiana Tech, New Mexico State, Utah State, San Jose State

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### **Honors and Awards**

Schreyer Honors Scholar

2013 National Model Union Attendee

Penn State Civic Engagement Public Speaking Contest Participant

### **Work Experience**

September 2012- present

Academic Excellence Center  
Coordinator  
University Park, PA

August 2011- Present

Penn State Residence Life  
Resident Assistant  
University Park, PA

January 2010- December 2012

Centre Lifelink EMS  
Emergency Medical Technician  
State College, PA

January 2010-December 2012

Office of Disability Services  
Note Taker  
University Park, PA

### **Activities and Community Service**

September 2009- October 2012

Starfinder at Penn State  
Organizer  
University Park, PA

September 2011-Present

Model African Union at Penn State  
President  
University Park, PA

April 2011-December 2011

Development Center for Adults  
Tutor  
Pleasant Gap, PA